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2. *The Missionary Register,* 1813—1824.

BEFORE the suppression of the Jesuits, Muratori triumphantly appealed to their missions as one of the visible and evident signs that the Roman Catholic was the true church. No such heroic charity as that which inspired the Romish missionaries, he said, was to be found among the sects of modern heretics; it was not to be looked for but from that Holy Spirit which inflames the hearts of the faithful, nor to be found any where but in the true church of God. Little more than the appointed term of human life has elapsed since this excellent and most erudite person argued thus in perfect sincerity, and in full confidence that his assertion could not be disproved. During this interval, the missions of which he boasted have been broken up, and so utterly destroyed, that in those parts of the world where they were most efficient, and seemed to be most firmly established, not a wreck remains. Meantime the Protestant missionaries have entered the field, and are pursuing their undertakings widely and zealously, with surprizing exertions and various success. They pretend to no miraculous powers, and they canonize no martyrs. But many are the precious lives which have been sacrificed in their labours: and the moral miracles which they have worked, and are working, will endure the test of strict inquiry now and hereafter. Those in the Annual Epistles and Relations of the Jesuits, the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, and the Chronicles of those monastic orders which have established provinces in America and Asia, will not bear the same touchstone. There is indeed little temerity in affirming, that a comparison between the plain sincerity of the Protestant accounts and the elaborate machinery in those of the Catholics, would go far towards satisfying any sane mind upon the question which is the true church.

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In other respects, also, the contrast is not less striking. The Romish missionaries, from the sixteenth century, when the Jesuits opened the way, were supported by the bounty of princes and the wealth of established communities; they were encouraged by popular opinion, from the highest to the lowest ranks; and they were directed by wise heads, who made the humblest devotee and the wildest enthusiast equally subservient to a scheme of settled policy. If they were sent upon a service within those countries which any European power possessed by right of discovery or conquest, they were aided and protected by the colonial governments; and when they adventured beyond those limits, they had the countenance of their sovereign and of his representatives wherever it could avail them. But the Protestant missionaries had to contend against every disadvantage, especially in our own days, when exertions were first made upon a great and comprehensive scale. They had no other funds than what were derived from voluntary contributions. The adventurers were, many of them, ignorant enthusiasts, whose only qualifications appeared to be sincerity and zeal; and the persons at home, under whose direction they acted, were as inexperienced and enthusiastic as themselves. They had neither the assistance of the state nor the countenance of men in authority. Popular opinion was against them; and when, (which we may be allowed to remember with satisfaction,) in the first Number of this Journal, we rendered justice to their conduct and to their cause, those who laid claim to the appellation of liberal and enlightened critics, never noticed them in any other language than that of contumely and contempt.

The Romish church facilitated the task of its missionaries even by its corruptions. It presented tangible objects of adoration to those who were either in a state of savage ignorance or of gross idolatry. It had the aid of imposing forms and ceremonies. It laid claim to miraculous powers among tribes and nations who believed in enchantments and supernatural agencies of every kind; and it was not more scrupulous abroad than it has been at home of establishing its pretensions by well worked wonders, and the fabrication of systematic falsehoods. It contented itself with exacting from its converts a routine of easy practices; and conversion in many cases was nothing more than the transferring from one name to another of that lip and finger-worship to which the poor idolaters had been accustomed. There is a memorable example of this in the case of an old Japanese woman, a devotee, who, in her pagan state, used to invoke the name of Amida an hundred and forty thousand times in the course of the day and night; and, after her conversion, in the year 1622, to the Roman Catholic faith, simply exchanged the name of Amida for that of Maria, and continued the same practice as long as she lived. The Jesuits

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Jesuits have calculated that the great apostle of the east, as they call him, St. Francis Xavier, baptized, upon an average, three hundred and twenty nine souls a day for ten years. In the sort of conversion, which this implies, the difficulty must have lain in the mere bodily labour, and the work might have been as well done by a steam-engine.*

Far be it from us, however, to depreciate the Romish missionaries. Their errors were those of the corrupt church in which they had been trained up; their benevolence and self-devotion sprang from their own good hearts. The Spaniards and Portugueze are reproached, and too justly, for the national crimes which were committed in their conquests; but it is little remembered or little known by other nations, that the desperate courage and remorseless cruelty displayed in effecting those conquests were not more extraordinary than the heroic virtue which was afterwards exerted in the task of converting and civilizing the natives. It happened not unfrequently that, when the father had spent his life in the pursuit of fortune as a merciless oppressor of the Indians, the son, renouncing all the wealth which had been thus wickedly accumulated for his inheritance, devoted himself to the spiritual service of that poor injured race, and died in that service by their hands, or by the slower martyrdom of continual labours, privations and exhaustion. Such efforts, promoted as they were by the government, and systematically pursued, had been so successful, that the good resulting from the conquest of America had, in some places, far over balanced the evils, enormous as they were, with which that conquest was attended. This might have been affirmed concerning Paraguay, before the expulsion of the Jesuits, and concerning the whole territory through which the chain of their missions extended.

* Yet of these conversions the Romanists among us at this day make their boast! 'Let these societies,' says the Irish Roman Catholic bishop, who signs himself J. K. L. speaking of the Protestant missions and the Bible Society, (Letters on the State of Ireland, p. 176.)—'let these societies, with all their Bibles, and all their agents throughout the globe, produce to us,—not such fruits as sprung from our missions in China, in Siam, in Japan, in Asia Proper, in the Philippine Islands, in Paraguay, throughout South America, and the islands in the Gulf of Mexico, no!—but let them produce to us authentic proofs of as many conversions as were effected through the ministry of St. Francis Xavier in one year, aye, or in one day, and I will become the advocate of the Bible, and of the Home and the Foreign Missionary Societies.' This writer relies, with a confidence which in general may be very safe, upon the ignorance of his readers.

Readers of a description upon which he has not calculated, may be amused at hearing that he makes Bayle the disciple of Bolingbroke, (p. 178.): that at the Braganzan revolution, the papal court countenanced the family which then recovered its rights, (p. 262.): that no persecuting power ever carried bigotry so far as to deprive the Jews of their children, in order to force upon them the Roman Catholic faith, (p. 133.): and that the persecution from which the Irish Roman Catholics are only now *emerging*, has 'exceeded in duration, extent, and intensity, all that has ever been endured by mankind for justice sake.'—(p. 60.)

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But the evil which has been done in South America, by expelling the Jesuits, (a measure far more impolitic than the expulsion of the Moriscoes, and hardly less iniquitous,) is irreparable. Scarcely a wreck remains of the settlements which they had formed from the Orellana to the Uruguay, throughout the interior of that great country; settlements in which, during a full hundred years, there existed less misery and less guilt, more happiness with less alloy, than in any other part of the habitable world. The people whom they had collected there have been dispersed or destroyed; and the arts which they had introduced, and which were flourishing there, have been lost. Even the gross incapacity, and grosser misconduct of those by whom the Jesuits were superseded, could not have produced this utter destruction, without some other co-operating cause; and that cause is to be found in what is another and most characteristic difference between the Romish and the Reformed missionaries. The Romanists did not introduce the Bible. They built upon the sand; the storm came, and the building fell. The converts had nothing left whereon to rest their belief, when their spiritual rulers were called away. Had the Jesuits raised up a body of intelligent Christians, and trusted them with the evidences of their faith, that faith would have survived the system of policy which was overthrown in their overthrow, and the Indians of Paraguay would at this day have existed as a Christian and civilized nation. But the system of the Romish church is to withhold from the people those holy scriptures which were written for our instruction: in no Catholic countries are the people permitted to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, and when they hear a portion of them read, it is in a language which they do not understand.

Il Cristianesimo felice del Paraguai is the title of Muratori's book. The history of the Moravian missions contains a fact interesting in itself, and singularly so as contrasted with the total wreck of this Happy Christianity of the Jesuits among those Indians, who may properly be called their people. One of the primitive Moravians, George Schmid by name, went to the Cape in 1737, and going a little way into the interior, erected a hut for himself, cleared a spot of land for a plantation, and by winning the good will of the Hottentots, induced them to let him teach their children. He taught them to read Dutch, and instructed both them and their parents in the main truths of Christianity, undefiled with any human inventions. What he did was upon a small scale (for he baptized only seven adults); difficulties were thrown in his way by the colonists, and he went to Europe in 1744, in the hope of obtaining from the government in Holland permission to revisit his little flock and continue the labour of

love

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lone which he had begun. But he was never allowed to return. The Moravians were informed that the forsaken Hottentots kept together, and longed for their teacher; but it was not till after an interval of almost fifty years that they understood how well Schmid had laid the foundation of his work. When the missionaries then obtained permission to form a settlement in the colony at Bavian's Kloof, a Hottentot woman, eighty years of age, was carried to see them, being too infirm to walk. Schmid had baptized her: she had preserved a Dutch testament as a treasure beyond all price, which another woman, who had learnt to read from one of Schmid's pupils, used to read to her. Her faith and knowledge had been thus preserved, and through her means the missionaries were welcomed as benefactors and teachers.

One contrast more remains to be noticed; and it is an important one. How triumphantly, or rather with what exultation the Romanists reproach the Protestants for their numerous schisms is well known; and well would it be, if they, who give occasion to the reproach, would consider what advantage they afford thereby to the enemies of the Reformation. At this time there are Protestant missionaries abroad from all those communities which are agreed upon the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith; in other words, which hold the same creed, and believe in the validity of the same ordinances. Lutherans and Calvinists are thus employed; Presbyterians and Independents, Baptists, Moravians, Methodists, and members of the Church of England. But among heathen nations (as in Popish* countries), the points of difference between them are overlooked or forgotten; and they have, in every instance, without a single exception, given each other the right hand of fellowship in cordial co-operation. Whereas, among the Roman Catholics, those divisions and animosities which are kept down in Europe by the temporal authority of the church, have broken out in their missions. Jesuits, and Dominicans, and Franciscans, and Carmelites, have intrigued against, and counterworked, and undermined each other; and in some instances have engaged their converts in actual hostilities: for the boasted unity of the Romish church bears examination no better than its other pretensions.

As the rise and progress of the Christian religion is the most momentous part of human history, so there can be no more important or interesting object for speculation than the means of

* 'We have no Dissenters here!' said the chaplain of the British factory, in one of the most bigoted cities of Catholic Europe, where, for nearly thirty years, here presented the Church of England as it ought always to be represented; 'We have no Dissenters here. Whatever they may be in England, the English who come to Lisbon attend my church. They see here what the broad distinction is between Papist and Protestant.'

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furthering its diffusion, till all the nations of the earth shall become one fold under one shepherd. The duty of promoting its diffusion is acknowledged by every community of Christians, however widely they may differ among themselves in other points. Our present intention is to give an account of what the Church of England has done and is doing in performance of this duty. But it will be convenient first to look back upon the manner in which Christianity was spread in former times, and show how dissimilar the circumstances are under which its further extension is attempted.

Human and secondary causes will not account for the first progress of Christianity. We can have no hesitation in maintaining this, in opposition to Gibbon, the subtlest and ablest assailant by whom it has ever been impugned. For this religion had its origin not in dark times, nor among a barbarous people; but in the most enlightened age of the ancient world, and among the only people who from the beginning had continued to profess, as a nation, the belief of one God, to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, when all the rest of mankind were idolaters. Those persons by whom false religions have been promulgated, or who have founded fanatical sects, whether impostors, or madmen, or in that middle state between knavery and madness in which fanaticism frequently begins, and more frequently ends, all those persons have uniformly appealed to dreams and visions, and revelations, and impulses, the proof of which rested solely upon their own affirmation, unsupported by any other evidence. It was otherwise with the Apostles. They appealed to the doctrine of their divine Master, whom the Jews, their countrymen, had crucified,—to the miracles which he had wrought in the sight of all men,—to his death and resurrection, and to the acknowledged prophecies in which these things were predicted. For a last proof, there were the miracles which they themselves performed publicly in his name; and so notorious was it that they possessed this superhuman power, and were believed to be capable of imparting it, that there were men who proposed to purchase from them a communication of their miraculous gifts.

How long those gifts were continued to the church is one of the questions upon which it is easier to dispute than to decide. This however is certain, that they would not be continued longer than they were needful. Christianity was then left to spread itself by natural means. Those means were the truth of its doctrines, (proved by their perfect adaptation to the weakness and to the wants of man,) and the authenticity of its history: for if its records were true, so of necessity was the religion, the origin of which they related. By these means, he who searches into the grounds of what

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what has now happily become the established and inherited belief, is confirmed in his faith; and they who in youth and presumptuousness, and that half knowledge which is more dangerous than ignorance, have gone astray, are silently and soberly reclaimed. For a while, these, and these only, were the causes of its extension. And that Christianity should thus have taken root is not surprizing, for we know that its doctrines had their full effect upon the practice of the primitive Christians, and the influence which the example of their lives produced was strengthened and secured by the constancy displayed by them under persecution and in martyrdom. Having thus been propagated, miraculously first, and then by its moral strength, worldly and seemingly accidental causes afterwards accelerated its progress in the natural course of human affairs.

But even when the aid of miracles had been withdrawn, and the alloy of worldly-mindedness, fanaticism, and errors, which sprang up like tares among the wheat, had considerably diminished the efficacy of that example which the Christians at one time, as a body, had afforded, still the revealed religion had its internal strength; it had its evidences which courted inquiry,—its precepts, the fitness and utility of which were acknowledged by every virtuous mind; and its hopes and consolations, the necessity of which was felt in every human heart. By these it triumphed over the vain idolatry, and not less vain philosophy, of the Greeks and Romans, the monstrosities of the Egyptian, and the abominations of the Syrian worship; and over the Druidical system, supported by a powerful and crafty priesthood, more plausible in its theory than any of the schemes taught in the Grecian schools, less puerile in its fables than any other heathen mythology, and in its practices less degrading and less odious. Throughout the provinces of the Roman empire, this process was every where the same. Every where the seeds of Christianity had been sown by the apostles, or their immediate disciples, and every where they sprang up and bare fruit an hundred-fold. A body of Christians grew up in every province; their faith, and doctrines, and practices, were placed in direct contact and contrast with those of the established superstitions, and every where the result was the same. Dagon fell prostrate before the Ark. The new religion, beginning in the lowest rank of society, worked its way up, till it embraced all classes and reached the highest. Its increase was continual and uninterrupted. It overcame contempt and persecution, the violence of remorseless authority, and the arts of exasperated sophistry and imposture. Through ten persecutions not a sword was drawn, not a hand lifted in its defence! It triumphed by patience and constancy, and the force of truth. At length it became the esta-

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blished religion of the Roman empire; and there the first great victory of Christianity was completed.

The second was over those warlike nations by whom that empire was overthrown and divided; and this, important as it was, was effected without a struggle. It does not even appear that any efforts or endeavours were necessary for bringing about so great and momentous a change. Wherever the northern conquerors took possession, they were a small minority compared with the inhabitants whom they had subdued. Superior as they were in strength, and proud of that superiority, they knew that they were a rude and barbarous people; and though the Romans had become as degenerate in every thing as they were in policy and in arms, still the transition from wild plains and savage forests to countries where the monuments of ancient power and magnificence were every where standing, and which abounded still with the comforts and advantages of ancient civilization, produced its natural effect upon minds which, uncultivated and ferocious as they were, were not wanting either in strength or in generosity. They conformed themselves to the manners and institutions which they found, in all things, where they perceived a manifest advantage in so doing; and in nothing was the change more easy than in religion: for they had no rooted opinions to renounce,—no establishments to break up, or to alter; and their instructors, satisfied with a nominal conversion from the parents, obtained from their children, in the next generation, that which was permanent and substantial. Thus, throughout the wreck of the western empire, (Britain alone excepted,) Christianity retained its place, and presently recovered its supremacy; while all that till then survived of the old paganism and the old philosophy disappeared for ever.

This was not the case in Britain, or rather in that part of it soon afterwards called England, of which the Saxons and their kindred tribes had possessed themselves. The Romans either left it, or were extirpated: the Britons, when they could no longer make head against their invaders, withdrew from the open country into the mountainous parts, or to Cornwall and the coast of Brittany; and little or no intermixture took place between the conquerors and the conquered people,—certainly not enough to produce the slightest effect on the language of the former. England then once more became a land of paganism; and here we have the first example of converting a nation by means of foreign missionaries. The process was precisely the reverse of that by which the Roman world had been converted. There it had begun with the poor and made its way up, unassisted by any human power, or any worldly and interested motives. But the missionaries came with the imposing rank of ambassadors on a religious errand: they

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they addressed themselves to the kings of those petty states into which England was divided; and, having succeeded with them, the conversion of the subjects followed as a matter of obedience. The kings had an obvious political motive for professing a religion which enabled them to connect themselves by intermarriages with the princes of the continent, prepared a refuge for them in case of expulsion from their own dominions, and placed them in communication with the most civilized parts of the world.

As the minds of these royal converts were influenced by politic motives, in addition to the impression which might really be made upon them, so the missionaries made no scruple of resorting to pious frauds for the purpose of facilitating and securing their success. That they laid claim to the power of working miracles we know, for Pope Gregory, in his letter to Augustine, exhorts him not to be elated with pride on that account. The worthy Fuller says, 'this admonition of Gregory is with me (and ought to be with all unprejudiced persons) an argument beyond exception, that, though no discreet man will believe Augustine's miracles in the latitude of monkish relations, he is ignorantly and uncharitably peevish and morose, who utterly denies some miracles to have been really effected by him.' Yet Fuller himself gave a good reason for so denying them. 'Augustine,' he says, 'safely wafted over the sea, lands with the rest at Thanet, in Kent, taking, as it seems, deep footing, if it be true what one writes, that the print of his steps where he first landed, left as perfect a mark in a main rock, as if it had been in wax; and the Romanists will cry shame on our hard hearts, if our obdurate belief, more stubborn than stone, will not as pliably receive the impression of this miracle. But it is worthy our consideration, that, though Augustine all his way might be tracked by the wonders he left behind him, (when thirsty, miraculously fetching a fountain; when cold, a fire; restoring the blind and lame to their eyes and limbs,) yet for all this he was fain to bring interpreters out of France with him, by whose help he might understand the English, and be understood by them. Whereas in holy writ, when the apostles (and papists commonly call Augustine the English apostle) went to a foreign nation, God gave them the language thereof, lest otherwise their preaching should have the vigour thereof abated, taken at the second hand, or rather at the second mouth, as Augustine's was, who used an interpreter, not as Joseph to his brethren, out of state and policy, but out of mere necessity. This I say, well thought on, will make our belief to demur to the truth of his so frequent miracles, being so redundant in working them on trivial occasions, and so defective in a matter of most moment.'

This is a subject of considerable importance in ecclesiastical history;

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history; and has a peculiar interest at present, when the controversy between the Romish and the Reformed churches assumes the character of a contest, and is likely to be prosecuted with more ardour on both sides, with a stronger feeling of what is to be won and what is to be lost, than has been manifested at any time since the last great effort of the Romanists under James II. To say when false miracles began, would be as impossible as to determine when the true ceased: probably the one ceased when the other began; and it may not be presumptuous to conjecture that the real power was withdrawn as soon as the ministers of the church falsely pretended to it for the purpose of pious fraud. That the Romish church has pursued a system of such fraud from time immemorial, is what no person who is conversant with church history, and endowed with common discretion, can possibly doubt, unless he has prostrated his intellect to the authority of that church, in matters of fact as well as of faith. The most charitable allowance that can be made (and it may be made reasonably) is, that these frauds were really undertaken with a good intent, before they became, in necessary consequence, mere tricks of systematic ambition and individual cupidity. The better motive may be ascribed to Augustine and his immediate successors. Miracles are recorded of them, and those miracles bear the decided character of politic contrivance.

Most injurious as such a system of deception proved in its consequences, and sure as those consequences were to arise, this was a case wherein we may justly allow that it was pursued with meritorious intent, and that the missionaries carried on their pious artifices in good faith. They thought that, for bringing about an object of pure benevolence and paramount importance, whatever was expedient was allowable. No principle can be more plausible, and none can be more delusive or more dangerous. But beyond all doubt it has been acted upon, unhesitatingly, by persons who, in others respects, were eminently virtuous and devout men, and who risked their lives, and sacrificed them heroically as martyrs for the faith which they were endeavouring to extend by such means. They considered the people whom they sought to convert, as children, and never scrupled at deceiving them for their good. That they should not have foreseen how perilously this principle would be abused, may afford reason for impeaching their wisdom, but not their intentions; that they should have apprehended to what a degree it would be carried by such men as Dunstan and the fabricators of the Franciscan and Dominican mythologies, was impossible. Let no one imagine that he understands the true character of the Roman catholic church, till he is acquainted with the history of the monastic orders, and more

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especially of these; and let him not suppose that the garbled and varnished representations of the modern Romanists may be trusted, but look to their own authorized and accredited historians, who have written and published under the sanction of their respective bodies, and with the full approbation of the Inquisition and the censors of the press. Till he has done this, he may be assured that he knows as little of the Roman catholics, as he would do of the modern Jews if he were unacquainted with the follies and monstrous fables of the Rabbis.

In the days of the Benedictines, as in those of the Jesuits after them, the more enthusiastic and generous spirits were employed in missions, while cooler and craftier heads found for themselves a safer occupation. No sooner had the new religion taken root in this country, than missionaries went forth hence and from Ireland, and by their means Christianity was first extended beyond what had been the limits of the western empire; for neither in the east nor in the west had it gone beyond the bounds of the Roman dominion, except in the case of Ireland, and probably of Abyssinia. By them it was introduced into Belgium, Germany, and Scandinavia. The task was more difficult than it had proved among the Anglo-Saxons, for the people were in a more barbarous state. The Teutonic nations appear to have been considerably less advanced than those of the Keltic branch; and the tribes who settled in England had acquired some degree of civilization by acquiring possession of a civilized country. Some of these missionaries lost their lives. But if they had sometimes to contend against the caprice or jealousy of barbarous chieftains, they were as frequently protected and encouraged by others of more penetration and better minds; and the opposition of the heathen priests, whose craft was attacked, yielded to their sustained and well-directed zeal. They had immediate and tangible benefits to offer, bringing with them whatever useful or ornamental arts were in those ages known. Their success was facilitated by the victories of Charlemagne and Alfred; and the subsequent conquest of England by the pagan Danes led, in its consequences, to the conversion of the countries from which they came. What remained to be done in the north of Germany and the adjacent parts, the Teutonic knights effected, after the Mahommedan manner, by the sword. Such of the Slavonic nations as were converted received their religion from the Greeks, when they became considerable or politic enough to contract alliances with the court of Constantinople.

We have thus briefly traced the progress of Christianity in the old world; and it will be apparent, upon the slightest reflection, that its propagation is now attempted under circumstances in every respect

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respect totally dissimilar, both as to those who undertake to communicate it, and the different nations to whom we are desirous of imparting this greatest of all benefits. But there is one country where its introduction was endeavoured without success during those early centuries when it was most successful in other parts. The reader who is conversant with this branch of history will at once perceive that we are speaking of Persia. The causes of this failure are worthy of notice, because, changed as the condition of that kingdom is, they still operate there; and the same causes constitute some of the greatest impediments to the diffusion of Christianity in parts of the world where the protestant missionaries are at this time employed. Political jealousy, for which there may have been some foundation, was the one cause; and it may be remarked that Manicheism, against which this feeling did not operate, made a greater progress than Christianity in Persia. The other was that there, and there only, it had to contend with a religion which rested upon its sacred books, was connected with morals and philosophy, and regulated the observances of daily life. Throughout the Roman world the priests had neither any sacred writings, nor any determined faith; those among them who had any pretensions to knowledge were perfectly aware that their mythology was nothing better than a mass of undigested fables; and if the more ignorant were more credulous, they neither knew what they believed, nor why they believed it. Their only motive for opposing the new doctrine and stirring up persecution against those who professed and preached it, was like that of Demetrius the silversmith, 'Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth.' In Roman Catholic countries it happens not unfrequently at this day that the priests believe as little as their pagan predecessors; but the scheme of that church is so skilfully devised, and the vital truths incorporated with its gross corruptions and not destroyed by them, are so congenial to human nature, that the faith of the populace is deep and passionate. Thus though the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood is performed by men, who would make no scruple of saying to an English traveller, *populus vult decipi, at decipiatur*, it is exhibited to a wondering and believing multitude. Contrariwise among the ancient heathens, the people were less attached to their superstition than the priests; they had not the same cause for attachment, and there existed no other. It had no hold on the understanding, the imagination, or the heart; no other attraction than what its festivals afforded. The Greeks and Romans had separated religion from morals and from philosophy; and when an attempt was made to combine them in opposition to Christianity, powerfully supported as the attempt was, it was too late even to prolong the existence of a mythology which it was

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hoped to re-establish in its former power and upon a firmer foundation. But in the Persian system these things were united. To the great fundamental belief in a First Cause, that system added a machinery founded upon Dualism, attempting thus to solve one of those problems which have hitherto always excited and baffled the restless intellect of man. The mythology was imaginative and coherent, less monstrous, less absurd, and, in all respects, less offensive than any other that has ever been promulgated by an impostor, or grown up from popular errors and tradition. Zoroaster succeeded in securing all the advantages which can be gained by presenting to the vulgar a visible and emblematic object of adoration, while he avoided the reproach and the absurdity of idolatry. His moral precepts deserve high—almost, it might be said, unqualified praise; purity of mind was enjoined by them as well as of word and deed. Whether the ritual observances were as minute and puerile as those in the books of the modern Parsees, may be doubted; certainly they were not more inconvenient than he thought his countrymen would be willing to bear; and it is one of the strange caprices of the human mind, that in matters of this nature, the most onerous laws are those which are most punctually observed.

But this system, like every other system of fable and imposture, must have fallen before Christianity, could they have been fairly opposed to each other. No such trial was afforded. The religion of Zoroaster had firm hold upon the habits and feelings of the people. The Magi were in earnest; and the doctrine which endangered their influence was opposed by the effectual means of persecution; for persecution is effectual when it is heartily and steadily pursued; and they who maintain the contrary prove only how little they have read, or to how little purpose. By these means the Zendavesta withstood the Gospel. It yielded to the Koran, because the Koran was propagated by the sword.

Let us now look at the present condition of the world, and examine what are the difficulties which impede the introduction of Christianity among those nations who are still in darkness and error. It will be found that throughout the largest division of 'earth's melancholy map,' (melancholy, in this light, it may well be called,) the same moral obstacles exist which obstructed its progress in Persia, and in some places with greater strength. This is the case in India; it is not merely that the habits of life are connected there with an established system of false religion, and the feelings as well as the opinions of the people conformed to it; the whole scheme of society is founded upon that system. The priests have great power and greater privileges to contend for; they have their sacred books; the pride of learning, (such as that

learning is,) and the stronger prejudices of a deceitful philosophy —the direct object of which is to release the mind from all restraints of conscience and of the moral law. There is also a jealousy of those who endeavour to introduce the Gospel. We are the masters in India, most happily for India itself. But there are native princes in that country who would gladly recover the absolute authority that their forefathers possessed; there are adventurers and restless spirits (even in greater proportion than in Europe) who eagerly desire to see the times of anarchy renewed, that their lawless and reckless ambition may once more have free scope; and the only possible means by which a hostile feeling could be excited in the great body of the people (and in that class especially who are the very sinews of our strength) against an equitable and beneficent government, the blessings of which are felt and understood, would be by persuading them that their religion was in danger. In other parts of the east where Europeans have no dominion, the established superstitions are in like manner protected with laws, customs, institutions, metaphysical theories, and the veneration which every where in that part of the world is paid to antiquity. And there exists a jealousy of European, and more particularly of British power, which operates more powerfully there, than a dread of the Roman or Byzantine ambition ever did beyond the Euphrates. Such a jealousy prevails in China; and in Japan it exists to such a degree that insanity only would dream of attempting to introduce Christianity there, till some political revolution, in the order of Providence, shall have opened the way.

There is also another obstacle which had no existence in the first ages of Christianity, when its widest and most prosperous diffusion took place. During those ages, several attempts were made to introduce new systems of false religion, either by blending some of the doctrines of revelation with the dogmas of oriental philosophy and the fantastic creations of oriental fable; or by taking Christianity itself for the groundwork, and erecting a superstructure of imposture upon a foundation of truth. Manes succeeded in one of these designs, Mahommed in the other; after some adventurers in various degrees or combinations of philosophical reverie, insane persuasion, or fraudulent purpose, had failed in both. Manicheism never obtained an establishment any where: the Musulmen, in the first high tide of their fortune, swept it away from Persia, where it had taken most root; and after lingering some centuries in different parts of Asia and Europe, sometimes under persecution, but more often in obscurity and neglect, it quietly became extinct. But the Mahommedans extended their summary creed widely in the heathen world,

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world, and brought under their yoke a large portion of what had till then been included within the bounds of Christendom. The intermixture of Mahommedanism in India may be considered as facilitating the introduction of Christianity, rather than impeding it. But, except Japan alone, there are no countries in which any attempt of this kind can be so hopeless, as those which are under Mahommedan rule. Before he can be convinced that Christianity is true, the Musulman must give up that contempt for the Christian dogs with which he has grown up from infancy: he must acknowledge the futility and falsehood of a book which is the standard of his taste as well as of his faith, and to which higher notions of inherent holiness are attached than have ever been ascribed to the Bible, even by those who may deserve the imputation of Bibliolatry: he must sacrifice those vices, the free indulgence of which is sanctioned by his own law; and if he does this in any Mahommedan country, immediate and certain martyrdom will be his reward. A missionary who might be enthusiastic enough to expose his own life in such a service, would yet hesitate at making converts, when he knew that they would assuredly be put to death as fast as he made them.

It is evident that none of the obstacles which have hitherto been noticed can operate against missions in barbarous or savage countries. In the large portion of the world which is at this time in that state, there may (and must be) considerable danger to the missionaries from individual caprice and the ferocity of the natives; but there can be no settled or systematic opposition. There is nothing to pull down. The ground is overrun with weeds, but not encumbered with old foundations, which must be removed before a new platform can be laid. The greatest obstacle arises from the conduct of those persons who, calling themselves Christians, have in reality nothing of Christianity but the name. By its moral strength it was that revelation triumphed over the idolatries of the old world; the beautiful example of Christian meekness and virtue sufficing when the aid of miracles was withdrawn, to establish it, notwithstanding the opposition of its enemies, and the more serious impediments which arose from its own schisms, and heresies, and growing corruptions. The success of the Jesuit missionaries also, where they were most successful, is chiefly to be ascribed to the example which they displayed of Christian charity in its most heroic degree. 'Tell me honestly,' said the Emperor Nobunanga to Father Gnecchi, 'do you really believe what you preach here in Japan? I asked some Bonzes the same question, promising to keep their secret; and they confessed to me that all they taught was nothing more than mere fables to amuse the multitude, and keep them within bounds. You may repose the same confidence

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confidence in me, and I promise you that I will not abuse it.' The Jesuit turned to a terrestrial globe which stood in the Emperor's apartment, and showing him the extent of land and sea which he had crossed before he could reach that country, he replied; 'Your majesty appears to hold us in some esteem; but if it were only to relate fables that we have undertaken such long voyages, endured so many labours, undergone so many perils, and renounced our relations, our friends, our country, and all the hopes which we could have in this world, could there be any folly so great as ours? The Bonzes may say one thing and think another; they may preach things which they do not understand, and which they know to be false; and it is not surprizing that they should do so: their fortune and all their enjoyments are dependent upon the impostures which they pass off for truth: but what are the advantages that we derive from our painful ministry, from the fidelity with which we discharge our duties, and the manner in which we abstain from all the pleasures of this world? Our way of life in this country, our poverty, our disinterestedness ought to convince the most incredulous, that we must have most incontestible proof of the truths which we profess, seeing that it costs us so much to preach and to practise them.'

This reply was as impressive as it was true and unexaggerated in all its parts. But unhappily for the missionaries, the conduct of the Portugueze, who at that time frequented Japan, and carried on a slave-trade there, (buying the natives and importing them to their Indian possessions,) convinced the Japanese, that whatever the belief of the Europeans might be, it had little effect upon their lives. Wherever a like inference can be drawn it militates strongly against the efforts of the missionary, however benevolent and however wisely directed. But it is drawn every where. There are no savages so slow in intellect as not to be capable of judging whether the ships which visit their coast, act in conformity to the precepts of those who are endeavouring to convert them; and this is perhaps a greater difficulty than any that arises from the superstition or the ferocity of the people. It exists in India also to a considerable, although a less degree. The British have lived there as if they had no form of worship, which to a Hindoo or Moor, is as though they had no religion: and the Church Establishment in that country is as yet too young in the land, and upon too contracted a scale to have produced any material effect in removing the not unreasonable prejudice that has thus been caused.

On the other hand, the Protestant missionaries have at this time some advantages which were not possessed by any of their predecessors. The rapid progress of civilization which their frequent intercourse with European and American ships is effecting among

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among the natives of Australasia, counteracts in some measure the ill example of the sailors; for though nothing tends so surely to civilize men as religion, they must be in some degree civilized before they can be capable of receiving Christianity. 'Ignorant, uncivilized, slavish, and brutish nations,' says Bishop Law, 'are no less uncapable of duly receiving such an institution than they are of all those other sciences, arts, and improvements, which polish and adorn the rest of mankind, and make life a blessing. These are *not able to bear it*, nor will they be, till, *by reason of use, they have their senses exercised, to discern both good and evil:* till their rational faculties be enlarged and improved; their natural genius cultivated and refined, which seems in a good measure to constitute their respective *fitness of time.*' The intercourse with Europeans is bringing about this every where among savage or barbarous nations, except where the slave-trade is carried on. And in this manner even those persons who are a reproach to the Christian name, become instrumental in preparing the way for Christianity.

Another and more momentous advantage is now enjoyed by the Protestant missionaries wherever they are opposed by a priesthood, whose faith is built upon records, (which is the case over all the Eastern world;) they have now the Bible to produce—in the language of the country. Whether or not the exertions of the Bible Society were required at home, some consequences have arisen from its institution, which cannot be contemplated by the coolest and most dispassionate mind without hope as well as wonder. In almost every nation upon earth, where the use of letters is known, the gospel has been made ready for the inhabitants in their own tongue.* It has found its way into Persia, and in time will find its way into Turkey also, and even into Japan. The Japanese who trade with China may read it at this day. This would not have been done without the assistance of the Bible Society. That society also is bringing about a fellow feeling between the Greek, or at least the Russian and the Pro-

* The Society would do well, however, to be more careful in the revision of the versions which they send abroad, especially those in any of the Eastern languages. The Jews at Jerusalem were so offended with the Hebrew Bibles which the missionary Wolf distributed there, on account of the Samaritan text in the notes, the marks of reference which they supposed to be crosses, and also the errors in the text, that public orders were given in the synagogue to burn them. They would receive from the English, they said, copies of their own bible, but those copies without notes, comment, preface, or any Latin character.

It has been said that one version was published with nearly a sheet of errata in the printing, and several inaccuracies in the rendering of the original. The prejudices which must be excited and the injury which must be done among some of the eastern nations by a version containing so many errors, would far more than counterbalance any good that could be done by the whole impression.

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testant churches, and thus places the former in direct opposition to the Roman-Catholic church, upon this momentous point. Nor is it impossible that it may produce some effect among the Romanists themselves; for while the head of that church, and those who are most devoted to the papal power, persist in withholding the Scriptures from the people, there are other and better spirits who would let the Bible have free course, joining in the prayer of the good and learned Bishop Pecock to that effect: 'O thou Lord Jesus, God and man, head of thy Christian church, and teacher of Christian belief,—suffer thou, ordain and do, that the law and the faith which thy church at any time keepeth, be received and admitted to fall under this examination, whether it be the same very faith which thou and thine apostles taught or no, and whether it hath sufficient evidence for it to be the very faith or no!'

Here let us be permitted to present an extract from that most singular but most interesting book the *Magnalia Christi Americana*. It occurs in that life of the apostolic Eliot, which Baxter read upon his death-bed, and which drew from him a beautiful letter to the author's father. It is well known that the first translation of the Bible, which was ever made for the instruction of a heathen people, was that of Eliot, into the language of the Six Nations. At the conclusion of his life, Cotton Mather has the following most remarkable passage.

'Let not poor little New England be the only Protestant country that shall do any notable thing for the propagation of the faith unto those *dark corners of the earth which are full of cruel habitations.* But the addresses of so mean a person as myself are likely to prevail but little abroad with men of learning and figure in the world. However, I shall presume to utter my wishes in the sight of my readers; and it is possible that the great God who *despises not the prayer of the poor,* may, by the influence of his Holy Spirit upon the *hearts* of some of those whose eyes are upon these lines, give a blessed answer thereunto.

'Wherefore,—may the several plantations that live upon the labours of their negroes, no more be guilty of such a prodigious wickedness, as to deride, neglect, and oppose all due means of bringing their poor negroes unto our Lord; but may the masters, of whom God will one day require the souls of the slaves committed unto them, see to it, that like Abraham they have *catechised servants;* and not imagine that the Almighty God made so many thousands of reasonable creatures for nothing, but only to serve the lusts of epicures, or the gains of mammonists; lest the God of Heaven, out of mere *pity,* if not *justice,* unto those unhappy blacks, be provoked unto a vengeance which may not without horror be thought upon.

'—May the nefandous massacres of the English by the Irish awaken the English to consider, whether they have done enough to reclaim the Irish from the popish bigotries and abominations with which they have been intoxicated.

'—May the several factories and companies, whose concerns lie in Asia, Africa,

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Africa, or America, be persuaded, as Jacob was, and before him his grandfather Abraham was, that they always owe unto God certain proportions of their possessions, by the honest payments of which little quit-rents they would certainly secure and enlarge their enjoyment of the principal; but that they are under a very particular obligation to communicate of our *spiritual things* unto those heathens by whose *carnal things* they are enriched. And may they therefore make it their study to employ some able and pious ministers, for the instruction of those infidels with whom they have to deal, and honourably support such ministers in that employment.

'—May the poor Greeks, Armenians, Muscovites, and others in the eastern countries, bearing the name of Christians, that have little preaching and no printing, and few Bibles, or good books, now at last be furnished with Bibles, orthodox catechisms, and practical treatises, by the charity of England; and may our presses provide good store of good books for them, in their own tongues, to be scattered among them. Who knows what convulsions might be hastened upon the whole Mahommedan world by such an extensive charity?

'May sufficient numbers of great, wise, rich, learned, and goodly men in the three kingdoms, procure well-composed societies, by whose united counsels the noble design of evangelizing the world may be more effectually carried on. And if some generous persons will, of their own accord, combine for such consultations, who can tell but, like some other celebrated societies heretofore formed from such small beginnings, they may soon have that countenance of authority which may produce very glorious effects, and give opportunity to gather vast contributions from all well-disposed people, to assist and advance the progress of Christianity? God forbid that Popery should expend upon *cheating* more than ten times what we do in *saving* the immortal souls of men!

'Lastly, may many worthy men, who find their circumstances will allow of it, get the language of some nations that are not yet brought home to God; and wait upon the Divine Providence for God's leading them to, and owning them in their apostolical undertakings. When they remember what Ruffinus relates concerning the conversion of the Iberians, and what Socrates, with other authors, relates concerning the conversion wrought by occasion of Frumentius and Ædesius in the Inner India, all as it were by *accident*, surely it will make them try what may be done by *design* for such things now in our day. Thus, let them see, whether while we at home, in the midst of wearisome temptations, are angling with *rods*, which now and then catch one soul for our Lord, they shall not be fishing with *nets*, which will bring in many thousands of those, concerning whom with unspeakable joy, in the day of the Lord, they may say, *Behold, I and the children which God has given me!* Let them see whether, supposing they should prosper no farther than to *preach the Gospel of the kingdom in all the world for a witness unto all nations*, yet the end which is then to come, will not bring them the more happy lot, wherein they shall stand, that are found so doing.

'Let no man be discouraged by the difficulties which the devil will be ready to clog such attempts against his kingdom with: for, I will take

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leave so to translate the words of the wise man in Proverbs (xxvii. 4.) *What is able to stand before zeal?* I am well satisfied that if men had the wisdom *to discern the signs of the times*, they would be all hands at work to spread the name of our Jesus into all the corners of the earth. *Grant it, O my God, and Lord Jesus, come quickly.*'

This passage, which may almost be said to have in it 'something of prophetic strain,' was first published in 1691. How much of what Cotton Mather then wished and prayed for has been accomplished!—how much remains not only unfulfilled, but almost unattempted,—wholly so in the part which at this day most nearly concerns us! And how are we made to feel thus that blind indifference is not less dangerous than blind zeal; and that the government which persecutes one part of its subjects is not more mistaken in its policy, than the one which altogether neglects its religious duties towards them, as if its own stability and security were not mainly affected by the state of religious opinion among the people.

The reformed churches, however, have not always been wanting in their duty toward the heathen world. Even when Muratori wrote, he would hardly have felt himself justified in his argument if, with all his erudition, he had been as well read in the history of other communions as of his own. During the first century of the reformation, the reformers had work enough at home. They had not only to preach the gospel there, but to defend it, sword in hand. Yet even then an attempt was made by Coligny, with the assistance of the Genevan church, to plant a Huguenot colony in Brazil; and if the person to whom the command was entrusted had not deserted the cause in which he was engaged, the Portugueze might not improbably have been defeated in their attempts to destroy it, and Calvinism have taken root in South America as it did some fourscore years later in New England. What generations of misery and of wickedness might have been spared mankind, if the spirit of religious or political discontent had more frequently taken this direction,—if the men who were dissatisfied, whether reasonably or unreasonably, with the institutions under which they were born, had withdrawn in peace, and established others conformable to their own principles and desires in those wide parts of the new world which were then unoccupied! And what good might yet result if such men would take this course!

The Dutch were the first Protestant nation who had an opportunity of promoting Christianity in their conquests. It is the redeeming part of their colonial history: we are now only beginning to tread in their steps, and as yet *haud passibus æquis*. They established schools and churches in all their settlements; and in Ceylon

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Ceylon they admitted no native to any employment under them, unless he professed himself a member of the reformed church. Dr. Brown, in his History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation, calls this 'an absurd and impolitic order, well calculated to make the people hypocrites, not Christians.' Absurd and impolitic such a regulation might be wherever it would be dangerous; it was not dangerous in Ceylon, and Dr. Brown adds, in the same sentence, that it was attended with complete success. Now although counsels, as Charles V. said, ought to be judged of rather by their causes than their consequences, the consequence, when it is such as was desired and expected, must be admitted to be some proof of wisdom in the measures which have produced it. Ceylon will probably become the first Christian country in the eastern world. There is little presumption in saying that the work may be completed there in a few generations, if the system which the Dutch began, be steadily pursued: their zeal never went beyond the bounds of discretion; nor is it likely now that we shall be wanting in either. With regard to the policy of employing native Christians in India, we have the opinion of that most admirable man, who was a courtier and a statesman as well as a missionary, the venerable Swartz. 'One thing,' says he, 'I affirm before God and man, that if Christianity, in its plain and undisguised form, was properly promoted, the country would not suffer, but be benefited by it. If Christians were employed in some important offices, they should, if they misbehaved, be doubly punished; but to reject them entirely is not right, and discourageth. The glorious God and our blessed Redeemer has commanded his apostles to preach the gospel to all nations. The knowledge of God, of his divine perfections, and of his mercy to mankind, may be abused; but there is no other method of reclaiming mankind than by instructing them well.'

With the Dutch the work of conversion had followed that of conquest. Their sense of duty was quickened by a sense of policy, for the Portugueze, throughout their Indian possessions, had raised a body of nominal Christians, who had been taught to regard them with a religious hatred as heretics. It may be suspected that the Dutch government would not have done so much for the extension of Christianity without this clear view, that they had a political interest in so doing; for in Africa, where they had not the same motive, they appear to have done little or nothing. The next mission, which was that of the Danes, was unconnected with any worldly views. Frederic IV. of Denmark, had determined, during his father's life-time, to establish one in the Danish settlement at Tranquebar: after his accession to the throne he was reminded of his intention by Professor Lutkens, who was one of

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the royal chaplains; and two young men who had been educated under Professor Francke at Halle, offered themselves for this religious adventure—Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg was the one, and Henrik Plutcho the other. They were both well qualified for their undertaking, but Ziegenbalg was eminently so; for he possessed, in rare perfection and in rarer union, the virtues of discretion, unwearable diligence, self-devotement, and that enlarged benevolence which nothing but true piety can produce and sustain. On their arrival at Tranquebar they put themselves under a native schoolmaster, took their place among the children, and with them learned to read and write by tracing letters in the sand. Ziegenbalg composed a grammar and dictionary of the Tamul language, and translated into that tongue the liturgy of the Danish church, and the New Testament, both which he printed at a press with which the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge had supplied the mission; and he was proceeding with a translation of the Old Testament, when death put an end to his labours, and at the early age of thirty-six sent him to his reward.

This Danish mission excited much interest in Protestant Europe, and more particularly in England, where Ziegenbalg, during a short visit to this part of the world, was presented to the royal family, and received from Archbishop Wake, the Bishop of London, and the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, assurances of their assistance. That assistance was continued from time to time for some twenty years, when, upon the proposal of one of the Danish missionaries to begin a new mission at Madras, the Society undertook to support it: their means were limited indeed; the casual benefactions falling short of £150 a year, and the annual expenditure being nearly twice that sum, and gradually increasing in proportion to the increasing success of the attempt. 'However,' said their report, 'the society cheerfully rely upon that good Providence which has hitherto prospered this and all other their undertakings, to raise up such a true Christian spirit in this rich and trading nation as will abundantly supply whatever money shall be wanting to carry on so charitable and glorious a design as that of enlarging the kingdom of God and of his Christ upon earth.' And most true to its own good wishes and benevolent intentions has the Society been, having continued down to the present day the constant and, in a manner, the sole patrons of this mission.'

That England had been so long without taking part in exertions of this kind, was owing at first to circumstances; afterwards to a neglect alike of its true interest and its duty. Under Elizabeth there was neither call for such exertions nor means for making them. The shock sustained during the Reformation had so disjointed the whole fabric of society, that it was long before an adequate

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quate supply of ministers for our own Church could be provided; so that if they had been needed for foreign service they could not have been found. But at that time we had neither colonies, nor conquests, nor even factories. In the succeeding reign, when the Church of England seemed to be securely established, James was occupied with two projects, either of which, could it have been accomplished, would have been of more importance to the cause of Christianity, than any efforts for extending it into foreign countries could have been in those times. He wished to bring about peace with the Romish church if re-union were impossible; and to unite all the reformed churches in one form and discipline. Devoutly to be wished for as both objects were, the pursuit of them under his successor, without sufficient caution and preparation, was made one of the pretexts for the great rebellion. During that rebellion the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was first instituted. But in the anarchy which political and religious enthusiasts had produced, there was too much confusion and misery at home for any good to be effected, or even attempted, abroad; and it was not till the beginning of the last century that the society was regularly incorporated, for the purpose of 'furnishing the Colonial Possessions of the Crown of England with Ministers of the Established Church, and for the management of such funds as might be placed at their disposal by the charitable contributions of the more opulent.' Its operations therefore were chiefly confined to what were then our American colonies, where they endeavoured, with scanty means, to perform a duty which the government had most unwisely neglected. It was a tradition among the Jews, that wheresoever two men of Israel were settled together, a synagogue ought to be built: and in the forms which the Spaniards observed when they founded a city in their conquests, the first thing which they set up was a post where the gallows should stand; and the second, a cross to mark the place where the church should be erected. The British government was not so sensible of its policy and its duty, and the neglect of forming an episcopal establishment in America is one of the many causes which tended to bring about the violent separation of the colonies from the mother-country. Before that event the society employed about an hundred missionaries in America, besides catechists and schoolmasters, at an expense of from four to five thousand pounds yearly. Its exertions were confined afterwards to our remaining possessions in that quarter of the globe, till circumstances, of which it gladly and zealously availed itself, enabled it to act a more conspicuous part.

The rise and progress of that missionary spirit, which is at this time prevailing throughout the Protestant world, will be one of the

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most remarkable features in the history of the present age. It has not been sudden and violent like that of the crusades, and yet it may be doubted whether even the impulse whereby that great movement was produced extended so widely through all classes of society, or was felt with equal force. Its rise was so obscure as hardly to be noticed. Little attention had been excited by the Danish missionaries; scarcely any by what the Dutch had effected in their Asiatic possessions; and the labours of the Moravians would hardly have been known beyond the bounds of their own little community, (of all religious communities the most inoffensive, and, perhaps, the only one which has never committed any breach of Christian charity,) if it had not been for Crantz's account of their most extraordinary exertions in Greenland, and the entire success of that painful mission. By that book this singular labour of love was made known to a few general readers, and to what was then the still smaller number of persons who took a religious interest in such subjects. But no general feeling was excited.

The honour of giving the first impulse to public feeling belongs to the English Baptists. In what manner their undertaking was begun may be seen in the First Number of this Journal: suffice it here to say, that the person now so honourably known as Dr. Carey, who was, till the 24th year of his age, a shoemaker, opened the way. It originated in the working of his strong heart and intellect; a few of the ministers of his persuasion met together, and the first subscription for spreading the gospel in the heathen world amounted to £13 : 2 : 6. This was in the year 1792. The London Missionary Society followed in 1795. The Edinburgh in 1796. The Church Missionary Society in 1800. The Methodists had long had their missionaries in the West Indies and in America, but it was not till the impulse which they received from Dr. Coke, that they extended their exertions to a scale which made it necessary to form a separate society for its support and management.

In this outburst of zeal one missionary society of a more questionable description has been instituted, its professed design being 'the general evangelization of Great Britain.' *Evangelization!*—'Bless us, what a word.' The friends of religion are called upon by the institutors of this Home Missionary Society, 'to connect the eternal interests of their perishing fellow-sinners with their tours for recreation or business,' and to 'combine their energies for the diffusion of evangelical truth by every practical method, till not a city or town, village or hamlet, shall remain destitute of the means of salvation.' The society it seems has discovered, that there are in this kingdom, 'numerous places, where a short sermon and hurried

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ried prayers are all the religious instruction afforded from week to week; that in others, that scanty instruction is only had monthly; in others, quarterly or half yearly, and in others not at all.' But this is not all; they have discovered that there are towns and cities in Great Britain *destitute of the means of salvation.* Perhaps then we may have been hitherto mistaken concerning the site of Old Sarum, and they have found that celebrated city in a state of perfect preservation, fully peopled, and having lost nothing but its religion and its two representatives. Or more probably—for, notwithstanding our respect for whatever is stated in an official report, we cannot yet entirely believe that towns and cities in this deplorable state of destitution exist among us above ground,—perhaps they may have opened a tunnel, or sunk a shaft to the submerged city of Ariconium, which, as he who was inspired by Cider tells us, sunk in an earthquake; and this is the more probable, because Herefordshire appears to have been a favourite scene of their exploratory travels. A British Herculaneum would, indeed, be a rare discovery, and especially with the people all alive: the world will not be a little curious to learn the condition of the subterranean citizens, who are in want of the gospel; what has been their manner of life in the lower regions; what substitute they have found for the sun, (a secret particularly desirable to us at some seasons of the year;) and what their present religion may be.

But let us hear their report. 'The necessary rules of an Established Church,' they tell us, 'present those obstacles to efforts adapted to the exigencies of the multitude, which prevent the regular ministers in that church from extending their labours beyond their own districts:' (the reader must take it in their own English) 'without, therefore, reflecting upon the clerical labourer, as though he were deficient in zeal, this institution leaves him to guard the sheep in the fold, and seeks out the perishing wanderers in the wilderness:'—for what? to bring them into the fold? No; but to mark and shear them as its own. The institution, which is in fact a society for the propagation of schism, 'holding itself in readiness to resign the care of its stations to a neighbouring minister, or a district association, whenever it shall appear that the interest of religion may be best promoted by so doing.' The scheme is not new. It is as old as the time when the Great Rebellion was in preparation, and the Running Lecture was set on foot in Yorkshire, 'so called because the Lecturer went from village to village, and at the end of the week proclaimed where they should have him next, that his disciples might follow. They say this lecture was ordained to illuminate the dark corners of that diocese.' This is the statement given in one of Laud's Annual Accounts

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Accounts of his Province, and the note written against it in the margin by Charles, evinces that that calumniated king perceived the remedy as well as the evil: 'If there be dark corners in this diocese, it were fit a true light should illuminate it; and not this that is false and uncertain.'

In their magazines, (for every sect, or section of a sect—and they all bear cutting like a polypus—must have its magazine,) they have given us a sample of the religious instruction which these missionaries communicate; and it must be observed that, by one of their rules, no missionary is employed till the Committee are fully satisfied respecting his character, talents, and fitness for the work. One of these qualified evangelizationers has devised what he calls Church questions, 'for the purpose of creating in his little flock a spirit of inquiry after truth, and to induce them to search the Scriptures. At every monthly meeting, the answers to the last question are given by each member, and the next question is proposed. The questions are all founded on Scripture, and the answers have the explanatory texts appended to them. From the whole is collected an instructive and pleasing train of illustrations,' —of which the following is not selected by ourselves for its folly, but given as a sample in the magazine.

'*Question.*—In what respects do the people of God resemble jewels? *Founded on Mal.* iii. 7.

'*Answer.*—In their origin.—In their great rarity.—In their beauty. —In their shining quality.—In their preciousness.—In their durability. —In being ornamental.—In their value being frequently determined by their weight.—In not being susceptible of injury by passing through a moderate fire.'

If persons are to play at the old game of—what are my thoughts like? it is much better done by the fireside than in a meeting-house. But enough of this worshipful association. We will only observe, that when another vote for the erection of new churches shall be moved in Parliament, (and such votes we trust will always be brought forward from time to time, as long as they are needed,) the dissenting members who oppose the grant, may fitly be reminded that one reason assigned for setting up this society for the propagation of schism by the founders is, because 'the provision made in the Established Church for the religious instruction of the poor, is by no means adequate to their numbers.'

An opinion has sometimes been advanced, that the existence of so many different bodies of dissenters in this country conduces greatly to the general good, that is to say, that schisms in religion are useful to the state,—a position in which there is as much paradox and as little truth as in the old notion that it is desirable for the sake of health to have now and then a fit of the gout, and that an ague

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ague in the spring is physic for a king. True it is that, in the scheme of Providence, all things work together for the best, and that, considered upon the great scale, present evil tends to bring about future good. The growth of dissent we consider to be a growing and most serious evil to these kingdoms; but, in the present case, it has occasioned much good by the spirit of emulation which it has excited, when the tendency of that spirit has been altogether useful. The funds of all these societies have regularly increased, even during those years when the heaviest pressure was felt in consequence of the transition from war to peace, and the general dislocation of interests which that shock produced. In part this may be explained by the fact, that, among all the dissenting societies, a great proportion of the income was drawn from those classes who sustained no loss by the depreciation of landed property, and derived all the benefit of having the necessaries of life at a low price. But the steady increase in all these societies, and in all others of a religious character, can only be imputed to a great and growing spirit of religious zeal, quickened by emulation. The receipts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were little more than £12,000 in 1805, when the Bible Society was instituted; they now exceed £53,000. Ten years ago a mournful estimate was made, that the annual income of all the Bible and Missionary Societies in the British empire would not do more than defray the yearly maintenance of one ship of the line. Now it is announced, and with becoming exultation, that the expenditure amounts to more than a thousand pounds daily throughout the year; and that the Scriptures have been published in one hundred and forty languages. That so much zeal should exist without alloy, is what no one, who is in any degree acquainted with human nature, would expect. Some bigotry may have been mingled with it, and more enthusiasm; but dull indeed must be the understanding, and duller the heart, which can regard the effects without partaking a benevolent joy for what has been accomplished, and a well-founded hope for what is in progress; and without admiring and adoring the ways of Providence.

The Romanists frequently reproach the reformed churches with the want of that munificent spirit, by which cathedrals and monasteries were built, and endowed during the dark ages. They forget that it has disappeared also among themselves. But were this the place for investigating that subject, it would not be difficult to show that the portion of that expenditure, which arose from true piety and genuine benevolence, bears but a small proportion to what was extorted from remorse, or wheedled from weakness and superstition. Perhaps the world cannot, throughout the whole course

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course of its annals, supply such instances of eleemosynary expenditure as this little England has afforded within our own remembrance. It is an exalted, a glorious characteristic of the present age. God has blessed our country with a prosperity unexampled in all former times, and while a disposition thus to use that prosperity is manifested through all ranks and classes, in their degrees, we may hope for its continuance. Piety never touches the heart without opening the hand. The sums which have been thus collected, have been freely and cheerfully given; no part of them has been imposed as fines for sin, nor received in payment for prayers and masses, which are either to open the gates of purgatory or cool its atmosphere. From the widow's mite to the largest contributions of the affluent, they have all been free-will offerings; and it is not unworthy of notice, that the most considerable donations have almost in every instance come from persons who conceal their names. Perhaps we should think better of the world than we commonly do, were it sufficiently borne in mind, that it is as much the nature of virtue to avoid observation, as it is of folly and wickedness to attract it.

No minister, however expert in the art of raising money, could ever succeed in putting so many ways and means in motion, as have been devised by the ingenuity of missionary directors and collectors, or suggested by those who took a lively interest in the cause. Large sums are continually produced by penny a week* subscriptions. 'It has been calculated,' says the London Missionary Society in a late report, 'that if every house in Great Britain raised only one penny per week, the product would be £450,000 per annum.' It is curious to look over the reports, and observe by what various devices the amount of the yearly receipts is swollen. A little is done by missionary boxes, in shops or in private houses, like the poor-boxes in our churches. Schools and juvenile societies supply more; a great deal is raised by 'Ladies' Branch Societies, or Associations;' something from the sale of pincushions and ladies' work of all kinds. In an Evangelical Magazine before us these items appear—by selling matches, £1 : 3*s.*; by lending tracts, £2: 0*s.* 9*d.*; Sunday school boys, 7*s.* 6*d.*; produce of the sale of ornamental mouse-traps, £1 : 4*s.* 6*d.* One

* There is a penny a week Purgatorian Society at Dublin, every member to be entitled to one office at his death, another at the expiration of a month, and a third at the end of a year; besides his share in the joint-stock masses, 'the benefits of which shall be extended to their parents, relations, and friends in the following order, that is to say, their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts; and if married, husbands, wives and children, if they have any departed who have lived to maturity.' This is 'provided such member shall die a natural death, be six months a subscriber to the institution, and be clear of all dues at the time of their departure.' The money arising from these subscriptions is 'to be disposed of to the most necessitated clergymen, who will be required to give receipts for what they are paid.' This society was instituted in 1806.

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'tradesman in a small way' lays aside for this purpose the odd pence in every day's receipts, and recommends others to follow his example; another, in still humbler life, does the same with the farthings. The wife of a Greenwich pensioner presented to a late Wesleyan Missionary meeting at Greenwich, a bag containing nine hundred and sixty farthings. One person gives every year the produce of a cherry-tree.* Sometimes a Sunday school girl presents a portion of her earnings. Sometimes the workmen at a manufactory contribute largely, and not unfrequently servants make their contribution in proportions which evince a noble spirit. If an item now and then appears, which may raise a smile, there are others which excite a different feeling. One sum of £100 and another of £150, are given as offerings to God for an unexpected accession of fortune. One of the last Missionary Registers acknowledges ten pounds as a thank-offering on the recovery of a child. A lady presents thirty pounds as the produce of her jewels; and a blind basket-girl as many shillings, being the amount of what candles must have cost her during the winter, if she had had eyes to see. What a sunshine of the soul must that poor girl have enjoyed! 'If thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little: for so gatherest thou thyself a good reward in the day of necessity.' This cruse will not fail. The whole receipt of the Church Missionary Society for its first thirteen years was little more than £22,000; last year the income exceeded £39,000. 'In reference to this subject,' they say, 'there is a fact to be stated which deserves attention. On a careful investigation it appears, that the society never had, since it began to send out missionaries, and has not at this moment, more funds in hand than would serve to discharge its actual obligations on account of its missions in various parts of the world. And yet it has never been put to any difficulty in discharging the obligations which it had contracted: nor has it been withheld, merely by the want of funds, from entering on any promising undertaking brought before its Committees. The Committee states this fact as a ground of thankfulness to Almighty God, that He has enabled the Society to proceed with such an equal and steady course.'

At this time the Church Missionary Society employs four hundred and nineteen labourers, of whom only 106 are Europeans. The rest are natives of the respective countries in which

* Perhaps the oddest contribution is that which was thus announced in one of the advertisements on the covers of the Evangelical Magazine: 'James Crabb takes the liberty to inform missionaries of every denomination, that he will supply each at their going from England, with a case of pickles, *gratis*: apply with reference. And likewise J. C. has for sale, oils, &c. of the first qualities, on the lowest terms, for ready money.'

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they are employed as teachers or readers of the Scriptures. It has nine missions, subdivided into forty-two Missionary stations. These missions are the West African, the Mediterranean, Calcutta and North Indian, Madras and South Indian, Bombay and Western Indian, Ceylon, Australasia, the West Indies mission, and the North West American. With these missions 255 schools are connected, in which more than 13,000 scholars are at this time receiving instruction, of whom about 1400 are adults; and ten printing presses are actively employed in various missionary stations in printing the Scriptures, tracts, and elementary books for the schools. It has proceeded wisely, profiting by the experience of the other societies, to avoid the errors which they committed at their outset, and having some advantages peculiar to itself.

The Moravians (who cannot be praised above their deserts for their meek and truly Christian spirit as a community) appear always to have selected for their missionary stations, those places where, either from natural or artificial causes, the people were most miserable, and stood, therefore, most in need of religious comfort. With this feeling they went among the Hottentots under the Dutch government, the slaves in Demerara, and the sugar islands, the Esquimaux and the Greenlanders, the most forlorn of the human race, inhabiting the most cheerless and inclement region of the habitable earth. They went, as their own true poet describes them, to encounter

> 'Strange scenes, strange men; untold, untried distress;
> Pain, hardships, famine, cold, and nakedness;
> Diseases, death in every hideous form,
> On shore, at sea, by fire, by flood, by storm;
> Wild beasts and wilder men; unmoved with fear,
> Health, comfort, safety, life, they count not dear,
> May they but hope a Saviour's love to show,
> And warn one spirit from eternal woe;
> Nor will they faint; nor can they strive in vain,
> Since thus, to live is Christ, to die is gain.'
>
> *Montgomery's Greenland.*

They went not where there was the widest scene for exertion, but where there was the most difficult and painful labour to perform. The Church Missionary Society directed its attention to those parts of the world where there was most to be done, and therefore denominated itself a Society for Missions to Africa and the East, 'not, however,' they said, 'considering their name as binding them to exclude their attempts from any other unoccupied place, which might present a prospect of success to their labours.' From the beginning, they declared that their intention was not to interfere

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interfere with the other existing missionary institutions, but to co-operate with them for the one great object which they all had in view, and to direct their chief attention towards those parts of the world which were unoccupied by their fellow-labourers. 'They require not,' they said, 'the pecuniary aid of those who already, to the extent of their power, contribute to the support of other similar institutions; of all such persons they regard it as the duty to continue, undiminished, the support they have hitherto given. What they ask of them is their counsel, their good wishes, their prayers. Let not the Society be considered as opposing any that are engaged in the same excellent purpose. The world is an extensive field, and in the Church of Christ there is no competition of interests.'

They began upon the proper principle, that the Church of England can allow no person to officiate as minister, who has not been episcopally ordained. 'Episcopal ordination, having respect to the present improved state of society in this island, is justly conferred upon those only whose education and learning qualify them for the rank which the English clergy hold in society. It is evident, however, that a missionary, dwelling amongst savages, rude and illiterate, does not require the same kind of talents, manners, or learning, which are necessary in an officiating minister in England. But ordination admits not of distinctions, correspondent to the degree of refinement in society. He who is once episcopally ordained, though with the sole view of acting as a missionary to the heathen, would possess the power of holding and officiating in any benefice, to which he might be presented, in the English Church. This circumstance necessarily requires extreme caution in ordaining persons for the purposes of missions only.' To obviate this difficulty, they determined to send the missionaries in the capacity of catechists only, when persons already in orders did not offer themselves, or circumstances did not justify an application for regular ordination. For this they had the authority of the primitive church, and the example, to a certain point, of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the missionaries of which employed the ablest of their converts in this capacity. For a while neither clergymen, nor persons qualified to act in this humbler character, presented themselves. It was not likely, indeed, that volunteers of the latter description would be found, when there were other societies which would receive them upon a higher footing; and the Committee, when they lamented that there was a want of zeal in the Church, and censured it precipitately, and (as has since been proved) injuriously on that score, seem not to have been fully aware that the climate of Sierra Leone, which they had fixed on for their first operations, was, above all others, dangerous to

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to European constitutions. In fact the Sierra Leone Company had been at that time five years inquiring in vain for a chaplain.

In other things they were not precipitate. They consulted with missionaries who had returned from their labours, and learned from them 'the extreme difficulty of communicating the truths of the gospel, where no foundation of knowledge has been laid; where no previous truths are acknowledged, from which others may proceed; where conscience has rarely been enlightened to discern between good and evil; and where, perhaps, the language possesses no terms adapted to express the principal ideas of the Christian faith.' They determined, therefore, to prepare the way for their missionaries, by printing grammars and vocabularies for their use in the language of the countries to which they might be sent; and spelling-books and other elementary works for the natives, as introductory to their religious instruction. They determined also to print translations of the Scriptures and tracts conveying in a popular way the rudiments of Christian knowledge. Books they knew might penetrate where missionaries would not be admitted, and might, in great measure, supply their place. The press had been the great instrument of civilization in Europe, and it was to be hoped that in Africa and Asia the same means would, in due time, produce a similar effect. The Bible Society came in aid of this intention in one part; in another they availed themselves of Mr. Brunton, whom the society in Scotland for propagating the gospel had employed at Sierra Leone, and they printed his grammar and vocabulary of the Susoo* language, with some catechisms and other small tracts in the same tongue.

After a while, they sought in Protestant Germany for missionaries, wisely following in this point also the steps of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. There they learnt, that in consequence of the formation of the new missionary societies in England, a seminary for missionaries had been instituted at Berlin, which was at first supported by an individual, Mr. Von Schinnding, of Doborlugk in Saxony, ranger of the electoral forests; and when private circumstances made him withdraw his assistance, by the voluntary contributions of some clergymen in East Frisia and Westphalia. The measure of sending out laymen in the character of catechists was thus rendered unnecessary, for the German missionaries receiving ordination in the Lutheran church, were received as ministers of a sister communion. It is not our

* The writer of the report, however, was mistaken in saying, that never before had any book been written, much less printed, in the native languages of the western coast of Africa. A little volume in Angolan and Portugueze, by the Jesuit P. Francesco Pacconio, was printed at Lisbon in 1642. Its title is *Gentio de Angola sufficientemente instruido nos mysterios de nossa santa Fe.*

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intention in this place to pursue the history of the mission, further than to show what are the results, and how well the foundations have been laid. During some years, so many disasters occurred, the effects of the slave-trade were so ruinous, and the expenditure so great, that sometimes scarcely any reasonable hope seemed to remain. But from the time of the abolition of that abominable trade, when Sierra Leone was opened as an asylum for those who were rescued from captivity, every thing has succeeded to the extent even of the most sanguine expectations, it might be said, were it not that the climate is so dreadfully injurious to European constitutions. Many are the precious lives which have been thus lost. And can any thing affect the heart more deeply than the patient religious heroism with which men, in the prime of life and the very flower of their hopes, forsake friends and country for such a destination, knowingly to encounter this great and certain danger, with no worldly views, present or future, but self-devoted, and undeterred by the fate of their predecessors, who have fallen victims to the pestilence that walketh in noon-day!

One of the missionaries on this most important, but most perilous station, writes thus to the Committee:—'I have kept my health tolerably well since I wrote to you last: but my constitution is so broken, that a very little exertion obliges me to lie down to rest—not to say sick, but exhausted. Our physicians say, that had I visited Europe in due time, I should have been now as strong as ever I was. This induces me to suggest to the Committee, whether it might not be made a rule for missionaries coming hither in future, that, after staying a certain number of years, they should be permitted to return home for the purpose of recruiting their strength; for certainly in this country we do eat our bread by the sweat of our brow, and at the expense of our lives. The missionary would be animated by the hope of seeing his friends at the expiration of a given period, and of being refreshed both in body and soul; and our spiritual life needs as much re-animation as our bodies do after so much absence. When I say this, do not think that I myself should wish to leave my station. I have lived here sixteen years; now let me be buried with my people.'

The Committee, upon this affecting representation, very properly determined that the labourers in this mission should be authorized to visit Europe after the completion of every sixth year of residence in Africa, allowing them thus their Sabbatical year.

The good has been very great there. By the official returns in August, 1822, it appears that the population of Sierra Leone consisted of 16,671 souls, of whom more than 11,000 were ne-

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groes, rescued by our cruisers from slavery. Perhaps so much happiness and unmingled good were never before produced by the employment of a naval force. Eleven thousand human beings had then been rescued from the horrors of the middle passage, (horrors, be it remembered, which have been aggravated by the abolition of the slave-trade, such is the remorseless villainy of those who still carry on that infamous traffic,) though the mortality among them when they are first landed, arising from their treatment on board the slave-ships, has been dreadful. They are settled in villages, under the superintendance of missionaries or schoolmasters, sent out from this country, and of native teachers and assistants, whom the settlement now begins to supply. The effect of this training has been such, that though, when the population of the colony was only 4000, there had been forty cases in the calendar for trial, ten years after, when the population was upwards of 16,000, there were only six; and not a single case from any of the villages under the management of a missionary or schoolmaster. It is affirmed that the 'authority of the word of God, in connexion with Christian discipline, supersedes among them almost all necessity for human laws.' 'Most of those with whom I live,' says a missionary, (whose life has since been sacrificed in this good cause,) 'I have seen brought from the holds of slave-ships. I have seen them rise from the chains of the slave-dealer to become industrious men and women, pious Christians, affectionate husbands and wives, tender fathers and mothers, and peaceful neighbours. Considering these things, I have always thought myself among the happiest of men, in serving in this way our Lord Jesus Christ.' Would this true servant of his heavenly Master have exchanged that feeling for all the victories of Buonaparte and all his power, even if that power had been stable? Could any success in the pursuit of fame or fortune have given him a happiness equal in kind or in degree, to that which he thus deserved and obtained? Captain Sabine, of the Engineers, has authorized the Committee to state his testimony that, 'after spending six weeks in the colony, and closely and repeatedly inspecting the state of the liberated Africans, under the care of Christian instructors, the representation of their improved condition was perfectly true; and that in reference to the largest assemblage of them, at Regent's Town, their spirit and conduct are such, that he is persuaded there is not to be seen upon earth a community of equal size so truly exemplary.' A naval officer, who had seen much of the negroes in slavery, was so struck with the state of these, that he could hardly believe they had been under instruction only since the end of the year 1816. Inquiring what method had been pursued to bring them from the deplorable condition in which

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which they were received, to such a state in so short a time, Sir Charles M'Carthy replied, 'no other than teaching them the truths of Christianity, which these gentlemen were sent to propagate by the Church Missionary Society. By this alone they have ruled them, and have raised them to a common level with other civilized people; and believe me,' he added, 'if you admit Christian teachers into your island, you will find your negroes soon become affectionate and faithful servants to you.'

And here the difference between the system which has been thus successfully pursued, and that of the Jesuits in South America, should be noticed. It was a principle of the Jesuits to prevent, as far as they could, all intercourse between their people and the Spanish Americans. No such policy has been attempted here; and the good which has been done, has been effected in spite of the bad example of the disbanded soldiers and other settlers. To seclude them from the danger of that example would not have been possible; nor, if practicable, would it have been wise, the object being, not to keep these negroes (as the Jesuits did the Indians) in perpetual pupilage, but to train them in civilization, and bring them forward as an intellectual, Christian, and Protestant people, to take their part as British* subjects in a British colony. This they are already beginning to do, some of them having already acted as jurors in Freetown. One proof, how well these people have profited by the lessons they have received, and it may be added, one proof also of their kind disposition, is seen in their conduct towards their fellow negroes who are newly landed from the captured slave-ships. They vie with each other who shall clothe them, and take them to their houses as guests. They are fully sensible of the benefit which they have themselves received, and that whatever has been done for them, has been the effect of pure Christian benevolence; and therefore, according to their means, they contribute largely to the Church Missionary Association. There are between three and four thousand scholars in the different schools, and there is also a Christian Institution, or seminary, where youths are trained as assistants.

The Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, speaking of the

* Thus satisfactorily we are enabled to answer the question proposed by Mr. Caldcleugh in his Travels, 'What is the fate of the re-captured negro carried into Sierra Leone?' That gentleman was misinformed upon this subject when he added, 'would it not have been better for him to have quietly reached the Brazil shores, and been sent to work in a plantation, than to be marched about the Castle-yard in the tightened habits of a soldier, of all others the most galling to a black, and subsequently transported to our West India islands to fill up the ranks? I make these observations without meaning that any blame should be inferred, but only to show that the well-meant endeavours of legislators have decidedly not bettered the condition of the negro race.'—(vol. i. p. 91.) It is the more desirable that this mistaken representation should be contradicted, because it occurs in a work of some value and authority.

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conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, takes that opportunity of extolling the papal law of clerical celibacy. 'Had Augustine and his associates,' he says, 'been involved in the embarrassments of marriages they would never have torn themselves from their homes and country, and have devoted the best portion of their lives to the conversion of distant and unknown barbarians.' Other arguments, in defence of that injurious law, have been again and again confuted; and this assertion also, or rather the inference which he would draw from it, is now, like Muratori's bootless boast, abundantly disproved by facts. Married missionaries are employed by all the Protestant societies: the men are not found less alert in their vocation, nor less devoted to it because they have wives and children; and the women, in their station and degree, are not less meritoriously, nor less usefully employed than their husbands. They are missionaries of civilization, and most efficient ones;—helpmates in the truest sense of the word: half the business of education could not be conducted without them.

The Societies for promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel, whom it is impossible to mention without praise, or think of without mingled feelings of pride and veneration, use no endeavours for increasing their income by attracting notice, or by any other devices. They stand upon high ground, almost the acknowledged representatives of the English Church. But the missionary societies, appealing, as they needs must do, to popular feeling, are well aware that small means may be made conducive to the great end they have in view; finance being of necessity as anxious a subject with them as it was with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in those difficult years, when he had to discover what taxes might be laid on instead of what might be repealed. Some of their ways and means may serve to raise a smile; one devised for the school fund, was to propose that any person or persons who would subscribe five pounds annually, during six years, for educating a poor African child, should fix upon a name for that child, and by such subscriptions no trifling number have been provided for. It is however to be wished that, in all these cases, a vernacular surname might be preserved; for as little means are of importance in a work such as the societies have undertaken, so also, looking, like those societies, far before us, little things become of some moment in the course of human affairs. The field of history is already so wide that we are glad of every incidental help to memory; as that field is extended (and every generation is extending it) such help will more and more be required; and yet the propensity of Europeans to impose old names upon new places, and their own *propria quæ maribus* upon new people, will be found hereafter not a little to perplex

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perplex young readers, and sometimes to confuse old ones. One reason (in addition to the remoteness of the subject) why oriental history is so much less clearly recollected and arranged in the mind than that of the ancient or Christian world, is because the same names, with little variety, occur in all Mahommedan countries, and in all ages. There is no inconvenience at present in having black Gerard Noels and William Wilberforces, and Hannah Mores at Sierra Leone; but they should have their own names besides—good, honest, negro names, of African growth. The list would be found sufficiently ample without going to such appellations as the 'strong names' of the King of Dahomy, who in this respect went far beyond the ever-memorable Barebones, or Antonio of the Eleven Thousand Virgins Pereira. One of his strong names was, 'I am easy in my pace, but always in pursuit;' another, 'Wherever I rub I leave my scent;' a third was, 'The male oyster,' implying that he was 'hard to crack.'

This digression reminds us of another point which may possibly be more important in its consequences. The Wesleyan missionaries on the Gambia have taken up the practice of preaching to the negroes in their own broken English—the *talkee-talkee* tongue. It was asserted some years ago in Bolingbroke's Voyage to the Demerary, (the book of a very ingenious man,) that the Moravians had composed a grammar of this *patois*, and translated a book of hymns into it, and even the bible. The *patois* itself is well described there as including many African words, but having for its basis the English language, freed from inflections, and softened by a multitude of vowel terminations. That which is spoken by the French negroes is said to have a similar character. There is indeed a probability that many mixed languages may spring out of the corruption of the existing European tongues, in like manner as the great branches of these arose out of the debasement of the Latin; but the fewer the better. It should be the tendency of civilization not to increase the confusion of Babel, but to lessen it. There can be no necessity either for preaching or writing in broken English, because the negroes who converse in this jargon understand good English though they do not speak it, and children are just as easily taught the one as the other; but in proportion as the missionaries condescend to the vulgar speech for the sake of producing immediate effect, they counteract what the schools are doing. As connected with civilization this is a point of some importance; and with regard to literature, we have often thought how fortunate it is that Scotch should be the only written variety of our language, and that there is no Welsh-English nor Irish-English; that Tim Bobbin is the only vernacular Lancashire author, and the Exmoor Dialogue the only sample from the west.

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It is some consolation to think that when we shall have a Welsh Burns, or a great Irish Unknown, they must write in a language that every body will understand.

The missionaries at Sierra Leone have every thing in their favour, the climate alone excepted; that evil is indeed tremendous, and the scene of labour will of course be relinquished to men whose complexion and constitution are congenial to the region, as soon as a succession of qualified persons shall have been raised. The work is comparatively easy and certain there, because they have the present and effective countenance of the government, and appear to the persons under their care, unequivocally, as benefactors in the very highest degree. To be released from a French or Portugueze slave-ship, (no language can exaggerate the horrors of the middle passage in these vessels at this time;) to be restored to freedom, fed, clothed, treated not with mere humanity (which is due even to beasts,) but with a care and kindness that may truly be called parental, and placed in villages with their own countrymen, where, under the sure protection of equal laws, they have to labour for themselves alone, upon lands assigned to them as their own freeholds,—the negro's heart must be as impenetrable as that of the slave-dealer, if it were not open to the instructions of those who are the immediate agents in all this good. Is it too much to say that when an Englishman looks at Sierra Leone, and thinks of the part which France continues to take in the slave-trade, he may feel not less proud of his country than when he calls to mind the Peninsular war and the battle of Waterloo?

In New Zealand the missionaries are without any of the advantages which facilitate their efforts in West Africa, and they have difficulties of a peculiar kind to overcome. But concerning that fine country and what is doing there, we shall hereafter treat more at length than our present limits can allow. The direct benefit, which they have to offer there, is civilization, with all the blessings in its train. But the first great difficulty among savages is to make them sensible that civilization is a benefit, and that any of its consequences can compensate for that lawless liberty, which must be surrendered before it can be attained. They are in this respect like children, who must learn the grammar before they comprehend its use. The way is plainer in India, and the Society there, profiting by the experience of others, proceeds upon a sure course. Treading in the steps of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, it is supporting schools, raising up native teachers, catechists and missionaries; printing bibles and religious books, and supplying the Indian converts with the Liturgy of the Church of England in their own language, in which latter object the Prayer-Book and Homily Society takes an active part. This

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is an object of no little moment, especially in India. Mr. Corrie, one of the chaplains of the Honourable Company, by whom the Hindoostanee version was executed upon a thorough conviction of its importance and utility, has well observed that as both Mohammedans and Hindoos place the whole of their religion in forms and ceremonies, and even consider the repose of the soul to depend on the due performance of funeral rites, it must be expected 'that the absence of all forms and ceremonies in worship should be an additional obstacle in their minds to the reception of Christianity. Though grace may enable a man to forsake all for Christ, and to sit loose to all considerations of this kind, yet it seems desirable to meet, as far as possible, what may be called their innocent prejudices, and this the decent rites and ceremonies of the Church of England are calculated to do.' Both Mohammedans and Hindoos, when beginning to feel that the religion which is proposed to them is worth a thought, have asked, 'how do you worship? what are your methods of marriage and burial?' 'To such inquiries,' says Mr. Corrie, 'we can afford a satisfactory answer by supplying a copy of the book of Common Prayer; and I have known instances of natives of India spending the night in reading a copy of the Prayer Book, so eager were they to acquaint themselves with our mode of worship.'

This exemplary minister had one day performed the funeral service for a woman of the native congregation, when a heathen, seeing the number of persons who were returning from the burial, asked what English gentleman's funeral the Padre Sahib had been attending. One of the female Christians answered with a feeling of pride, 'No English gentleman is dead;—it is the remains of a poor woman like myself that have been interred with these honours.' On the same occasion a man came to Mr. Corrie, and said that his former prejudices concerning the respect due to the body after death had at times recurred to his mind, though they had not prevented him from adhering to the gospel; 'but now,' said he, 'I have not a wish ungratified. When I die, let Christian brethren be thus assembled, and hear the word of exhortation; and may I never be separated from your feet.'

It will not be irrelevant, while thus touching upon the funeral service, to bring forward in this place a curious instance of its effect. The story is related by Bishop Sprat, in a visitation sermon, as having happened within the compass of his own knowledge.

'It was immediately after the happy restoration of Charles II., when, together with the rights of the crown and the English liberties, the church and the liturgy were also newly restored, that a noted ringleader of schism in the former times was to be buried in one of the principal

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churches of London. 'The minister of the parish, being a wise and regular conformist, (and he was afterwards an eminent bishop in our church,) well knew how averse the friends and relations of the deceased had always been to the Common Prayer; which, by hearing it so often called a low rudiment, a beggarly element, and a carnal ordinance, they were brought to contemn to that degree, that they shunned all occasions of being acquainted with it. Wherefore, in order to the interment of their friend in some sort to their satisfaction, yet so as not to betray his own trust, he used this honest method to undeceive them. Before the day appointed for the funeral, he was at the pains to learn the whole office of burial by heart. And then the time being come, there being a great concourse of men of the same fanatical principles, when the company heard all delivered by him without a book, with a free readiness and profound gravity, and unaffected composure of voice, looks and gestures, and a very powerful emphasis in every part, (as indeed his talent was excellent that way,) they were strangely surprized and affected, professing they had never heard a more suitable exhortation, or a more edifying exercise, even from the very best and most precious men of their own persuasion. But they were afterwards much more surprized and confounded, when the same person who had officiated, assured the principal men among them, that not one period of all that he had spoken was his own, and convinced them by ocular demonstration how all was taken, word for word, out of the very office ordained for that purpose in the poor contemptible Book of Common Prayer. Whence he most reasonably inferred how much their ill-grounded prejudice and mistaken zeal had deluded them, that they should admire the same discourse when they thought it an unprepared, unpremeditated rapture, which they would have abominated, had they known it to be only a form prescribed by authority.'

One of Mr. Corrie's native congregation having been at Calcutta, where she had attended Christian worship in the language of the country, but without a liturgy, told him on her return, that the instruction which she had heard there was of the same kind as that which he delivered to his flock; 'but, sir,' she added, 'they had no form of prayer; and though that mode of worship may be well enough for clever people, it is better for such as I am to have a form, that we may know what we are about.' This is a fair testimony to the advantages of a liturgy, and it is much to be desired, that wherever the church missionaries establish themselves, a translation of our Prayer Book may accompany that of the Bible. There can be no better preservative against error and enthusiasm.

> 'Yes, if the intensities of hope and fear
> Attract us still, and passionate exercise
> Of lofty thoughts, the way before us lies
> Distinct with signs, thro' which in fixed career,
> As thro' a zodiac, moves the ritual year
> Of England's church.'—*Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Sketches.*

If indeed the other Protestant churches had been established upon

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upon a like liberal foundation with that of England, and had united with it in discipline and forms, the victory of the Reformation would, ere this, have been complete, and we should not have seen Popery and infidelity in some parts of Europe disputing for the sway, and in others dividing it. England, however, is acting in a manner beseeming that high station in which she is placed. The age of indifference is past. We have ecclesiastical establishments now in the East Indies and in the West: the beginning is made—more will undoubtedly be done as it becomes evident that more is needed, and meantime these voluntary exertions come timely in aid of this great measure of policy and duty. We have more than once used those words in apposition: for in true morals, in true Christian philosophy, God hath joined them together—let not man put them asunder!

We owe both those establishments primarily to the excellent Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel, those societies in these instances having, in some degree, supplied the place of the Convocation, which, unfortunately for this kingdom, has for so long a time been suspended. We owe to them also the Bishop's College in Calcutta, a foundation from which lasting and wide-spread benefits to the cause may be most reasonably expected; and we confidently hope that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel will be enabled to enlarge Codrington College, so as to make it what it ought to be, an institution of correspondent importance for the West Indies. Means surely will be afforded without stint by the zeal of our countrymen, when the great utility and practicable nature of the object are considered; when it is recollected that to this zealous but unpretending Society we are indebted for the English church in the United States, and in our remaining colonies in North America; and when, lastly, it is known that in the fearless pursuit of its incumbent duties, it has been compelled to exceed its annual revenues, and to encroach largely upon its capital fund.*

* We have seen letters from a gentleman who is attending the Bishop of Barbadoes in his visitation, which he commenced within a few days after his landing in that island. Describing the Codrington estate, he says—'We drove on to the school and chapel for the slaves, which have been erected by the zeal of Mr. Pindar, who is the chaplain on the estate, and the unbounded liberality of the excellent society which has the management of the funds. I wish it were in my power to communicate to you the feelings which this scene excited. The little black children were all dressed as nicely as a painter could wish; they read a chapter in the New Testament quite as well as any class in any national school in England;—there was the same emulation, the same eagerness to correct errors, the same precision. The teacher, Mary Douglas, had managed the whole school with perfect propriety during the illness of the school-mistress. The chapel, on the brow of a cliff, is beautiful indeed; and when we were about to descend to the college, which lies in the valley below, Mary Douglas came to beg we would come and hear them sing. We went into the school, and they and all of us sung the old 100th Psalm with great effect.'

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The Church Missionary Society complained at its outset, that there was a want of zeal in the clergy, a complaint hastily and unwarrantably made; for it has been seen, that when a call was made from the proper quarter it was answered; and answered by men of the most distinguished ability and character; by men not in the ardour of youth and hope, still less in the heat of enthusiasm; least of all, because they had their professional fortunes to seek; but in mature life, in sobriety of judgment, and the deliberate sense of duty; men who were the pride and ornament of their sacred order, and whose attainments and high deserts had placed them in the sure path to its highest stations in their own country, where they were living in the enjoyment of all the best advantages of society. It was an honour to the Church of England to possess such men; it is a greater honour thus to have parted with them; to have seen them at the call of duty go forth that they might extend the benefits of that church, and thereby promote the dearest interests of their fellow-subjects and of the human race.

ART. II.—1. *Monumenti della Toscana.* 1 vol. folio.

2. *Le Fabbriche più cospicue di Venezia, misurate, illustrate ed intagliate dai Membri della Veneta Reale Accademia di Belle Arti.* Venezia. 1815. 2 vols. large folio.

THAT it is useless to argue on matters of taste is an old maxim, true to a certain extent, but frequently applied beyond its legitimate limits. On many subjects of taste it is certainly impossible, at least no one has yet been able, to lay down precise rules, or to give reasons for our opinions. But this impossibility is by no means universal; the great principles, for example, on which architectural beauty depends, may, we think, be easily and plainly laid down, and in that confidence we propose to examine, at no great length, their application in Italy, the great seat of the arts; which, we trust, may not prove an unacceptable matter of discussion to our readers. We must premise by observing that it is not our intention to enter at all into minute details, nor into the difficult discussion of proportions, as we are aware that, whatever may be our opinions on these points, it would be impossible to render them either intelligible or amusing to our readers without the aid of accurate engravings. We shall equally avoid the consideration of Gothic architecture, as, in conjunction with the round arched styles of the middle ages, it would lead us into much too extensive a field of discussion. We are the more induced thus to limit our present subject, as the works of which it will be our duty to give some account, contain comparatively little information on the Gothic, Lombard, or Byzantine methods of building.

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We shall therefore merely inquire into the merit of the Grecian, or rather of the Palladian architecture of Italy, though indeed the latter term is not quite correctly applicable, as the style so denominated arose before the birth of that illustrious architect.

The great principles on which architectural beauty and grandeur depend, appear to us to be these; *Utility*,* *Simplicity*, *Variety*, *Richness or Ornament*, and to these we may add a fifth quality, where it is applicable, we mean *Magnitude*. Many of our readers would perhaps increase the list by introducing *Proportion* into it; but we believe that in all cases the beauty of proportion may in a very great degree be referred to one or other of the qualities we have before mentioned; and in whatever degree it cannot, we think that it falls completely within the due limits of the maxim already quoted, and that it must be left to the judgment and improved eye of taste. The merit then of any species of architecture must consist in its possessing the four great characteristics of Utility, Simplicity, Variety, and Richness, or at any rate, the three first, which may be considered as absolutely essential. In the union of these certainly lies the difficulty of architecture and the merit of the architect; and from their extraordinary union in the Grecian columnar temple, we conceive to arise the great beauty of that species of building. The two qualities which are peculiarly difficult to unite, are Simplicity and Variety, and they are so, because in a considerable degree contrary to each other. Without the first, a building may be considered as tawdry, and without the second as poor.

The means, by which these two almost opposite effects were produced by the Greek architects in those edifices which have obtained for them the never failing admiration of every age of taste and refinement, we apprehend to be these. The leading principle of Grecian architecture is straight, or rather horizontal and perpendicular lines, and from adopting these in all the great parts of the building much uniformity and simplicity are at once attained—to contrast with these, and to produce variety, curves are as studiously introduced into all the details—the columns are circular in their shafts; their flutings, their bases, the cima recta, reversa, &c. of the entablature are merely varieties of curves, and the most graceful curves in nature are imitated in the capitals and friezes. Again, variety was obtained in a different manner, and in a much greater degree, by the alternation of strong light and deep shade produced by the colonnade of a temple, where

'——— pillar and pillar alternately,
Seemed framed of ebon and ivory.'

* We need hardly observe that in the quality of Utility, Strength and Duration are of course included.

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This last and most important species of Variety, it may be remarked, equally exists in the Doric order, which possesses but little of the other ornaments of Grecian architecture, and its characteristic is therefore rather grandeur than beauty, though it sometimes received a magnificent degree of ornament from the insertion of the finest sculpture in its metopes and pediments.

The Variety produced by the alternate play of light and shade in the colonnades of the ancients, would have been too great for Unity and Simplicity, if they had not added long and continued entablatures above, and frequently steps below, thus binding, as it were, the columns together, and uniting them into one whole. To all these was added the Pediment, a part of the building absolutely necessary for its utility, and of great beauty when not too high. The Greek architects were quite aware of the necessity of this qualification, as we may see from their works; but their imitators at Rome were not, if we may judge from the comparatively acute angle of the pediment of the Pantheon; while, on the other hand, there are beautiful instances of low pediments as applied to the Corinthian order, in the temple at Assisi, and in the Maison Carrée at Nismes. Why a pediment of a low pitch should please the eye more than one of an acuter angle may be difficult to ascertain; we conceive it to be because it is more consonant to the horizontal lines which prevail in the edifice, and because it suggests the ideas of a finer climate, and of more skill in the architect in adapting his roof to it.

We consider these to be the great principles on which the beauty and grandeur of Grecian architecture depend; as to proportions, they must derive their beauty in a great degree from their fitness; the shorter the columns the greater must be their apparent as well as real strength; but to prevent their degenerating into rudeness, it was necessary that they should not be too much so, and the due medium could only be ascertained by repeated trials; that medium must of course also depend on the nature of the building to which it was applied, and on the appearance of strength or elegance, grandeur or beauty which the architect intended to give it; the same observations apply to intercolumniations.

We have mentioned *magnitude* as one of the sources of architectural magnificence, which we think no one will deny; but there is one species of magnitude that is absolutely necessary to grandeur, and sometimes indeed produces it by itself; we mean magnitude of *materials*. It is from this source alone that the grandeur of the solid walls of the ancients is derived, and from the same cause arises the extreme grandeur of the rude cromlechs and temples of the Druids, and especially of our magnificent Stonehenge. The cause of this is the idea of strength and power, which

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which the sight of great masses instinctively raises in the mind of the beholder. The converse of the same principle always produces a degree of meanness in a brick building, whatever may be the excellence of its design—an army is naturally associated in the mind of every one with ideas of courage, of danger, and of power, and it is therefore sublime; but an army of pigmies, or of dwarfs, is only ludicrous. The effect of ancient Roman bricks may be alleged in opposition to this opinion; but we think that their very antiquity, together with their great comparative length, do away the meanness that would otherwise belong to them.

In our admiration of ancient architecture we must not be too indiscriminate; the ancient architects were, after all, but fallible men; some indeed among them were strongly endowed with the perception of what was grand and noble in their art, while others were feeble imitators or tasteless innovators. The *principles* of Grecian architecture, those principles which were sanctioned by an Ictinus or a Callicrates, we may safely follow, but all the *practices* of individual ancient architects are not to be accounted of equal authority; in Italy many dangerous precedents exist; most of them probably belonging to a period when architecture as well as sculpture was rapidly declining.

Of these we have mentioned one instance, belonging indeed to a better era, in the high pediment of the Pantheon at Rome; a building to which, at the same time, we are greatly indebted for setting the example of the beautiful domes which adorn so many of our modern churches. Other ancient Roman buildings, particularly their triumphal arches, gave examples of breaking the entablatures into small portions, a part projecting over each column or pair of columns; thus entirely destroying the great bond of unity in the edifice, as well as preventing the fine effect produced by the depth of shade which a broad and continued entablature casts. We may here observe, by the way, how admirably adapted was the columnar Grecian architecture to the warm climates whence it drew its origin, not only in point of utility as a shelter from the heat of the sun, but also in point of beauty, as every hour of the day would furnish a new and picturesque variety of light and shade.* Another innovation of the ancient architects on the simplicity of the principles of their art, was the piling of order on order, and the mixing together what was essentially distinct; that this innovation was sometimes productive of a good effect, we shall not take upon ourselves

* Milizia says 'offrono i Peristili una varietà che per così dire si muove ad ogni 'passo, presentando una infinità di quadri sempre variati e dilettevoli. L' architettura 'non può offrire maggiore bellezze.' He does not seem however aware of the particular species of variety to which we have referred.

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to deny; after the example of the Coliseum it would be idle to do so: but undoubtedly it was dangerous, and its imitation has introduced much confusion and deformity into the art; indeed this innovation may plead in its defence some very plausible arguments, from the obvious necessity of giving greater lightness to the upper, and greater solidity to the lower parts of the building, as well as the propriety of marking in some degree the nature of the internal arrangement, by the division of parts on the exterior of an edifice. The latter argument has indeed we think more of apparent than real force, as all that is really necessary is, that an edifice should not, by its imposing exterior, excite hopes of internal magnificence to be afterwards disappointed. The placing of columns on pedestals was another innovation, first introduced we believe, and perhaps from necessity, in the Roman triumphal arches; this is destructive of the fine effect of a flight of steps, or continued basement, uniting as a bond the building together below, in the same way as it is united above by the entablature; it has besides the further ill effect of changing entirely the proportions of the pillars, as a separate pedestal is, in fact, nothing more than a monstrous base or plinth to the column which stands upon it. Another ancient innovation, of no frequent occurrence, was the spiral fluting of columns; this practice is inconsistent with the essential principle of straight lines, which pervades Grecian architecture, and from its very nature introduces a degree of crookedness, if we may so call it, and of apparent weakness, which has a very disagreeable effect—this effect the ancients appear to have endeavoured in some degree to obviate by turning the spiral line of a pair of columns in opposite directions, thus opposing one weakness and one obliquity to another; a contrivance which reminds us of the beauty of a person who squints with both eyes, instead of one. The Roman Doric, Tuscan, and Composite styles we consider as meritorious inventions rather than innovations, properly so called. The Grecian or genuine Doric is certainly superior in grandeur and majesty to its more recent rival, but the latter has some capabilities not possessed by the former. In the application of Grecian architecture to modern buildings, it is fair to recollect that considerable difficulties arise. We have no examples of ancient columnar architecture as applied to private buildings, at least none worth mentioning; the great edifices of the ancients, which have survived to our days, are temples, aqueducts, theatres, amphitheatres, and triumphal arches; the imitation of the first of these is alone applicable to modern buildings, at least generally speaking. The ancient temples usually consisted of a small internal chamber or cella, and a colonnade round it. Into this cella the public did not

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not enter, and it required neither much space, nor much light; our Christian temples, on the other hand, require both, with all the deformities of windows and window frames, which Gothic architecture, with an almost magic charm, has converted into beauties. In the colder climates of France and England, disengaged columns too are frequently objectionable, as intercepting the welcome rays of the sun, which at the same time are not sufficiently constant for the beautiful varieties of light and shade to which we have already alluded. This consideration, together with the great saving of expense and of space, has occasioned the frequent use of three-quarter columns in modern buildings, and, we will add, has fully justified it in many cases, though certainly not in works of great magnificence, as in the principal front of St. Peter's.

The great proportional height of modern houses, as compared to that of ancient temples, has driven architects to the use of order above order, and, sometimes, when judiciously managed, with very good effect; though we must confess that we prefer a rustic basement with a single order above. When Palladian architecture became universal through Italy, its promoters seem to have considered as authority every building that was ancient, and it in consequence frequently happened that most barbarous edifices rose 'like exhalations.'—In these buildings, and particularly in the fronts of the churches, were seen columns placed on high pedestals, supporting entablatures that projected over each column; over these, columns of a different order; above, another broken entablature, ending frequently in a high pediment, cut in the middle like a mitre, as if to catch the rain instead of driving it off—these columns being only three-quarters, and, very possibly, the entablatures and pediments over the doors and windows also broken.—Thus were produced buildings totally deficient in every principle of Grecian architecture; having neither the repose of flat surfaces, nor the simplicity of connected lines, nor the variety produced by the alternate play of light and shade, and perhaps full of ornament in every part except where the ancients bestowed the greatest richness, we mean the frieze, and the pediment, which were left entirely plain. Those who have travelled over Italy will not consider our description as overcharged.

Of all these defects, the breaking the summit of the pediment is certainly the worst, and, we believe, entirely without ancient precedent in the classic lands of Greece and Italy;* and it is frequently

* When we say that the breaking of the pediment is *without ancient example* in Greece and Italy, we think it right to observe that representations of broken pediments occur in the strange ancient architectural paintings which form a portion of the gallery of

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frequently accompanied by another barbarism, equally unauthorised, we mean a practice, when the upper colonnade is narrower than the lower on account of the side aisles, of placing on each side of the upper story a sort of ugly volute or ear.* We are sorry to be compelled to add that the churches built by the father of modern architecture are not free from several of these defects. The palaces built in his age are perhaps generally better than the churches. Those by himself at Vicenza are not in general the best of the time, but we should here recollect that the taste and science of an architect are frequently obliged to bend to the ignorant caprice of his patrons. This has been the case with respect to the Palazzo Chiericati at Vicenza; a very magnificent design in its greater parts, and of very pure taste, but very much injured by ugly stucco ornaments over the windows, and miserable statues and pinnacles on the roof. The latter must have been additions to the original design, as they do not appear in the engraving in Palladio's works.—This palace is of two stories of unfluted columns, Doric below, and Ionic above.—The lower columns are detached, and the side ones of the upper range are detached also, the central columns being only three-quarters. The Doric frieze, which is unbroken, is very beautiful, and ornamented with shields and bulls'-heads in the metopes. The Ionic entablature is perhaps too plain.

The Olympic Theatre at Vicenza is another of Palladio's most celebrated works—the proscenium is extremely ingenious—it is of wood, representing a magnificent arch, looking down five streets, which are also of wood, and built in perspective, if we may be allowed such an expression. This proscenium is, in its architecture, very rich, but it is miserably broken into small parts. Its two ranges of Corinthian columns stand on pedestals; its entablatures are all broken; it has an attic and is completely overloaded with statues, while the legitimate richness arising from fluting the columns, and ornamenting the friezes, has been unaccountably neglected. The range of Corinthian columns that surround the pit, is simple and beautiful.

The Rotunda is another remarkable edifice near Vicenza, built by Palladio. It is a square building, in the centre of which is a large circular room with a cupola, and it has four colonnades,

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of Portici, and that they are also to be found in the magnificent ruins of Balbec, where indeed they are not the only proofs that splendour and taste do not always and necessarily go together. We may here remark that the beautiful little ornaments of the ancient pediments, called Acroteria, are almost always omitted by modern architects.

* 'The lower order must project on each side beyond the upper, in order to cover the aisles. To palliate their inequality, the upper order is flanked by two huge reversed consoles like inverted ears, producing a mixt polygon, a vicious outline, both straight and curved, more fit for joinery than for regular architecture.'—*Forsyth's Italy.*

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each of six Ionic unfluted columns, with a flight of steps and a pediment. The entablature over the column is broken in a strange manner, for the purpose of placing an inscription over the middle intercolumniation, and there are two frightful oval holes* for windows in each pediment, which very much injure the general effect. The handsome circular hall is much deformed by some freak in stucco, with which its architect had probably nothing to do. Our readers are probably aware that the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick is imitated from this edifice.

The Church of Il Redentore, at Venice, is the most beautiful ecclesiastical building designed by Palladio, and perhaps altogether the most *beautiful* church in Italy, though inferior to many in costliness and magnitude. Its façade is a simple colonnade of three-quarter composite columns unfluted, and the pediment and entablature are unbroken. It would have been an improvement certainly, to disengage the columns; but it is a greater defect, though justified perhaps by necessity, the formation of the side aisles by half pediments on each side of the building. We think also that the want of sculpture in the pediment is a considerable deficiency, particularly in so rich an order as the composite. The interior, also designed by Palladio, is very handsome.

Our limits will not allow us to criticise any of the other works of Palladio, but we think we may do an agreeable service to those of our readers who may visit Italy, by mentioning that Signore Pinale of Verona, a gentleman who himself has considerable architectural taste and talents, is the fortunate possessor of some very valuable original designs of Palladio, which were never executed, but which perhaps do him more credit than any of his existing edifices; besides a number of drawings of the ancient ruins of Italy, by the same great architect. Among these original designs, is one for the bridge of the Rialto, extremely beautiful; and there are also others which prove that the taste of Palladio was much more simple and correct than might have been supposed from his existing palaces and churches. The same inference may also be drawn from his published works. At Brescia, in the garden of the Palazzo Martinengo Dobblo, is a sort of summer-house of very correct and tasteful Corinthian architecture, with a colonnade and low pediment with sculpture in it, recently built from a design of Palladio, as we were informed, though this design we have never been able to see.

* These windows must have been perforated since the erection of the building, as they do not appear in the engraving in Palladio's works. Other instances of deviations from the architect's designs, and generally for the worse, may be discovered by comparing the buildings at Vicenza with Palladio's original engravings.

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Nearly contemporary with Palladio, flourished at Venice, Sansovino, an architect of considerable talents, but, we think, inferior to Palladio in elegance of taste, and to San Micheli in genius.* Many of his edifices are, however, extremely beautiful. Of these, one of the principal is the Libreria Vecchia, a building of two stories, supported by Doric and Ionic columns with arches between them, and balustrades over each order. The Ionic columns rest on pedestals, which form part of the balustrade. The entablatures are unbroken. In both orders the frieze is unusually large, especially in the Ionic, in which the architect has adopted the bold measure of perforating small oval windows, from which depend festoons of flowers, supported by little cupids. By this ingenious contrivance, the heaviness of the entablature and the necessity of an attic have been obviated, but the experiment is too hazardous to be tried by any architect without an over-ruling necessity.

At Verona, about the same period, flourished San Michell, an architect of great abilities, and of a genius more bold and masculine, but less elegant than Palladio's. This is proved by his apparent preference of the Rustic and Doric styles to the Ionian or Corinthian. Of his architecture at Verona, the Palazzo Pompei is perhaps the best specimen. The lower story is Rustic, with an arched entrance and windows. Above is a balustrade, over which rise eight single fluted Roman-Doric three-quarter columns, with a continued Doric frieze and a deep cornice. In each intercolumniation is a round arched window, with a head for a key-stone, the middle bust being a Bacchus, and the others rather grotesque masks of satyrs, with rams' horns. There is a simplicity about this façade which is very noble and striking. The Palazzo Bevilacqua, also designed by him, is of two stories, Rustic, with pilasters, and over them a continued projecting balustrade, and Corinthian columns fluted perpendicularly and spirally, with a continued entablature and rich frieze. The contrast between the Corinthian and Rustic stories is too strong, particularly as the former is overloaded with ornament, the ostentatious effect of which is increased by the spiral fluting. Altogether we should say that it is neither grand nor elegant, but certainly rich and handsome, and its projecting balustrade and continued entablature have a fine effect. The Palazzo Canossa and that of the Gran Guardia, which is Rustic and Doric, are in much better taste, uniting much simplicity with sufficient richness.

The Capelli Pellegrini in the church of San Bernardino, also

* He was indeed born nearly thirty years before his great rival, but as he lived to a great age, their deaths were only separated by an interval of ten years, Sansovino dying in the year 1570, and Palladio in 1580.

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at Verona, is a specimen by Sammicheli of a different description from those we have mentioned. It is a circular edifice of Corinthian architecture, rather deformed by the alternate pairs of columns having spiral flutings, yet upon the whole simple and elegant. The Palazzo Grimani on the Canal Grande at Venice, is another noble specimen of his skill, and is indeed one of the most magnificent buildings in Italy. It is of three stories, the lowest supported by fluted Corinthian pilasters, and the two others by fluted three-quarter columns, also Corinthian, and is the only instance with which we are acquainted, of the repetition of the same order. The internal arrangement is also much commended in Count Cicognara's work.

Contemporary with Palladio, though his junior and surviving him nearly thirty years, flourished Scamozzi. His principal work is the Palazzo Trissino at Vicenza, a building of two stories, the basement supported by Ionic columns, and the upper by Corinthian pilasters, both unfluted,—the upper entablature is unfortunately broken. In Count Cicognara's work he is criticised severely for his addition of a third story to the Procuratie Nuove of Sansovino, at Venice. He has here altogether omitted the frieze in the entablature, which crowns the edifice; an inexcusable license. This is the more to be regretted, as the friezes of the two other orders are very rich and imposing.

We cannot leave the consideration of the buildings in Venice, without noticing one of the most beautiful in that city. Those of our readers who have never visited the Queen of the Adriatic, will be surprised when we name the public prison, a Rustic and Doric edifice, combining, in the highest degree, grandeur and majesty with the simplicity and strength which should characterise a place of confinement. It was designed by Antonio da Ponte, the architect of the bridge of the Rialto. The basement story of this building is a rustic arcade, with lions' heads for key-stones, alluding probably to the Venetian republic, by which it was erected. A continued cornice divides it from the upper story which is also Rustic, adorned with an unfluted Doric order. Over the arches are windows, with simple balustrades and alternately circular and triangular pediments, and to crown the whole, an unbroken Doric entablature.

Turning our attention south of Lombardy, the earliest architect to whom we shall direct the attention of our readers, is Brunelleschi, who flourished a century before Palladio, and gained the highest honour by the design of the cupola of the cathedral of Florence, a work on which the admiration of Michael Angelo would have stamped immortality, even though the edifice had ceased to exist. The merit of the interior of the church of Santo

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Spirito at Florence is also considerable, particularly considering its early date. At the same time, however, that we pay the highest respect to the genius of Brunelleschi, our readers must not suppose that we intend to consider architecture as attaining in his hands the degree of elegance to which it arrived in the north of Italy. The next great architect in order of time was Leon Battista Alberti, the designer of the church of St. Andrea, at Mantua, a very noble building, and of very simple architecture. The nave transept, and choir are each of one aisle, coupled composite columns, with a continued entablature, supporting the semi-circular roof.—The west end is incorrect, though handsome, but we think it is by a later architect. Alberti was one of the earliest writers on his profession.

We may here remark how nearly the arts of design are allied, and how often in Italy two, at least, of them have been united in the same person. Giotto, Raphael, Giulio Romano, Domenichino, and Pietro da Cortona were all distinguished architects as well as painters, while Sansovino and Bernini added sculpture, and Michael Angelo both the sister arts to architecture. The union of painting and architecture we think auspicious to both; that the judicious and correct use of the latter is capable of increasing the charms of the finest picture can be doubted by no one who has seen the magnificent effects that Paul Veronese has produced by these means. On the other hand a practical knowledge of painting is likely to be very advantageous to an architect, not only by making him more sensible of the effects of form, and light, and shade, but also by rendering him more aware of the good or bad *local* associations of any particular style of architecture in a particular situation. We are not equally sure of the advantage to an architect of adding sculpture to his acquirements, as it may induce him to sacrifice in some measure the general form or distribution of a building to its less important details, and to the wish of introducing his other, and perhaps favourite, profession; a possibility which Sansovino is believed to have realised in the Loggia at Venice. However, the greatest statuary of the Christian æra erected the magic dome of St. Peter's, while the Raphael of sculpture, whose recent loss is lamented by the whole civilized world, has displayed his taste no less than his munificence in the church which he intended to grace the place of his birth.

The church of St. Peter's, with its superb cupola, its prodigious dimensions, and its extraordinary riches of sculpture and mosaic painting, is undoubtedly the most magnificent Christian temple in the world. The language of enthusiasm, at once poetic and religious, has been exhausted in celebrating its praises, and it

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it really requires some freedom from prejudice and some self-command, as well as boldness, to be able to form, and to venture to express a dispassionate, calm opinion upon its merits and defects. We cannot help thinking, that considering the talents which were employed in its erection, the great length of time consumed betwixt its commencement and its termination, and the unbounded expense lavished on it, it is rather surprising that it is not much more magnificent; and we are perfectly convinced, that if the same unlimited means were placed at the disposal of some living architects, this would be the result. The great entrance to it is through a court surrounded by an oval Doric colonnade; this was indeed a grand conception, but its execution is open to some criticism. This court is adorned by an ancient obelisk, and two fountains of the utmost simplicity and elegance. The front itself is certainly rich and handsome, but it is very inferior to what it ought to have been, considering the importance of the building to which it belongs. It has many of the faults to which we have before alluded. Its columns are merely three-quarters, its windows look like very unsightly holes, and it has an ugly attic above its colonnade. Let any of our readers compare this front, with the western façade of our own St. Paul's, or still more with that of St. Genevieve at Paris, and they will see how much greater magnificence has been produced on a much smaller scale.

On entering St. Peter's, every observer is astonished that its dimensions appear so much less than they really are. This has been attributed to the justness of the proportions of the building, and strangely enough has been adduced as a merit. On a very little consideration this must appear a most extraordinary error. If indeed it be owing to the proportions of St. Peter's that it appears less than it is, this must be considered as a proof, not that its proportions are exactly what they ought to be, but that there is something wrong about them; for its magnificent dimensions are generally and justly regarded as one fit cause of our admiration, and therefore *that* must be thought a defect which conceals their immensity. If, on the other hand, it be a merit in the proportions of St. Peter's that they diminish to the eye its real size, then that size must be a defect, and the expense and labour of producing it must have been more than wasted. In truth, however, we doubt altogether the justness of the theory which attributes to the general proportions of a building unassisted by its darkness or lightness, the power of diminishing or augmenting the *whole* magnitude of a building. We think the true cause of the apparent diminution of St. Peter's, in part at least, may be the great magnitude of the numerous statues in the church. These

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are, in fact, all colossal, and as our eye is accustomed to statues more near the size of life, they serve as a false standard by which we measure the church in which they stand.* We suspect also that statues of white marble have, from their brilliancy of colour, the appearance of being much nearer to the eye than they really are, which must of course diminish their apparent magnitude, and render the scale afforded by them still more fallacious. The great light of St. Peter's, especially when contrasted, as it will be involuntarily by all foreigners, with the gloominess of their own Gothic cathedrals, contributes to the same effect of reducing its seeming dimensions.

On the whole, the interior of St. Peter's is very handsome, so handsome that our remarks may seem too minute, and hypercritical, when there is so much to admire; but we cannot help regretting that the entablature over the pilasters of the nave is so much broken, and that the beautiful frieze, which is over two of them, has not been continued. As it is, it only serves to make the deficiency more striking. We also think that there is too great a mixture of differently coloured marbles in the arches that support the nave, and the capella papale is certainly a disgrace to so noble, and generally simple an edifice. It is a singular circumstance that the tall fluted and reeded Corinthian pilasters between the arches of the nave, are only painted in imitation of white marble. The retrenchment of some of the superfluous ornaments of the church would probably have sufficed to have made them what they pretend to be. Of the cupola we have already intimated the highest admiration, and the only change which, to our apprehension, would render it more beautiful, we mean the continuing the entablature over its pilasters, would perhaps add too much to its weight for the security of the building. After all, the continuance of an internal entablature is of much less importance, as, in truth, any cornice within a building is rather a solecism, it being properly and originally the projection of the roof; for this remark we are indebted to Milizia, who suggests that it would be better in the interior of a building to omit the cornice altogether, making use of a simple frieze. It is difficult to conceive the splendid effect of the architecture of St. Peter's, when the illuminated cross, notwithstanding its own extreme brilliance, casts a dim religious light over all the more remote parts of the edifice; while those which wholly

* Mr. Forsyth has attributed this to another, but analogous cause.—He says, 'St. Paul's is great because every thing around it is little; at Rome the eye is accustomed to nobler dimensions, and measures St. Peter's by a larger scale.' The Coliseum and the semi-circular colonnade of St. Peter's itself are indeed of such gigantic dimensions, that it is no wonder if the church should suffer by such a scale, and perhaps this may be in part the cause of the apparent diminution we are now considering. Milizia, in his Dizionario delle Belle Arti, article Proporzioni, has given the same reason which we have adopted, for the apparent diminution of St. Peter's.

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relief from its effulgence are thrown into the deepest shade.—Then indeed the church appears in its real gigantic proportions, all its minor defects are lost in the magnificence and sublimity of the whole; and we are compelled to confess that it is worthy to be the chief temple of the great city, which claims for itself the pre-eminence of Christendom.

The principal front of the church of St. John Lateran is well worthy of our admiration, and has indeed a very fine effect, chiefly from the existence of that contrast of light and shade which is wanting in that of St. Peter's. It is, however, of a much more recent date, and does honour to its designer Galilei, and to the early part of the eighteenth century.

Of the palaces of Rome, we think the Farnese, built by San Gallo, Michael Angelo, and Giacomo della Porta, is by far the handsomest, and is indeed a building of noble simplicity.

To Michel Angelo we are also indebted for the three beautiful, though very incorrect palaces of the Capitol, as we are to Raphael for the grand façade of the Palazzo Stoppani, consisting of a Doric colonnade resting on a rustic basement, with an attic over an unbroken entablature. The rustic work in this palace is particularly well managed. The attic was probably a subsequent addition, certainly not an improvement. The columns are coupled, and of the Roman, and not the Grecian Doric order, as is the case indeed with all the Doric columns employed by modern Italian architects. Vignola flourished about the same period, and distinguished himself by the simplicity and general purity of his structures; of this the little church of St. Andrea, near the Porta del Popolo, is a proof. He was also a celebrated writer on his profession.

While St. Peter's was still in progress at Rome, Giulio Romano, the first scholar of Raphael, was employing his great talents as an architect, as well as a painter, for the ornament of the city of Mantua. No town was ever probably so much indebted to a single individual. The interior of the cathedral is a splendid monument of his genius. This church consists of five aisles, or seven, including the side chapels. That in the middle is of two stories, the lower of fluted and reeded Corinthian columns, the upper of Corinthian pilasters, with the entablatures unbroken. The ceiling of this aisle is flat, of the two on each side of it semicircular, and of the two outer aisles, flat again. These side-aisles are separated from each other by columns like those of the middle aisles. It has a handsome dome, and a handsome chapel with another cupola, but we are not sure that the latter was designed by Giulio Romano. The front of his own house is of a simple and singular architecture, but productive of

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good effect. He was not free from the affectation of singularity, and from a wish to innovate, but his innovations are quite his own; unauthorized by precedent, and unadopted by others, though they have injured some of his own buildings, they have not been prejudicial to those of others. Some of them are to be seen in the Palazzo del Te, particularly a sort of subsidence in a Doric frieze, which gives it an appearance of weakness, as inconsistent as possible with the character of the order, and very displeasing to the eye. There is an arcade in this palace, supported by a sort of pilaster, formed by four Doric columns together, which has an extremely good effect; perhaps he may have been indebted for the idea, to the clustered columns of the Gothic architects.

After this period the architecture of Italy began rapidly to decline; all taste for simplicity and grandeur gave way to the overruling love of ornament,* and every architect added to the innovations of a former age, those of his own distempered imagination. This is the ordinary process of human nature. Every art commences rudely. It is gradually improved by men of genius, whose faults are unfortunately more easily imitable than their perfections, and are consequently canonised. Their performances, which are really admirable in spite of their defects, are considered to be so in consequence of them. Others of more genius than taste, and more ambition than either, add their own monstrous novelties, till the art either sinks overwhelmed by its defects, or suddenly shakes them off and returns to better principles and better precedents. Thus, in our own country, Gothic architecture may probably owe its extinction to the excess of labour and cost, and the deficiency of simplicity and grandeur in what has been termed the florid style. Grecian architecture has been more fortunate. The discovery of the grand and magnificent, though entirely unornamented Temple of Neptune at Pæstum, and the increased access to the models of Grecian taste, has introduced a better æra, and the follies of Borromini and his contemporaries are shaken off like the dreams of a feverish imagination. There is now, we think, no danger that any architect will imitate the monstrous inventions of serpentine façades, harp-

* Mr. Forsyth, after remarking of the churches of Rome, that they are admirable only in detail; that their materials are rich, the workmanship exquisite, the orders all Greek; thus continues, 'But how are those orders employed? In false fronts which, rising into two stages of columns, promise two stories within; in pediments under pediments and in segments of pediments; in cornices for ever broken by projections projecting from projections; in columns and pilasters, and fractions of pilasters, grouped round one pillar. Thus Grecian beauties are clustered by Goths; thus capitals and bases are coupled or crushed, or confounded in each other; and shafts rise from the same level to different heights, some to the architrave, and some only to the impost. Ornaments for ever interrupt or conceal ornaments: accessories are multiplied till they absorb the principal: the universal fault is the too many and the too much.'

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sichord palaces, fleur de lys capitals, and windows which rather deserve the name of crooked apertures.* Among the first revivers of a purer style was Scalfarotto, who, in the beginning of the last century, designed at Venice the church of San Simeone Minore, the first church in Italy adorned by an imitation of a genuine Grecian temple, for its façade. Its unbroken entablature, and pediment enriched with sculpture, are supported by six disengaged Corinthian columns. It is true that much fault may be found with the minor details of this structure, and its cupola particularly is much too high; but it is a great merit in the designer to have been the first to point out the road to real excellence, at the very time when his countrymen were deviating the most widely from it. This example was soon after followed by Tirali, in the front which he added to Scamozzi's church of San Niccolo da Tolentini, also at Venice; but we believe that these, with the two churches at the entrance of the Corso at Rome, are the only modern churches in Italy with an open colonnade in front of them, which is surprising, with the two ancient examples in the Pantheon, and the beautiful Corinthian façade of St. Maria della Minerva, at Assisi, to invite imitation. Temanza, another celebrated architect at Venice, was scholar to Scalfarotto, and built the elegant Ionic Rotunda, dedicated to the Magdalen. In the north of Italy, the palaces came in for their share of the improvement of the national taste, and Ottone Calderara particularly distinguished himself by his simplicity and elegance, and his knowledge of the true principles on which the beauty of Grecian architecture depends. The Loschi and Bessaro palaces at Vicenza, and the Seminario at Verona, are noble specimens of his skill.

Among the Italian architects now living, Canonici, and the Marchese Cagnola, are deserving of the highest commendation—the first† for the palazzo Belloni at Milan, the front of which is perhaps, for its size, the most beautiful of any private building in Italy. It consists of a rustic basement story, with a balustrade, on which rests a disengaged colonnade of six fluted Ionic columns, with an unbroken entablature, and above it another balustrade with statues. The Marchese Cagnola, besides many unadopted and magnificent designs, designs unadopted because too magnificent, is the architect of the yet unfinished but noble arch of the

* For specimens of these absurdities and deformities, we refer our travelled readers to the Borghese and Doria palaces, and to the churches of San Marcello, San Carlo alle quattro Fontane, and Santa Maria Maddalena degli infermi, all at Rome. The last mentioned building is indeed, both within and without, the very perfection of bad taste and outrageous ornament.

† We are not quite certain that we have rightly named the architect of this building, and have not at this moment the means of ascertaining the point.

Simplon,

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Simplon, and of the beautiful Porta di Marengo at Milan, which is in truth the façade of a pure Ionic temple. We think him, indeed, more thoroughly imbued with the true spirit of Grecian architecture than any of his predecessors, since the revival of the art, and can only express our regret that he has not made public some of those beautiful designs which gave us so much pleasure from their inspection, and which from their nature are very little likely to be ever realised in a more solid manner. We particularly allude to his designs for an Hospice on Mount Cenis, and for a triumphal bridge.

Architectural taste has improved in Rome as well as the rest of Italy. Of this we are unable to produce any considerable illustration drawn from the exterior of any modern fabrics, but the internal elegance of several of the modern apartments of the Vatican is very considerable, particularly of the great staircase, the new gallery of statues, and the small, but very pure and beautiful rotunda, which is called the Camera della Bign. The staircase too of the Braschi palace is one of the most beautiful in Europe.

The magnificence of Genoa and its streets of palaces, are probably familiar, by report at least, to most of our readers. This magnificence, we are sorry to say, is in general very deficient in real architectural taste. Out of the few buildings which we think worthy of especial notice, we despair of giving any intelligible description of the handsome staircase which ornaments one of the Durazzo palaces, and shall therefore not attempt it. There is in the Palazzo Serra, a modern room of singular splendour, and singular ingenuity. Each of the longer sides of this apartment is supported with fluted Corinthian half-columns against the wall, the middle intercolumniation being the largest and arched. This and the two nearest intercolumniations are entirely filled with mirrors, the frames of which are the half-columns themselves. Against the central mirrors are suspended from the arch, handsome half lustres, which are rendered entire by the reflexion, the same result also taking place with the columns. These golden columns as they appear, and brilliant lustres, are then reflected by the opposite mirrors in a long and endless range of magnificence. The designer of this splendid apartment, was, as we were informed, a M. Wailly of Paris. The façade of the Palazzo Ducale is Doric and Ionic, and very handsome: within is a very handsome hall, of considerable dimensions, and supported by Corinthian pilasters of Broccatello marble.

The architecture of Turin is generally very indifferent. The circular church of the Superga, however, near that city, is extremely handsome, both within and without, in spite of some barbarisms

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trisms in which its designer, Juvara, has indulged himself. The Royal Palazzo del Castello is another very handsome fabric, within the town itself. Its front is ornamented with composite columns and pilasters, fluted and reeded, over a rustic basement, and above the frieze, which might have been in better taste, a balustrade with arms and statues. The Asconto and Marmazi palaces have also handsome façades.

The architecture of the palaces of Florence is very peculiar: strong, massive, solid, and from these very qualities grand; but at the same time gloomy and heavy, and giving the effect rather of castles for the defence of feudal barons, than of mansions for the residence of wealthy merchants. Their character is in fact derived from the use as fortresses to which they were often applied (if not destined for it) in the turbulent and uncertain state of the Florentine republic. The most singular specimen of this style of building is, perhaps, the Palazzo Pitti, now the Grandducal residence, with its three stories of rustic columns, with their heavy bossages, having much the appearance of an ornamented prison. Notwithstanding this criticism, we think its architecture far from contemptible. The Palazzo Riccardi has three stories of rustic architecture; the lowest very massive, and each succeeding story lighter, continued cornices over each, and a very deep and bold one over the uppermost, producing certainly altogether a noble effect, in spite of its general plainness. The Palazzo delle Finanze has three stories, Rustic, Ionic, and Corinthian, the two latter ornamented with coupled unfluted columns. The Palazzo Pandolfini, the front of which is singular, but pretty, is interesting, having been, as it is said, designed by Raphael.

When we direct our attention to the capital of southern Italy, we are surprised to find in how small a degree Naples has added the beauties of a pure and elegant architecture to the charms which nature has bestowed on her with so liberal a hand. Her near neighbourhood to the majestic simplicity of Pæstum might lead us to expect some corresponding feeling of architectural beauty, did we not recollect what a recent acquisition those noble ruins have been to the students of the fine arts; but it is really surprizing that Naples should not have borrowed more from her connexion with Sicily, where so many examples of the majesty and beauty of simplicity in architecture exist. Such has not, however, been the case; and the leading characters of Neapolitan architecture are want of unity, want of simplicity, and a total deficiency of any thing like breadth of light and shade, to use a phrase borrowed from the sister art of painting. This censure must, however, be qualified by many exceptions; the dawn of Grecian architecture in Naples promised well, though

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speedily overcast, and the taste of the present day seems improving rapidly here, as well as in the northern parts of Italy.

The modern theatre of San Carlo is the first Neapolitan fabric to which we shall call the attention of our readers. They are probably already aware that it is one of the largest theatres in Europe, but we do not think its interior decorations equal either in taste or richness to its great magnitude, and the beauty of its architectural scenery is certainly not comparable to that of its rival at Milan, the Teatro della Scala; San Quirico, the painter of the latter, is indeed probably the first in Europe, and inasmuch as a painter of scenes may permit his fancy to revel in the greatest luxuriancy of magnificence, without any of the obstacles which perpetually impede the progress of more substantial architecture, and inasmuch as chasteness and simple elegance are on this account the more commendable, we hope that our readers will not think this tribute of applause out of its place.

Though the façade of San Carlo cannot compare in purity of design with that of our own Covent Garden, yet it is more light, perhaps more elegant, and we think certainly more appropriate to the entrance of a theatre, and especially of an opera-house. It consists of a light rustic basement, with five arches, and over it a continued balustrade resting on modilions. Above is an Ionic disengaged colonnade of fourteen unfluted pillars, supporting a continued entablature, with a very flat pediment, the apex of which is cut off, and surmounted by a group of statues. Over each of the four side arches in the basement, is placed a small and extremely ingenious window, formed by the crossing of two wreaths, with a Medusa's head between them, and ornamented by the snakes and caduceus. The effect is as elegant as the design is novel and ingenious. Sculpture of comic masks is introduced into the rustic work with considerable advantage. The continued balustrade we have mentioned, is formed of unfluted small Doric columns, which has a poor effect to the eye, and suggests to the mind the notion of an architectural conceit. Indeed we think this and the truncated pediment the principal blemishes of this beautiful elevation. The Ionic colonnade does not quite reach the extremities of the fabric, there being a small plain space on each side, in which the only ornament is the inscription on the left of the names of Pergolesi, Jomelli, and Gluck; and on the right, of Alfieri, Metastasio, and Goldoni. The designer of San Carlo is a living architect, Niccolini.

The Palazzo Gravina has one of the handsomest fronts in Naples, and is further interesting as having been built at the time of the rising of what we have called the Palladian architecture. Its lowest story is Rustic, with a Doric door not of the best taste. Above is a range of single unfluted composite pilasters,

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ters, between each pair of which is one window, with a rather rich cornice, and over it a bust in a small round niche. These pilasters support a plain continued entablature, above which is a plain attic, certainly a blemish to the building. On the whole it is simple and noble, but it wants either more variety or more contrast of light and shade, and it is worth remarking for having defects the very opposite from those which characterise Neapolitan architecture in general. The chapel of the Caraccioli in the church of S. Giovanni in Carbonara, is a specimen of Italian Grecian, of as early, or perhaps still earlier date; it is a singular, but not very happy instance of the adaptation of the Doric order to a small circular interior; indeed we think this order, however admirable in many respects, eminently unfit for such a purpose.

The Palazzo Corigliano has its lower story Doric, with single unfluted pilasters, its entablature slightly broken over them, and trophies. The second story is ornamented with fluted pilasters, but they are of the Corinthian order; its windows have alternately round and angular pediments, which are supported by fluted Ionic pilasters. Its third story is similar, except that its pilasters are of the composite order. The two entablatures are unbroken and unornamented, but are pierced with oval windows over the interoolumniations, a practice only to be commended as it may sometimes avert the necessity of an attic, the worse evil of the two.

The church of the Sapienza has one of the handsomest façades in Naples. It consists of rather a poor basement story, over which are in the centre three arches, supported by coupled Ionic unfluted columns, and on each side are two unfluted Corinthian pilasters, between which is the entrance, and over each of them is a half statue giving a benediction. The entablature over these pilasters is broken, as we think unfortunately, and the whole is surmounted by a balustrade. The beauty of this building arises from the effect of the arches resting on the columns and the consequent contrast of light and shade; and the general simplicity of the whole concentrates the attention of the spectator on this its principal feature. We believe that this edifice does honour to the same early period as the Gravina palace.

The interiors of the churches of Naples are in general overloaded with gilding, painting and ornament to a degree, which conceals any architectural beauty which they may possess. This remark, indeed, is not without its exceptions.—We have already noticed the curious and interesting chapel of the Caraccioli; and the churches of the Santo Spirito and of the Annunziata are within highly creditable to their designers. The first of these has its nave supported by tall fluted and reeded Corinthian columns, on pedestals, with unbroken entablatures, on which rests the semi-circular

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circular roof. This nave is of one aisle, but the columns are disengaged, though nearly touching the walls. The dome, which rests on four great arches, is rather poor, and the semi-circular east end is broken by projections, probably rendered necessary by the gratings of the convent to which it belongs. The interior of the church of the Annunziata, designed by the younger Vanvitelli, is extremely handsome. It is supported by coupled Corinthian columns, which are fluted and reeded. The entablature over those in the nave is unbroken, which is not the case in the choir. The roof is semi-circular, resting on a low attic, which would have a better effect were it still lower, particularly as some projecting ornaments on it give the ceiling rather the appearance of an horseshoe arch. Over the intersection of the transept is a handsome circular cupola, resting on eight pair of columns, also of the Corinthian order, and fluted and reeded. The fronts of these two churches are completely unworthy of the interiors, and those of the other churches in Naples, with the exception of the Sapienza, to which we have already alluded, as little deserve commendation. One indeed that is now erecting opposite to the royal palace, promises considerable magnificence in its exterior, and we hope that its interior will be worthy of it.

The green-house in the royal botanic garden is supported by Doric fluted three-quarter columns, with arched windows between them, and has an unbroken entablature, on the metopes of which are sculptured different plants; the appropriateness of this decoration has been our motive for noticing the edifice to which it belongs. A similar reason induces us to mention the elegant little Ionic rotunda in the Villa Floridiana, where the columns are supported by a continued circular plinth or basement, which is hollowed to receive earth, and planted with flowers.

The Berio palace is also worthy of the attention of the traveller and amateur; and in the environs of the city, the Doric colonnades of the Observatory, and of the Margravine of Anspach's villa, as well as that of the Ionic order in front of the Villa Gensano, are proofs that a taste for the genuine beauties of Grecian architecture is rapidly gaining ground in the south of Italy.

We would strongly recommend to all who take any interest in the subject of our present remarks, by no means to omit seeing the palace of Caserta, which may, in its architecture at least, compare with almost any royal residence in Europe. Vanvitelli designed this structure; and the noble marble staircase, with its handsome circular landing-place, the magnificent corridor which traverses the edifice, the very elegant guard-room and the chapel, do him the highest credit. To the chapel we wish to direct particularly the attention of our readers. Its dimensions are considerable;

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derable; its semi-circular roof is supported by coupled Corinthian columns of marble, fluted and reeded, with an unbroken entablature. Behind them run galleries. The columns stand on pedestals united by balustrades. The colonnade does not rest on the ground, but on compartments of marble. The roof is rich with gilding, and the pavement with inlaid marbles. Altogether this chapel unites, in a high degree, simplicity of design, with richness and magnificence of decoration.

In our consideration of the architecture of Italy, it is impossible to leave unnoticed the altars of the churches, remarkable as they are for their costliness and richness of ornament, and for the splendid achievements of painting which they contain. On this subject the philosophical Milizia* has been, perhaps, too severe, though at the same time we can offer no valid defence for the greater part of these gaudy extravagances, which, at an enormous expense, have deformed the buildings they were intended to adorn. In these we see indeed the greatest richness of materials; jasper, lapis lazuli, porphyry, giallo, and verde antico, and other rare marbles, with abundance of gilding and carving, but disposed without the slightest regard to the principles of simplicity or taste; while twisted columns and broken members display all their deformity—in short, the love of ornament carried to the highest point, and every other consideration sacrificed to it. Having said thus much, we must in justice add, that there are nevertheless in Italy many altars of considerable elegance and beauty. Among these we consider Palladio's Corinthian altars in the church of the Redentore at Venice, as pre-eminent, and, in truth, they are of the purest and simplest Grecian taste. One of the altars by Dannesio Cattanio, in the church of St. Anastasio at Verona, is also simple and handsome, though not quite so correct. Count Cicognara, in his work on the buildings of Venice, the second of those which we have prefixed to this article, has given an engraving of an altar in the church of St. Mark, of great richness and beauty, though perhaps some of its ornaments might have been spared with advantage. It was erected during the reign of the Doge Cristoforo Moro, between the years 1462 and 1471, and is attributed by the learned historian of sculpture to Pietro Lombardi, whom he considers as the founder of elegant architecture in Venice. Its general form is very simple, and its richness consists in the sculpture, with which it is rather too abundantly adorned. In the same work may be seen a representation of another

* 'Ogni nostro altare è una montagna di piedistalli con colonne, che nulla sostengono, e con frontispizj spezzati, incartocciati, rovesciati, ondolati, ripieni de maschere, de chimere, d' ingegnosi ricettacoli di polvere, e di nidi di ragni, fra un miscuglio di figure stranamente colorite e arregiate in un frammisto di doratune.'

another altar, also in St. Mark's, which is, perhaps, inferior in general effect, in consequence of the extreme breadth of the inter-columniation, for which, however, Count Cicognara gives plausible reasons. We think also that the enriched shafts of the columns, which support a very beautiful frieze and pediment, would have had a better effect if they had been simply fluted. The high altar of the church of San Paolo at Bologna, which contains the chef-d'œuvre of Algardi's sculpture, is one of the richest and handsomest in Italy. It is very frequently the case, that there is at the high altars of the great Italian churches, a small representation of a church or temple, formed of lapis lazuli, &c. Of these the most magnificent is, perhaps, that existing at the high altar of the Certosa of Pavia, designed, as it is said, by San Gallo.

In this general survey of the Palladian architecture of Italy, we have passed over many architects and many buildings well worthy of notice; we were obliged to do so by our limits, and consistently with our object, which was chiefly to trace its general merits, defects, and progress. This must be our excuse for omitting any mention of the works of Peruzzi and Bramante, as well as for the very brief notice we have taken of those of San Gallo, Vignola, and Scamozzi.

At the revival of Grecian architecture in Italy, one of its earliest applications was to the monumental memorials of the illustrious dead. Among the artists who distinguished themselves in this sort of architectural sculpture, the names of Desiderio da Settignano, Bernardo Rosselini, Mino da Fiesole, Andrea Verrochio, Sansovino, Benedetto da Rovezzano, and Matteo Civitali, are particularly worthy of notice. These monuments in general consist of a rich entablature of pure Grecian taste, supported by two or four columns or pilasters, either fluted or ornamented with arabesques. Within them is an elegant sarcophagus, with a recumbent statue of the deceased. Over the entablature is a semi-circle or half oval, surrounded by a Grecian scroll or frieze; and within it usually a representation of the infant Saviour in the arms of his mother. Where there are four columns or pilasters there is of course the opportunity offered, and never neglected, of additional sculpture; and in the splendid Vendramini and Marcello monuments at Venice, an additional entablature surmounts the whole. These monuments are, perhaps, the most magnificent of their kind in Italy, but we think their architectural beauty considerably diminished by their having each two columns and two pilasters, instead of four pilasters, or four columns. In addition to this the columns in the first have their shafts adorned, or rather deformed, by the representation of a garland, which cuts them in two, and destroys the effect of their proportions; while in the second the columns

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columns are also divided by a band, above which they are perpendicularly, and below spirally fluted. The monument of Noceto by Civitali in the church of St. Martino at Lucca, and those of Leonardo Bruni by Rossellini, and of Marsuppini by Settignano, both in the Santa Croce in Florence, we think much more elegant, though less costly and magnificent. In the choir of the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, at Rome, there are two of these architectural monuments of extraordinary richness, and ornamented with the most spirited sculpture; they are the work of Sansovino. The most singular, however, of these memorials of the dead is the Orsini monument in the church of Santa Maria dei Frari at Venice; it represents a great circle supported by two angels and a spread eagle. This circle is surrounded by a rich border, and within it is a very rich and beautiful sarcophagus, with a handsome cover ending in a sort of crown, from which rise the figures of our Saviour, and the Virgin, emerging above the circle. The name of the author of this striking and ingenious design is unknown. These architectural monuments abound in Florence, Rome, and Venice; they are also not unfrequent in all parts of Tuscany, but in the rest of Italy they are very rare, and we are not aware of their existence at all on this side of the Alps.

Although our remarks have already run to a considerable length, we ought not to close them without a short account of the works, which stand at the head of them, and which have been of material assistance to us in drawing them up. The first is a work of moderate size and expense, but at the same time of great interest, and the engravings which adorn it are extremely well executed; among the monuments it contains are some of every description of design; from Italian Gothic, through the elegant simplicity of the early Grecian, to the sublime sculpture of Buonarotti; then its decline and rise again in these our own times; comprising specimens of the architecture or sculpture of Settignano, Rossellini, Civitali, Donatello, Ghiberti, and Canova; while among the illustrious dead whose tombs are here pourtrayed are those of Galileo, Michel Angelo, Aretino, Macchiavelli, and Alfieri. Short accounts are added of the artists and of those whom they have been employed to commemorate, which serve to enhance the value of the work to which they are appended.

The work of Count Cicognara has much greater pretensions, and from its price cannot expect a very great number of purchasers. It consists of beautifully executed architectural elevations, plans, and details of the most important edifices in Venice, engraved in outline on a large scale, and accompanied by interesting, critical and historical notices by Cicognara and his coadjutors

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jutors Diedo and Selva. The mere mention of Venice instantly recals to English minds, Othello, Shylock, and Belvidera, the fascinations of Shakspeare, and the pathetic Otway; but to the contemplation of the philosopher, the moralist, and the statesman, its associations are of a graver and deeper character. Its rise from nothing, the continuance of its very singular form of government during so many ages, the greatness of its power and commercial enterprise, its chivalrous warfare with the power of the Infidel, and successful defence against the combination of the greater part of Europe, the final surrender of its independence without a struggle, and its present degraded and distressing condition, are alike subjects of painful interest and philosophical inquiry. How are the mighty fallen! may we well exclaim when we survey the queen of the Adriatic in her present state of widowhood and abandonment. The seats of luxury and pride, the palaces of splendour and ambition may soon become places 'for owls to roost in;' and where pleasure held her midnight revels, the pestilence* that walketh in darkness may fix her throne, and thence devastate the shores of Trieste, Dalmatia, and Venetian Lombardy. We will pursue the painful theme no farther. If our forebodings should be realised, the Count Cicognara will by this work deserve the praise of having erected a noble monument to the departed greatness of his country. Had he so pleased, he could not have adopted a more beautiful motto for his work, than the fine lines of Tasso, which may well constitute the epitaph of Venice, and with which we will conclude and adorn this long Article:

Muoiono le città, muoiono i regni:
Copre i fasti e le pompe arena ed erba:
E l'uom d'esser mortal par che si sdegni:
Oh nostra mente cupida e superba!

* This is no poetical fiction. The misery, filth, and poverty of a great capital falling into decay in a warm climate are the surest forerunners of this most dreadful of human calamities. The narrow streets and exhalations of the comparatively neglected canals are likely to hasten the catastrophe. It is well known that even in the most prosperous times of Venetian independence, in spite of the greatest precautions on this important point, Venice was far from healthy in the summer. What consequences then may be expected, now that the government to which it belongs, encourages Trieste at its expense! The hope that this note, which repeats an opinion intimated by us before, may meet the eyes of some one who may have interest in that quarter, has induced us to add it, however at variance with our subject.

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ART. III.—1. *Römische Geschichte*, von B. G. Niebuhr. *History of Rome.* By B. G. Niebuhr. 2 vols. Berlin. 1811, 1812.
2. *Die ältere Geschichte des Römischen Staates untersucht* von W. Wachsmuth, Professor in Halle. *An Inquiry into the Early History of the Roman State.* By W. Wachsmuth. 12mo. pp. 462. Halle. 1819.
3. Friedrich Creuzers *Abriss der Römischen Antiquitäten.* Creuzer's *Sketch of Roman Antiquities.* Leipzig and Darmstadt. 1824. 8vo. pp. 414.

WE have a great deal to learn respecting the literature of Germany;—and there is a great deal in it which is well worth our learning. Of the works whose titles we have prefixed to this Article, the first has been published more than twelve years; and the second nearly six: all of them are written with great ability and extraordinary learning; and the history of Niebuhr, in particular, has thrown new light upon our knowledge of Roman affairs, to a degree, of which those, who are unacquainted with it, can scarcely form an adequate notion. Yet we are not aware that they have been so much as noticed in this country, except by ourselves in a former Number of this Journal,* and more recently, within the last few months, by a writer in another periodical publication. We shall consider ourselves, therefore, to have devoted some of our pages to a useful purpose, if we make them instrumental in introducing the works before us to the knowledge of the British public, and in impressing our readers with a sense of their high excellence.

Niebuhr, whose name stands at the head of our paper, is a son of the celebrated traveller, whose merits are well known in this country. In the two volumes which he has hitherto published, he has carried the History of Rome no farther than to the dictatorship of Q. Publilius Philo, in the year of Rome 416. When he had thus far completed his task, he heard of the discovery of Cicero's Treatise de Republicâ, in the library of the Vatican; and he suspended the prosecution of his labours, in the full expectation that the work of such a writer upon such a subject, would furnish him with new and valuable information, more than sufficient to reward him for waiting for it. He had been previously appointed minister for the court of Berlin at Rome; and being thus on the spot while the newly discovered treatise was preparing for publication, he rendered considerable assistance to its editor, by giving him several conjectural corrections of the text and drawing up an index to the work. But he found out too

* Vol. XXVII. p. 280.

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late, that his hopes of deriving from it any new lights on the history of the Roman constitution had been completely delusive; and we learn, from a pamphlet which he published in *1823, that he was then intending to resume his labours without delay, so that we hope ere long to welcome the appearance of another volume.

The two volumes, however, which are already before the world, produced a strong sensation in Germany upon their first publication. Those, who had been in the habit of studying the history of Rome, were surprised to find how much had hitherto escaped their researches, and still more, to see the materials which had been long at their disposal, employed for the first time in the construction of an edifice, whose different parts were in harmony with each other, and combined to form one consistent whole. Yet it was almost impossible that any man, however splendid his genius, should at once open a new path in ancient literature, and pursue it so thoroughly and so unerringly as to leave nothing to be done by those who should come after him. Thus, fully sharing in the general admiration excited by Niebuhr's history, the author of the second of the works before us, perceived that his own inquiries in the same field were not altogether superseded. In following the footsteps of his predecessor, he has in many points corrected his errors, while to the soundness of his views in general he has borne most weighty and honourable testimony. We have joined Creuzer's Sketch of Roman Antiquities to the Histories of Niebuhr and Wachsmuth, as it is by far the most valuable work within our knowledge on the subject of which it treats, and confirms their statements with a sanction rendered valuable by the great and deserved reputation of its author.

'An account of the ancient Romans,' says Dr. Johnson,† 'as it cannot nearly interest any present reader, and must be drawn from writings that have been long known, can owe its value only to the language in which it is delivered, and the reflections with which it is accompanied.' Johnson, like many other men who delight in laying down general positions, and in exerting their reasoning powers in the deduction of inferences from them, was impatient of the slow process of historical induction, and devoted his mind to the study of human nature in the characters of individuals, in which some general and practical principle was attainable with far less labour. What he disliked, he neglected; and so limited are the greatest human faculties, that of that which we

* Uber die Nachricht von den Comitien der Centurien im zweyten Buch Ciceros de Republica. Bonn, 1823.

† In his Review of Blackwell's Memoirs of the Court of Augustus; published in the second volume of his works, p. 375. 8vo. edit. 1806.

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neglect we must be contented to be ignorant. In Johnson's eyes, Goldsmith was a good historian; and as Livy and Plutarch had long been known to the world, he supposed that we were already in possession of all the facts of Roman history. But with regard to the earlier parts of that history, men who were accustomed to examine evidence had already expressed their scepticism before his time. M. Beaufort had asserted the total uncertainty of the common accounts of the early ages of Rome; and Hooke, in attempting to answer him, had only furnished additional proof of his own unfitness for the office of an historian. In our own times, and in our own country, the number of those who agree with Beaufort has, no doubt, considerably increased; but while they treat the common narrative of Livy and Dionysius with deserved contempt, nothing has been attempted to be substituted in its room: and the mass of readers, not liking to leave so large a blank in their course of historical study, have continued to read, and to quote, and to believe, the story which has been handed down to them. In this state of things, the unbelieving party has shewn itself, as usual, just as indolent, and just as unphilosophical, as the credulous: Niebuhr, however, saw what was the duty of an historian, and set himself resolutely and ably to perform it. He examined every ancient author in whose works any thing was to be found illustrative of the antiquities of Rome; the writings of Festus, Nonius, and the other grammarians, are full of fragments of those early Roman historians who flourished in the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century of Rome; and in whose days many memorials of the ancient state of the different people of Italy were yet in existence, which were subsequently lost amidst the devastation of the Social War, and of its bloodier continuation, the contest between Sylla and the Marian faction.* These same early writers are often also quoted by name, by Dionysius, and sometimes by Livy and Plutarch; and the fragments of respectable testimony which may be thus collected, are the first materials which we must use in forming what may really deserve the name of a history of the period in question. Next to these in value, are the great historians and philosophers of the golden age of Grecian literature;—Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and above all, Aristotle. None of these writers, indeed, have ever mentioned the name of Rome; and no one, therefore, before Niebuhr, had ever thought of looking to them for information with

* The principal of these are M. Cato the Censor, who died at an advanced age A. U. C. 604; L. Cincius Alimentus, who flourished during the second Punic war, and was once a prisoner in Hannibal's camp; and L. Cælius Antipater, a contemporary of the Gracchi. Ennius may be added in respect of his Annals, who was born A. U. C. 513, and died A. U. C. 584.

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respect to Roman history. But they describe with perfect knowledge a state of society similar in many respects to that which existed in Italy before the Romans had conquered the whole peninsula, and which had entirely passed away long before the time of Augustus. The nature of the confederacies between a powerful state and a number of smaller ones, which was so marked a feature in the political relations of antiquity, is displayed most clearly and fully by Thucydides and Xenophon: while all the ancient principles of government, the varieties of aristocracy, oligarchy, and democracy; the favourite maxims and policy of each, their invariable connection with the particular kind of military force predominant in each different country, and the course of revolutions to which they were severally most liable, are recorded with matchless diligence and sagacity in the Politics of Aristotle. No man ever understood more thoroughly the use of induction in the discovery of truth than the great author of the doctrine of Syllogisms. His mind was as patient and well disciplined as it was acute and original; and his opinions and reasonings on laws, constitutions and political economy, were founded not on fanciful speculations, but on an immense collection of the antiquities and forms of government of one hundred and fifty-eight commonwealths, which he had himself previously made and digested. It is true, that of this part of his labours much has been lost; and certainly, in the wreck of ancient literature, nothing more valuable has been lost; yet the accounts of the Athenian constitution, which are to be found in Julius Pollux and other writers of the same description, have been mostly borrowed from this great work, and enough remains to us in those books of it which are still extant, to give us a very tolerable knowledge of the nature of ancient governments and the views of the oldest lawgivers. With the helps thus derived from the literature of Greece, in addition to the fragments of the earliest Roman historians, we may proceed to study, with advantage, the narratives of Livy, Dionysius, and Plutarch. We shall find their total want of judgment, their carelessness, and their ignorance sufficiently provoking, but if we persevere with patience, we shall discover a large portion of truth in their accounts, though strangely disguised and mixed up with falsehoods: our previous study of more valuable authorities will enable us to discern, or at least to form a probable conjecture, where they have drawn from a trustworthy source, and where they have followed some writer or some tradition of later times, whose correctness is as little to be relied on as their own. Where national or family vanity, or carelessness, or ignorance, have corrupted the history, the narrative will either be found inconsistent with itself, or with some facts, institutions, or customs, which have

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have been reported to us and established beyond reasonable doubt by competent witnesses; where, on the contrary, the story is genuine, it will be in harmony with all these, and will often carry with it its own confirmation by the incidental mention of particulars which the writers themselves did not understand, but which, when explained by a fuller knowledge, throw light and consistence on the whole narrative, and become important evidences of its genuineness and truth. A more direct way of correcting the false traditions of the ordinary story is also often to be found in an extensive investigation of ancient literature. The fable of the defeat of the Gauls by Camillus, which originated in the vanity of the Furian family, is detected by the positive testimony of Polybius, Strabo, and Diodorus, and by a passage in Suetonius, in which the rival vanity of the Claudian family has tended to discover the truth:—and the real issue of the war between Porsena and the Romans was first proved by Beaufort from a passage in Pliny, which quotes the terms of the treaty dictated by the Tuscan king; and has been since confirmed by Niebuhr from a fact incidentally mentioned by Livy himself; the diminution of the number of the Roman tribes from thirty to twenty, in consequence of the large cession of territory by which the Romans were obliged to purchase peace.

There is yet another branch of study most important to a full understanding of the Roman history, which has been of late years cultivated in Germany with great success, and of which both Niebuhr and Wachsmuth have largely availed themselves;—we mean the study of the Roman law. In this country even professed scholars know in general very little of the works of the Roman lawyers; in proof of which, we may remark, that the recent discovery of the Institutes of Gaius has been scarcely noticed, and not half a dozen copies sold in England; while an entire edition has been disposed of on the continent and the work either is, or was a very short time since, out of print. But in Germany, more especially, every point connected with the Roman laws and constitution has been examined with that critical and sensible spirit which distinguishes the really learned men of that country; and the writings of Haubold, Hugo, and Savigny, have thrown light upon many questions, which had before been full of confusion and difficulty. The history of no country can be written as it ought to be without a competent knowledge of its laws; and on this point as on so many others, Niebuhr has had the merit of first perceiving and then acquiring the qualifications requisite to the due fulfilment of his task, and has tended, we hope, to raise the standard by which the merits of future historians are to be tried.

Upon principles such as these Niebuhr has proceeded, and in so

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doing has adopted the only method by which a real knowledge of Roman history can ever be obtained. In the execution of his work there are naturally faults to be pointed out, but the merit of the design remains the same, and men of very inferior minds, by following the path which he has first traced, may arrive perhaps at a perfection which he himself has missed. This is the true character of original genius, and for this will the names of Mitford and Niebuhr be honourably distinguished, as the first modern discoverers in Grecian and Roman history. Both these writers have left much to be done by their successors:—both are rather too fond of paradox; both are often erroneous in their judgments on particular points; and both are deficient in simplicity and animation of style. But they are the giants who first cut through the rocks and penetrated the tangled thickets of the forest; and they may well be pardoned if they do not always stop to make the road perfectly smooth, or if they sometimes, in the very pride of their strength, carry it needlessly over some steep and difficult ground instead of choosing the easier and simpler course over the plain. Already, as we have stated, Niebuhr's paradoxes and fanciful hypotheses have been corrected and sobered down by his able successor Wachsmuth who, deriving the full benefit of Niebuhr's genius, has had leisure to apply his own powers to the improving the work which his predecessor has so well begun; and although much less remains to be done by those who may come hereafter, yet we cannot doubt but that there will still be those, who will carry their labours even to a higher degree of excellence.

It will not be expected that we should follow the authors before us, step by step, through all the points embraced by their histories, or that we should detain our readers with an examination of controversies more suited to a classical or antiquarian journal than to one of general literature. But the Agrarian laws are so connected with subjects of universal interest, they occupy so prominent a part in Roman history, they have been so little understood by former writers, and have been explained and illustrated by Niebuhr with such singular ability and learning, that we shall but render justice to his work, and perhaps most satisfy our readers, by dwelling at some length on this most remarkable part of the institutions of Rome; only premising, that although we have generally followed Niebuhr, he is yet not to be considered responsible for all the facts and opinions which we are about to offer.

In almost all countries the legal property of the land has been originally vested in the sovereign, whether we are to understand under that name a single chief, a particular portion of the nation, or the people at large. In the same manner the property of all land in a conquered country was, in ancient times, held to be transferred

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ferred to the sovereign power in the conquering state. Whether the right thus acquired was exercised in its utmost rigour depended upon circumstances; it was so exercised in some instances, by the total expulsion of the old inhabitants, and the settlement of a new population in their room; sometimes the former proprietors were left in the occupation of their lands, but only on the footing of tenants, obliged to pay a rent to a number of individuals of the conquering nation, among whom the property of the conquered country was divided; and, sometimes, when the victors behaved most mildly, they merely imposed a land-tax on their new subjects, and reserved to themselves the tithe of the produce of the soil, as an acknowledgement of their right of property over it. Now as the Romans acquired the greatest part of Italy by conquest, the Roman people were the lords of the soil in almost every part of the peninsula. In many, or in most instances, the former owners were left in undisturbed occupation; but there were also very extensive tracts of land which the Romans took into their own hands, and which were more peculiarly called Ager publicus, the lands of the commonwealth.—*These were the joint property of all the citizens;* nor till a regular division of them took place, could any one individual claim the exclusive ownership of any part of them, though he, in common with his neighbours, had a right to the use and enjoyment of the whole. This community of possession was sufficiently natural and practicable in the earliest periods of society, when the land was occupied rather in feeding cattle than in tillage; a period, the dim remembrance of which was fondly cherished under the notion of a golden age of universal brotherhood. But in a more advanced stage of society to leave land in this state of common occupation was in effect to expose it to a sort of general scramble, in which it was soon found that the strong encroached upon the weak, and that the poor man could get none of the benefits of that common stock of which he was nominally one of the proprietors. Hence originated the practice of assigning to each individual a certain portion, and of marking out and securing its limits with the greatest solemnities of religion. Every thing was done under the direction and according to the rites of the augurs, who derived their art from the mysterious lore of the priests or sages of Etruria. The augur stood with his face turned towards the south, the east, or the west; and drew across the whole space of land to be divided two main lines intersecting each other at right angles, the one from south to north called Cardo, from its being drawn towards the supposed pole of the heaven, and the other, from east to west, called Decumanus. These were made of a considerable width to serve as roads, and parallel to each of them were drawn a succession of other lines, till the whole ground

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was portioned out into a number of equal squares, according to the number of persons among whom it was to be divided. Each of these squares was further defined by a certain number of termini, or landmarks, which being once fixed in this solemn manner it became the height of wickedness to remove. Every portion of land thus allotted to any Roman citizen became his freehold in the highest sense of the term; it paid no land-tax or tithe: for the individual to whom it had been granted only received it as his fair dividend out of the common stock, and enjoyed with regard to it the same complete sovereignty, which the whole state had possessed over the whole of the conquered land while it remained undivided. It might be sold also by Mancipatio,—that is, with an unexceptionable and perfect title, as the owner held it free from every incumbrance and in absolute propriety, and could convey it away therefore on the same terms. But the great mass of the national demesnes, which had not been thus divided, were held by a very different tenure. We have said that they were considered as common property; but it appears that individuals were allowed to occupy and inclose certain portions of them, and that this possession or occupation, as it was called, though liable to be determined at any moment whenever the state thought proper to claim its rights, and to order a division of the land, was yet protected by the authority of the prætors from the forcible encroachment of any other private individual. By what means one person was entitled to this sort of possession in preference to another, does not seem to be clearly ascertained. Appian indeed is probably correct in his account of the general origin of the practice: the land thus occupied, he says, was mostly waste, and whilst it was undivided, the state permitted individuals to cultivate certain parts of it for themselves, on the payment of the tithe of the produce to the public revenue. But whether the censors, or any other magistrates, possessed the patronage of nominating the persons who were to enjoy so profitable a bargain, Appian either knew not, or was too careless to mention. From the imperfect notices in Festus* and Siculus† Flaccus it would seem that the occupation was altogether arbitrary; and it is possible that the officers and soldiers of the conquering army may, at the time of their conquest, have secured and marked out for themselves certain parts of that land from which they had just expelled the owners. Be this as it may, we know that in process of time the possession of this undivided land fell almost exclusively into the hands of the nobility. The ground, however, which any person thus

* In voce, 'Possessio.'

† 'De Conditionibus Agrorum,' apud Scriptores Rei Agrariæ. Ed. Goesii.

enjoyed,

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enjoyed, was protected by none of those sacred termini which marked the limits of freehold property; it was guaranteed by no solemn and public act, ratified with the sanctions of the national religion, nor was it always secured, as in the regularly divided lands, by the neighbourhood of many other similar properties, whose owners had a common interest in defending each other from oppression. A poor man's occupation-farm might be often in the midst of a large tract possessed by a wealthy patrician, and would be most commonly so remote from Rome as to render an appeal to the prætor's protection almost impracticable.* Under these circumstances, the small occupiers were often forcibly expelled, often intimidated or oppressed into a sale of their lands, and still oftener found their possessions encroached upon, while they were absent on their duties as legionary soldiers, and the unconsecrated and irregularly marked boundary of their farm removed from its place by some more powerful neighbour. Thus the greatest part of the national demesnes were productive of advantage only to a small class of the community; and the system of occupation, which might have been tolerable so long as all ranks shared in its benefits, became a great injustice when it only enriched a few of the great nobility. To check this evil was the object of the famous Licinian law, which had nothing to do with private property as has been commonly supposed, but only limited the amount of undivided national land which might be occupied by any one individual. Meantime as estates thus held by occupation were *legally* secure against any claims but those of the state, and as the passing an Agrarian law for the division of the national lands was always strenuously opposed by the whole weight of the aristocracy, this species of property was transferred by sale from one holder to another with almost as much confidence as if it were really freehold. Sold indeed by mancipation it could not be; for the state still continued to be its lawful owner, and it was still liable to the payment of tithe, or land-tax, which, according to the Roman law, were infallible signs that the property belonged to the sovereign. But the possession of it was bought and sold on the speculation that the right of the state would not be exercised; a speculation, be it remembered, which rested on no tacit agreement, but was founded merely on the strength of the aristocratical interest, and on the probability that it would be able to defeat any proposal for the regular division of the national lands according to the forms of the Agrarian laws.

These much misunderstood laws were no violations therefore

* Conf. Appian. Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 7. Plutarch. T. Gracchus, c. 8. and the form of the Prætor's Interdict in Festus, in voc. Possessio.

of

of the rights of property, nor were they fantastic attempts to interfere with the natural progress of wealth; but a strictly regular and legal way of disposing of the estates of the commonwealth, conducing no less to the general benefit than to that of the poorer citizens, who were thus more immediately provided for. The severity of the ancient law of nations which allowed so free a use of the right of conquest, may indeed be justly condemned; yet it is at least as defensible as the pretensions of sovereignty so often advanced by modern nations over uncivilized countries, on no better ground than the accident of being the first Europeans to discover them. But laying out of view the loss sustained by the conquered people, and the encouragement given to a spirit of ambition on the part of the conquerors, the Agrarian laws appear to have been among the fairest means ever devised for obviating the necessity of poor laws, and providing for the wants of a redundant population. It will not be supposed that we are extending this praise to the military colonies of Sylla, of Cæsar, or of the second triumvirate; or that we are insensible to the abuses often attending the execution of the Agrarian laws of an earlier period, when the commissioners for dividing the national lands were invested with too ample authority, and were often induced, from party or personal motives, to select the new colonists out of the least deserving part of the poorer citizens. But the principle of portioning out the national property from time to time amongst the individual members of the nation, was certainly not contrary to justice; nor was the policy contemptible, of thus providing for the indigent, and strengthening the state at large by covering its frontiers with a line of colonies, depending on it for protection, and abundantly repaying it by keeping its conquests in obedience, and withstanding the first attacks of its enemies. The propriety indeed of selecting any particular district for the operation of an Agrarian law was to be determined by the peculiar circumstances of the case. When the national demesnes, as was the case in Campania,* were actually possessed by a number of small occupiers, who lived on their own farms, cultivated them well, and regularly paid their tithe to the government; and when the colonists by whom they would have been superseded were likely to be the mere refuse of a profligate populace, chosen by the proposer of the measure in reward of the turbulence which they had displayed in the internal disputes of the capital, the impolicy of an Agrarian law in this particular instance was evident. But when, on the contrary, the demesnes of the state had been engrossed to an illegal amount by two or three wealthy individuals;

* See Cicero's Speeches against the Agrarian Law of P. Rullus.

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when these persons, according to their frequent practice, had expelled by violence or oppression the poorer occupiers who held their farms by the very same tenure of tolerated temporary possession; when they had covered the country with work-houses for their slaves, and employed the labour of none but slaves in the cultivation of their lands, to the absolute extirpation of the free peasantry,—it was at once a measure of justice and wisdom on the part of the state, to turn off those tenants at will by whom its indulgence had been abused, and its property mismanaged; and to divide its lands regularly amongst its own free citizens, who were already the joint proprietors, rather than suffer them to lie profitless to itself, maintaining only one or two self-constituted tenants and a multitude of slaves. In its principle, therefore, the Agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus was just and wise; and his proposal to allow a compensation to the occupiers of national lands for the loss of possessions absolutely illegal in their extent, and held, even within the limits fixed by the Licinian law, only during the pleasure of the people, was a concession more liberal than they were strictly entitled to demand. It is another question how far it was politic to bring the measure forward, considering the actual strength of the aristocracy;—the power of the nobility had so long suspended the execution of an Agrarian law in Italy, that they had derived advantage from their own wrong, and seemed to have gained the sanction of time for their encroachments, because they had for so many years prevented the people from questioning them. Under these circumstances many preparatory steps were needful before the evils of the existing system could be attacked with any hope of success; and as imprudence in a reformer is in itself a political crime, the memory of Gracchus is justly liable to blame, notwithstanding the purity of his motives, and the strict legality and beneficial nature of the reform which he vainly endeavoured to accomplish.

Some idea of the originality and value of Niebuhr's History may be formed from this specimen; not less excellent are his remarks on the original composition of the Roman army, and its connection with the political divisions of the commonwealth, as instituted by Servius Tullius; although we think that he has failed in tracing correctly the subsequent changes which took place in its tactics, up to the full development of the legionary system, such as it is described by Polybius. On this point also we shall venture upon some detail, as it will serve to illustrate the revolutions which the art of war has undergone under similar circumstances in different ages and countries, to bring ancient and modern history together, and make them each reflect light upon the other. We may hope that the folly is now gone by of studiously painting the manners,

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manners, institutions and events of ancient times in colours most strongly contrasting with every thing which we know from our own experience. The pictures thus produced were striking and beautiful indeed, but nothing practical could be learnt from them, since they displayed a world as unreal as the fantastic creations of romance. Indeed if their brilliancy ever excited a wish to imitate them, the result was not only unprofitable, but mischievous, when attempts were made to force the characters and practice of modern nations from their proper growth and course, in the vain hope of making them resemble a pattern purely imaginary. Thus the lessons of what was called ancient history, impressed on the mind by its earliest associations, were a hinderance rather than a help to the politician and the statesman; whilst men of another description, whose knowledge was altogether practical, seeing what absurdities arose from an appeal to the pretended example of antiquity, were tempted to despise the study of the past, and to trust solely to their own natural understandings, and their acquaintance with men and things actually existing. But our conclusions must be suspicious, unless they rest on an experience as extensive in point of time as of space: and the rashness of the King of Siam, in disbelieving the existence of ice, has been often imitated by those, who forget that phænomena utterly at variance with all that we see around us, may be produced as easily by a difference of centuries, as by a difference of latitude.

In almost all rude societies the principal military force has consisted of cavalry or chariots. The superiority, which these possess over men on foot in the infancy of the military art, is obvious and overwhelming, and can only be counterbalanced by regular discipline, and a system of tactics far above the capacities of an ignorant people. Accordingly, not only in Asia, but in Greece, in Gaul, in Britain, and in Italy, the fate of every battle in the oldest times depended on that part of the army who fought on horseback or in chariots; and the infantry, if they deserved the name, were hardly better than a disorderly crowd, fit only to add to the prisoners or the slain when the enemy was put to flight. But the horsemen were necessarily the wealthier members of the community, who thus became also the most powerful; in fact, the system threw the chief political power into the hands of the king and of the richer citizens, who could afford to mount and bring into the field themselves and their own dependents. This was one reason why the earliest governments were either monarchies or aristocracies; and exactly in the same manner, when society was in its second infancy, in the Middle ages, similar causes produced a similar result: the cavalry, or men at arms, then constituted so exclusively the

strength

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strength of every army, that the term 'Milites,' in the Latin of that time, is used to designate them alone; and the third estate, or Commons, was every where in a state of complete insignificance. But in process of time, wherever the people were enabled by fortunate circumstances to acquire wealth, and to obtain some knowledge of the arts, the class of citizens who fought on foot naturally improved their arms and their discipline, and becoming thus of more importance as soldiers, gradually rose also in political consideration and weight. But as all free citizens served at their own expense, and provided their own arms, the men of moderate fortunes had a twofold advantage over the soldiers of the poorer classes. They could not only afford to clothe themselves from head to foot in armour, and to procure spears and swords of a higher temper; but they had leisure to practise themselves in military exercises; and thus to obtain that familiarity with the use of their arms, and that acquaintance with order and discipline, which gave them an infinite superiority over the ill-armed and untrained multitude. Hence the popular party in the earliest times has consisted always of those citizens who were rich without nobility, as opposed to those who possessed at once nobility, riches, and power; and the first steps towards liberty have been the result of a contest not between the rich and the mass of the community, but between the rich and the noble. Hence also that which is a popular party in one stage of society becomes at a more advanced period an oligarchical one; and thus Aristotle observes, that what was anciently called a democracy, or popular government, was the very same which in his own time was known by the name of a Timocracy, or moderate oligarchy; because originally no more extensive idea could be formed of the term '*popular*,' than as denoting those who presumed to claim a share in the government without the long established qualification of noble blood.

It was in the reign of Servius Tullius that the exclusive aristocracy of the earliest times was first mitigated at Rome; and changes were introduced the natural tendency of which was to transfer the chief power in the state from the high nobility to the second and more numerous class of citizens, who possessed moderate wealth, and were of plebeian birth. The traditions respecting Servius himself are somewhat at variance with one another; but it is sufficiently clear that he was not a patrician, and that he owed the throne to his personal merits, and his favour with the people. To the nobility he was an object of perpetual jealousy and hatred: it was natural, therefore, that he should strengthen himself against their enmity by increasing the political importance of the Commons. This was the purpose of his famous Census, which has been completely misunderstood not only by later writers, but, what

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what is remarkable enough, even by Cicero himself. For when Cicero wrote, the exclusive ascendancy of birth had been overthrown for several centuries, and the contending parties in the commonwealth were the same as in modern times—the rich and the multitude. Because, therefore, the institutions of Servius Tullius favoured the possessors of property rather than the numerical majority of the people, they were supposed to have been framed in a spirit adverse to the popular interest, and to have been designed to prevent the lower orders from acquiring any political weight; whereas the idea of such a democracy as existed in Cicero's time, could never have occurred to any one in the days of Servius Tullius: and it was then as liberal and as popular a principle to set property on a level with birth, as it was afterwards to confer a superiority on numbers over property. Accordingly the exclusive power of the patricians was as much weakened by the regulations of Servius Tullius, as that of the Eupatridæ of Athens by those of Solon. The richest class of plebeians was required to serve in war as cavalry; and twelve centuries of equites were thus added to the six which previously existed, and which had been formed out of the patricians alone. But the most important change consisted in the improvement of the infantry, which, as we have seen, was composed of plebeians alone. Both their tactics and weapons of offence as well as defence were adapted to enable them to withstand the charge of cavalry. The order of the phalanx was introduced instead of the loose array of older times; the richest class, who were to fight in the first ranks, were required to furnish themselves with the complete panoply of a helmet, cuirass and greaves, all made of brass, with a round shield of the same metal, (ὅπλις, or clypeus,) and with a long spear or pike. The second, third and fourth classes, containing all those citizens whose property was under 100,000 asses, and above 12,500, were also called upon to serve in the phalanx, although accoutrements gradually less complete and less expensive were required of them. The fourth class indeed were armed only with the long spear and javelin; but the close array and solid mass of the phalanx rendered it less necessary for the soldiers of the rear ranks to be in complete armour; they were protected by the shields and bodies of those who stood before them, while they could add to the weight of a charge, and their spears being calculated to project even beyond the soldiers of the first line, added to the strength and closeness of that hedge of steel which the front of the phalanx presented to an enemy. By this system a class of citizens, who must otherwise have gone to battle ill-armed and comparatively impotent, were enabled to be of material service, and became at once of importance, by forming a part of that body which

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which was now the main strength of the commonwealth. For the heavy-armed infantry of the middle classes immediately obtained its just superiority over the cavalry of the nobility. Exactly in the same manner, when trade or peculiar local circumstances had raised the condition of the Commons in modern Europe, the long pike and the close order of battle were the arms and tactics first adopted by the infantry in order to sustain the charge of the feudal cavalry. The result also was the same as in Greece and ancient Italy: the chivalry of Burgundy were scattered by the Swiss infantry at Granson and Morat; and the bristling pikes and deep masses of the Spanish foot were long the terror of Europe, till the improved use of fire-arms, about the middle of the seventeenth century, produced another revolution in the art of war, to which ancient history can afford no parallel.

It would have been the natural effect of the institutions of Servius Tullius to change the aristocracy of the Roman constitution into that species of oligarchy, or rather of timocracy, which existed at Lacedæmon, at Corinth, and in most of the commonwealths of Greece, during the Peloponnesian war. But instead of this, we find the aristocratical principle of making noble birth a necessary qualification for all the great offices of state, prevailing for a hundred and fifty-eight years after this period; and the oldest contemporary writer who has left us an account of the Roman army, describes a system of tactics totally different from that which was in use among the Greeks, and which we have described Servius Tullius as introducing at Rome. In no part of his work has Livy more completely betrayed his incompetence to write the ancient history of his country than in the passage in which he notices and attempts to explain this remarkable fact. 'Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; deinde, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere: et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies cœpit esse.'—lib. viii. c. 8. Thus hastily does he pass over an alteration, which affected most deeply the whole internal constitution of Rome, as well as its military power. And to mark yet more strongly his total want of accuracy and consistency, the passage which we have quoted, and the account of the census of Servius Tullius, lib. i. c. 43, are the only places in which he ever alludes to the existence of the order of the phalanx in the Roman armies; in all his descriptions of battles he writes as if the divisions and arms of the legion, such as Polybius describes them, had been adopted from the earliest ages of the commonwealth. In his omitting to mention the use of the Greek tactics as actually prevalent at one time, he has probably copied with correctness the chronicles of the older writers, from whom he has compiled his narrative. We

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believe that the tyranny of the second Tarquin deranged altogether the institutions of his predecessor; and that while he thinned the number of patricians by arbitrary executions, he was equally careful to depress the wealthier plebeians, and to alter that military system which rendered them the chief strength of the national army. An instance is recorded in Grecian history,* in which the tyrant of a city found means to secure the arms of the heavy-armed infantry, and was thus enabled, by the aid of his guards, to keep the people securely in subjection; and Tarquin, who manifestly exercised a perfect despotism, whose person was protected by a body-guard at home, and who enjoyed also a commanding influence over several of the neighbouring states, had possibly, in the early part of his reign, adopted with success some similar expedient. If this was the case, and if the plebeians were reduced by him to the helpless condition of light-armed infantry, the exclusive ascendancy of the aristocracy after his expulsion follows as a matter of course; nor is it less natural that the nobility, having thus regained their old supremacy, should do their utmost to preserve it, by relaxing the institutions of Servius Tullius, and not requiring even the richer plebeians to furnish themselves with the expensive armour demanded for the service of the phalanx. In times of severe distress, such as those which followed the first establishment of the consular government, individuals would gladly avail themselves of this indulgence, without reflecting that by so doing they were depriving themselves, as a body, of all their weight in the commonwealth. Thus the Roman infantry again became inferior in importance to the cavalry; and this state of things is marked in the accounts given of the battle at the Lake Regillus, A. U. C. 258. The stories of single combats between the generals, which make the descriptions of that action resemble the battles of Homer and Virgil, are not to be treated as mere poetical fictions, but really represent the state of the military at that period; when the cavalry forming the principal strength of the army, and being composed of all the nobility of the commonwealth, personal conflicts among the chiefs were mutually sought after, and the fall of a brave and active leader would powerfully influence the fate of the day. Again, the tradition of the three hundred and six Fabii marching out at the head of their clan to fight the Tuscans, seems to show that birth had regained that exclusive ascendancy of which Servius Tullius had tried to deprive it; for the common soldiers, or plebeians, of the clan were all light-armed, and therefore are not even mentioned in those chronicles from which Livy copied his narrative; whilst the Fabii, as patri-

* See Thucyd. l. 6. c. 58.

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cians, alone bore complete armour, without any intermixture even of the wealthier plebeians. It is manifest also, from the whole account of the secession to the Mons Sacer, and afterwards of the insurrection against the Decemviri, that nothing like a regular, heavy-armed infantry, formed out of the four first classes of plebeians, could have existed during those periods; as in that case the principal power in the state must have been in their hands, and the institution of tribunes would have been needless. The Gauls appear to have served unintentionally the cause of liberty at Rome, by obliging the Roman generals to improve the arms of their infantry. Camillus is said* to have first introduced among them the use of iron or steel helmets, and to have required them to add a rim of brass to their shields, (scuta,) which were before made only of wood, to enable them to resist the blows of the Gaulish swords. The long spear also, which every man of the four first classes was directed by Servius Tullius to carry, had been completely laid aside, till Camillus restored the use of it, as the most effectual weapon with which to combat an undisciplined enemy. It was not, however, exactly the same with the spear of the phalanx, but might be thrown, as well as thrust, against an enemy, and was, indeed, generally, in after-times, employed in the former manner. This alteration in the arms of the infantry took place in the year of Rome 388; and it is, at least, a remarkable coincidence, that the Licinian and Sextian laws, which were the great triumph of the liberty of the Roman people, and which had been obstinately opposed by the aristocracy during the preceding nine years, were all carried immediately afterwards; as if the improvement in the military force of the plebeians at once ensured them their due share of political rights. It was then found that, without forsaking the loose array to which they had been so long accustomed, the infantry might be rendered completely effective both in arms and discipline; so that there was no temptation to return to the order of the phalanx; and the experience of every successive war must have rendered the Romans more and more satisfied with the excellence of their own tactics, which had grown thus curiously and accidentally out of a system intended, and apparently well calculated, to depress the importance of the infantry, and so to keep the plebeians perpetually dependent on the aristocracy.

But we have dwelt, perhaps, too long on the subject of the works before us, and we are anxious to say a few words, before we conclude, both on the writers themselves, and the modern literature of the great nation, which has produced them. The first characteristic which strikes us in both is great learning, and deep re-

* Plutarch in Camillo, c. 40, 41.

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search; such as marked so honourably the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have discovered nothing like index hunting in any of the works which we are considering; no signs of a knowledge got up for a particular time and purpose —a knowledge barely sufficient to eke out its task, and the limits of which present themselves to the eye at every turn, betraying the poverty of the possessor. Like Gibbon, or even more than he, Niebuhr, and Wachsmuth, and Creuzer luxuriate in an abundance of learning seemingly inexhaustible; it is confined to no one subject, or age, or country, but appears almost equally familiar with all. The literature of our own country is so much studied in Germany, that we were not surprized to find Niebuhr quoting Blackstone, without a single word of explanation, as if every German were perfectly acquainted with his name and works. But when we consider the extreme difficulty of communication between England and the continent at the time when Niebuhr was writing his first volume, we do think it remarkable that he should refer in the same manner to the travels of Lord Valentia, (*Niebuhr*, vol. i. p. 336,) which were then very recently published, and which might well be supposed to have escaped the notice of a foreigner deeply engaged in studies of another description.

Equally general is the knowledge displayed by Creuzer and Wachsmuth; but the qualities which most distinguish the learning of the modern Germans from that of the eminent scholars of former times, are independence of thought, and discrimination of judgment. They do not merely retail the facts and opinions which they meet with in the course of their reading, without taking any pains to ascertain the truth of the one or the soundness of the other. They do not class the wisest and the most foolish reasonings under one general name of 'ancient authorities,' and quote them all with equal confidence and respect. On the contrary every work which they have occasion to notice is subjected to a complete critical analysis; its accidental and its internal value are distinguished, and each carefully appreciated; the probable sources of the author's information are explored with the utmost diligence; and the product of knowledge which is at last collected from him is applied to illustrate the works of other writers; so that nothing is left to float vaguely in the mind of the reader or to encumber it with an ill-digested weight. This, indeed, is high, but not exaggerated, praise; and we wish that the literature of which this may be said, were far more generally known and studied amongst us. In our literary intercourse with Germany we have hitherto been as passive traders as the Chinese: we have suffered our own productions to be exported, without any desire to import those of our neighbours in return; or if we have purchased

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purchased any of their commodities, we have trafficked like savages, bartering things of real value for the mere glass beads, toys, and tawdry finery of those with whom we have traded. But the taste for better things is rising, and the most valuable part of the most valuable literature in Europe will not long remain unknown to the inquiring and intelligent minds of Englishmen.

Whenever the time arrives that the historians, poets and divines of Germany are as familiar to us as those of our own country already are to the Germans, we are far from thinking that we shall be the only gainers by it, or that our benefit will not in part consist in learning to avoid those faults of which the German literature affords some striking examples. With minds so active and so independent, the temptation to paradox is sometimes irresistible: where so much supine credulity and childish ignorance has been detected in the writers of past times, it is natural to be led away by self-complacency, and to fancy that the improving or correcting hand of modern wisdom is every where needed. Contrary, however, to the spirit of the French philosophers of the last century, it seems the fashion in Germany to speak most scornfully of the ages immediately preceding the present, and to retaliate for the excessive praises once lavished upon the eighteenth century, by treating that period with proportionate contempt. The greatest glory is of course to be won by the conquest of a conqueror; and it is the readiest path to distinction to assail that which stands supreme in public opinion. We have seen a similar attack carried on in our own country against the literature of the eighteenth century, and grounded on the same fallacious principle: it was not thought enough to demand a due share of general admiration for our older writers; they, in their turn, were to be lifted up to an unnatural pre-eminence, and no author to be deemed worthy of respect who had had the misfortune to be born since the Restoration. Niebuhr's admiration, however, is bestowed on a much more remote antiquity, and he seems almost to believe in a gradual degeneracy of the human race from some high pitch of bodily and mental excellence which he supposes it to have attained in the earliest stages of its existence.

By a most extraordinary misunderstanding of the passage which he quotes, Niebuhr brings forward the authority of Aristotle in support of the notion, that the state of society existed before the rude and solitary life of an individual; the whole subsisted, he says, before its part. He will not believe, therefore, that the aborigines of Italy were a mere horde of savages, and treats with contempt the opinion, that mankind has gradually advanced from a condition of rudeness to civilization and knowledge. He is inclined to enlarge Linnæus's well known division of the genus

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'Homo' into two species, Homo Vulgaris, or the common man, and Homo Sylvestris, or the man of the woods; and would rather divide it into a great number of species; some designed for a greater and others for a less degree of moral and intellectual excellence; forming, we suppose, a gradual scale from the most perfect breed of men, wherever we are to look for it, down to the negro, the hottentot, and the ape. Accordingly, he will by no means admit the descent of all mankind from one original pair: but supposes that different breeds of men were originally created in different countries; that as different parts of the globe have their characteristic vegetables and animals of the brute creation, so also they may be believed to produce each its peculiar species of man.

We have thought it right to give this specimen of that spirit of paradox, which now and then lamentably disfigures Niebuhr's work; reminding us of the observation which a German writer is said to have made upon his countrymen. 'J. P. Richter a dit, que l'empire de la mer était aux Anglais, celui de la terre aux Français, et celui de l'air aux Allemands.' We will add the beautiful comment on this text:—'En effet, on aurait besoin, en Allemagne, de donner un centre et des bornes à cette éminente faculté de penser qui s'élève, et se perd dans le vague, pénètre et disparoît dans la profondeur, s'anéantit à force d' impartialité, se confond à force d'analyse, enfin manque de certains défauts qui puissent servir de circonscription à ses qualités.'—*Madame de Staël, de l'Allemagne*, tom. i. p. 19. A defect of this kind is easily turned into ridicule, and it may be made the foundation of a more serious and, perhaps, more reprehensible species of attack. There is, or at least there was, a class of persons in this country, who, on meeting with such opinions as that which we have quoted from Niebuhr's history, overwhelm the author at once with a sweeping charge of 'German folly and infidelity.' But 'folly and infidelity,' whether of English or German growth, have never been more unsuccessfully combated than by such opponents. 'To make a man an offender for a word,' is condemned by the highest authority; if there be any who are tempted to tax Niebuhr with deism or infidelity, because he does not believe the descent of all mankind from two first parents; we would recommend them to consider well the admirable passage in Johnson's Life of Sir Thomas Browne, in which he defends the subject of his Memoir from a similar imputation, and points out the want of wisdom as well as of charity in those who are willing on slight grounds 'to enlarge the catalogue of infidels.' We are, certainly, very far from agreeing with the opinions of Niebuhr; and we sincerely lament errors, which, in such a man, can only proceed from a want of duly weighing

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weighing the grounds of belief, and studying the scriptures in a teachable and humble spirit; but we think that a German may very possibly be a sincere believer in the Gospel, without having fully considered how closely the truth of the Jewish revelation is connected with that of the Christian, and even without allowing the inspiration of Scripture in a sense so universal, as that in which we ourselves take it. There is, naturally enough, something of a national character in the manner and degree of men's faith; and it has often been remarked that the German school of theology has a tendency to latitudinarianism: its divines are apt to explain away some of the most forcible scriptural expressions, and to introduce hypotheses of their own, without sufficiently reflecting on the consequences involved in the sacrifice of the plain statements of the Bible to the removal of some merely imaginary difficulty. Such men, however, and men who grow up at their feet, and imbibe their habits of thinking, are not to be *therefore* inconsiderately branded with want of Christian belief: the appellation of infidel belongs with far greater propriety to many writers on whom it has never been bestowed; to a whole multitude of dramatists, novelists, essayists, and others, who, while speaking respectfully of the doctrines of Christianity, have inculcated practical principles in direct opposition to the spirit of the gospel. When, indeed, another German writer* expresses his envy of the happiness of the ancient Greeks because they had never heard the name of Israel, and when we find him in the same volume speaking with triumphant delight of an act of assassination; such a man betrays the true character of unbelief, accompanied, as it always is, with moral depravity. But there are no principles in Niebuhr's work which afford grounds for any similar accusation against him. In fact, if we would hope to restrain that wildness of criticism on theological subjects which is too prevalent in Germany, we must learn to tolerate amongst ourselves a sober freedom of honest and humble inquiry; our censures, at present, lose some of their weight as proceeding from a national school too little accustomed to question old opinions to be able fairly to judge when they are questioned without reason. The scepticism of pride or ignorance or wickedness is sufficiently abundant; but this can never lead to truth. We believe that the inquiring spirit of the Germans is of a better kind; and while we sincerely wish to see it purified from its extravagances, we think that this may be most successfully effected, if we acknowledge, and endeavour to imitate its excellencies.

The deficiencies in the intellectual character of the Germans

*. Poppo, Prolegomena ad Thucydidem.

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are owing, we think, to circumstances over which they had no controul. To quote again the powerful work of Madame de Staël, 'La séparation des classes nuit à quelques égards à l'esprit proprement dit. Les nobles y ont trop peu d'idées, et les gens de lettres trop peu d'habitude des affaires.' If we ask for the causes of this wide line of demarcation which exists in Germany, between the different classes of society, the geography and history of the country will furnish us with the answer. With the exception of that part of the frontier which is washed by the Baltic, the sea coast of Germany is limited to the narrow space comprised between the Elbe and the Ems: a space utterly out of proportion to the size of the country, and far too small to allow that free communication with foreign nations, which is as essential to the political welfare of a people, as a free circulation of air to the health of an individual. The sea opens to mankind a boundless field of action; and thus gives a practical direction to energies of the mind which, if denied their natural course, will run up into a luxuriant but unfruitful growth of speculation and theory. The continuance too of the original disunion between the different parts of Germany has contributed to the same results. In France, in Spain, and in the British islands, the petty kingdoms or provinces which seemed designed by nature to form one great body, were happily united before they had attained to that age when each would have become too stiff and hard to be moulded into a new form. But in Germany and Italy the separation has existed till the time for union has gone by: and in both countries the strength of the nation is frittered away in the multitude of principalities into which they are divided. This, however, is not the only nor the worst evil which results. With the original elements unblended together, were retained also their original institutions and forms of society. That most infallible mark of barbarism, a system of castes, continued to defy the full light of the eighteenth century, (we beg Niebuhr's pardon for the expression;) and even now, notwithstanding the progress lately made towards a better state, is far from being completely overthrown. With all these disadvantages of an almost total exclusion from the sea, a deficiency of national power, and an absence of municipal freedom, we cannot be surprised that the energies of the Germans have been turned more towards thinking than acting; and that their understandings are tinged with that fanciful idealism for which a practical acquaintance with mankind, and with the concerns of real life, seems to offer the only remedy.

With Great Britain, on the other hand, the case is totally different. Since the world began, no state of society has ever afforded such advantages for the attainment of the highest intellectual

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lectual and moral excellence as that which we at this moment enjoy. With far more truth than when it was originally spoken, we may now say, that 'we have made every land and every sea accessible to our enterprise;' yet our communication, extensive as it is, with foreign countries, is far surpassed by that wonderful internal intercourse, by which the remotest corners of our own island, we trust that ere long we may say islands, are connected and bound together, one with another. We believe it is no exaggeration to say, that if any two gentlemen were to be thrown together by accident in a stage-coach in any part of the country, and would consent to enter freely into conversation, they would soon find some one person, if not many, with whom they were both acquainted, and would thus have something of a tie to prevent them from feeling towards each other as perfect strangers. This is one good produced by our locomotive habits, and by the practice of visiting watering-places in different parts of the kingdom; and it is one which, if duly considered, will be found of immense importance. It produces directly an amalgamation of the several classes of society; men differing widely in rank and profession associate with each other; and thus, from the mixture of their acquaintance, even where the circle of it be small, they lose that pedantry and ignorance which are the invariable consequences of living alone, or associating only with persons who view every thing in the same light with themselves. As far as the interests of literature are concerned, we believe that this vigorous and healthy circulation, reaching, as it does, to the remotest corners of Great Britain, is even more beneficial than the perfect freedom enjoyed by the press; although doubtless that freedom, as well as the whole character of our political institutions, is favourable to the perfection of the understanding in a degree which can hardly be estimated too highly. For instance, with what advantages over the writers of other nations does an Englishman undertake to unravel the histories of Greece or Rome? Familiar, as we are from our childhood, with all the phænomena of political parties, their aptness to adhere with pertinacity to a name, when circumstances have totally changed the thing,—the slender thread which connects them, after a course of years, with their original principles, amidst many apparent deviations from them; the exaggeration of their language and feelings; their furious enmities, and convenient coalitions, and the audacity with which they identify themselves with the national good; we can easily interpret aright the language of historians concerning them, and accurately estimate their nature and their merits. If then we have not surpassed the literature of Germany, and still more if we have not equalled it, the fault is our own; and it can neither be ascribed

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ascribed to any external disadvantages, nor to any want of natural intelligence, but to some other cause which it most deeply concerns us to discover and remove.

We are so accustomed to dwell upon the extraordinary merits of a few of our great writers, that we are generally insensible to the manifold deficiencies of our literature. Yet if we compare it with that of France or Germany, its poverty in works of laborious learning is truly remarkable. If a student in history ask where he can find an account of any of the great nations of the continent in the English language, we recollect nothing better to refer him to than the miserable compilation of Russell, or the heavy and unsatisfactory volumes of the Universal History. We are not forgetful of the works of Robertson, of Archdeacon Coxe, and of Mr. Hallam; but these embrace only particular periods, and still leave it undeniable, that we have no good history of any modern nation except our own. In ecclesiastical history we have a remarkable instance of our peculiar defect, a want of learning. Milner was a man of piety and of ability; but from the narrow limits of his knowledge, and the uncritical spirit with which he appears to have studied, his work is altogether unworthy of its subject. But our inferiority is still more striking and less excusable in every branch of study connected with the history, antiquities, and literature of Greece and Rome. We believe that there are many writers of those nations whose works have never been edited in England at all;—but it is more to the purpose to inquire in how many instances the editions of any of them generally received as the best have been executed by Englishmen. If we except certain portions of the Greek dramatists and poets, we really cannot remember a single one; and if this be spoken too universally, (as through forgetfulness it may be,) we are sure at least that the exceptions will not be more than sufficient to prove the rule. In lexicography our list contains scarcely a name of high reputation; and the many defects and errors of the Greek grammar which is most commonly used in our schools, may well excite a foreigner's astonishment.* If we turn to works written in illustration of ancient manners, arts, institutions, and laws, what names can we find amongst our own countrymen to oppose to

* It will be seen at once that we refer to the Eton Greek Grammar; by whom it was first written, or what character it deserved to bear in relation to the then existing state of knowledge, we know not—but it is decidedly behind the present age, and does not tend to give boys an accurate knowledge of the parts of speech, or the principles of syntax. We cannot but think that it might well become some of the members of the collegiate body, who have 'all appliances and means,' present leisure, past experience, sufficient learning in all, in some, as every one knows, a high degree of it, and an admirable library; to do something for its improvement. From the masters themselves it would be most unreasonable to expect any labour in addition to their present overwhelming occupations, those

those of Grævius and Gronovius, of Meursius, of Sigonius, of Petit, of Montfaucon, of Winckelman, of Godefroi, of Heineccius; and a multitude of others, without naming the great modern writers of Germany, Creuzer, Hugo, Haubold, and Savigny?

Nor can it be said that the attention of Englishmen is engrossed by other subjects, and that they have no leisure to bestow on classical studies. We know that the attention of our great schools is directed almost exclusively to these very points; that they hold a principal place in the system of education adopted by our universities; and that in no country can there be found more munificent institutions, expressly founded for the encouragement of liberal learning. We know also that in no country in Europe is something more than a merely superficial acquaintance with the classics of Greece and Rome so indispensable, we might almost say universal, an accomplishment of a gentleman; and we know by the specimens of a higher degree, which we *can* produce, what might, and what ought to be the boast of our universities. When we speak of Blomfield, the great Porson, Gaisford, and the lamented Elmsley, a man whom it is not too much, perhaps, to call the most purely Attic scholar of his age, we speak of men, whose characteristic qualities are soundness of judgment, accuracy of knowledge, and elegance of taste—of men who do but make it a more important question, to what cause we ought to ascribe our general deficiency in the field of classic literature and criticism. The conclusion of a long article is not the place to enter upon such an inquiry. One observation, however, we will make; many of our readers will remember the time when the number and indolence, 'the prejudice and port' of resident fellows of colleges were the common topics of invective and ridicule. That clamour had its day, and has passed away; but its effect was in part most pernicious—we may attribute to it in no small degree the present custom of dispensing, as a matter of course, with the residence of all members of foundations who have taken the degree of master of arts. How little do we foresee the results of changes, which break in upon the rules laid down for us by our forefathers! this custom has defeated in great measure the object of the founders of our colleges; and the consequence of it has been the converting our universities into great schools; and the leaving in them scarcely any individuals who are simply occupied in the cultivation of literature. Fellowships are sought for as helping out the incomes of students in the active professions of life; and the residents in the universities are reduced to tutors and pupils. Far be it from us to insinuate that the duties of the former are not zealously and ably performed, we scarcely know a body of public servants more meritorious, or worse paid; but this we may be allowed to say without

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without offence, that from the unvarying and unceasing nature of their occupations they are wholly unable to devote themselves to literature; and that commencing their career early in life, and often with the highest promise of excellence, their minds become early jaded and worn out, their passion for study, and zeal in the pursuit of knowledge much abated, and that they often retire with intellects little, if at all, advanced by advancing years. Splendid exceptions may be and are found; but as a class of men it is obvious that these must not be looked to as likely to furnish many competitors in industry, knowledge, or in patient self-devotion to the cause of literature, with the indefatigable students of Germany.

ART. IV.—1. *A Digest of Reports in Equity.* By A. Hammond, Esq. of the Inner Temple. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1824.

2. *Analytical Digest of Reports of Cases in the Courts of Common Law and Equity.* By H. Jeremy, Esq. of the Middle Temple. London. 1825.

3. *Supplement to Bridgman's Digested Index of the Reported Cases in the several Courts of Equity, with the points of Practice from the earliest period to the present Time.* By J. Flather, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. 8vo. London. 1822.

AMONGST the many peculiarities which characterize our legal institutions, there are none more remarkable, or less understood, than those by which the Courts of Extraordinary or Equitable Jurisdiction are distinguished from the Courts of Common Law. Blackstone has observed that nothing was extant in his day, which could give a stranger a tolerable idea of our Courts of Equity; and his own chapter on the subject, elegant and ingenious as it is, cannot be said to supply the deficiency. The root, indeed, of the inquiry, and the principles which can alone make those peculiarities intelligible, are more deeply laid in the antiquities of our ancient policy than has been commonly supposed; and although we are not prepared to fill up the space in legal literature, which is confessedly unoccupied, yet we think we can afford some assistance to the researches of those who may be disposed to consider our ancient law in conjunction with the history of our constitution.

It is a mistake to suppose that even now Courts of Equity alone possess an equitable or extraordinary jurisdiction; for every lawyer knows that the courts of common law exercise something of the same kind in many cases and for many purposes. But it is certain that it was formerly much more extensively diffused, than it now is; nor were its principles confined;

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as at present, to the discussion of the rights of property. Courts existed for the trial of crimes and misdemeanours which were not within the cognizance of the ordinary courts of common law, and sentences were passed not in pursuance of the verdict of a jury, but upon the examination of the accused party, and the depositions of witnesses. Both in principles and in practice, it is obvious that these courts were entirely analogous to the subsisting courts of equity.

We shall endeavour in the present remarks to trace the first source of these extraordinary powers, in the remedial functions of that portion of the ancient legislature which, during the reigns of Edw. I. and Edw. II. was an incorporate member or branch of parliament, and was designated by the name of the Council; a name applied also to the supreme legislative and judicial assemblies of the kingdom until the reign of Hen. III., when they obtained the style and title of the Parliament. And we shall consider the reign of Edw. I. as the proper starting-point of inquiry, because in the preceding era the constitution cannot be said to have been defined either in its form or institutions; and the investigation of the earlier history of the Council, though highly important in itself, would lead us into discussions foreign from our immediate purpose.

No complaints nor remonstrances appear to have been excited by the exercise of the remedial functions of the Council from the reign of Edw. I. until the reign of Edw. III., when the second period of its legal history begins. The Commons then denounced its jurisdiction as an infringement of the celebrated chapter of Magna Charta, by which the King grants that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseised of his freehold, or free customs, or be outlawed, exiled, or destroyed, passed upon, or condemned, otherwise than by the lawful judgment of his peers, or the law of the land. The same course was pursued under Richard the Second, and the object of limiting and regulating the powers of the Council, as well as of communicating them to the entire Parliament, was partially effected under the House of Lancaster, when the same jurisdiction was exercised by the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled; at the same time, however, that it continued concurrently vested in the Council, which also began to assume the form of the Privy Council.

As the main question at issue between the Commons and the crown arose out of the alleged violation of Magna Charta, it will be necessary in the first place to consider the meaning of the chapter. Now we apprehend that a good deal of error has been occasioned by the practice of considering *the Great Charter*, as

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one unchanging statute, without adverting to its repeated promulgations at different intervals. Every confirmation of the Charter was, in effect, a re-enactment. General expressions in it therefore, or legal terms, ought to be construed with reference to the laws and usages prevailing at each of the respective times when it received a fresh sanction. Hence whatever may have been the meaning of those who penned the Charter of Runningmede; the passage relating to the trial by judgment of the peerage, must now be explained according to the constitution of the realm, when the charter of Henry III. was renewed by his son. And at that period, it designated no other mode of trial except such as could be given by the peers of the king's courts, by the tenants in chief, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, who sat and acted by virtue of the baronies which they held of the king. The other species of trial, by the law of the land or common law, as it was administered under Edw. I. included many modes of dispensing justice.

When the transgressor was seized under such circumstances as to leave no doubt of his guilt in the minds of the by-standers, no accuser or witness was required, and no defence allowed. The corpse lying at the feet of the murderer testified his crime—no other proof was given of his misdeed; the thief bearing his spoil was beheaded by his pursuers without respite or delay; and the bloody hand of the slayer of the deer drew forth instant retribution from the guardians of the forest. Punishments thus inflicted bore the character of revenge rather than that of legal adjudication. They often proceeded from the authority of the Land Lords who had inherited the Saxon rights and jurisdictions, or of the Burghs to whom the same franchises appertained. But the principle of taking judicial notice of open and notorious crimes and misdemeanours was long recognized in other courts, even in those high tribunals where such vindictive justice was in danger of becoming subservient to the worst motives and passions. Offences against the public peace, the state, and the Crown, were not unfrequently submitted to judgment by acclamation, and the well-deserved condemnation of the criminal lost its moral efficacy, and seemed to be the result either of despotic power or party violence.

When the offence was less manifest, the criminal, after apprehension, was put upon his *deliverance* at Common Law, either by the appeal of the injured party, or by the presentment of an inquest. In the first case he might, except under certain circumstances, defend himself by his body, and meet his opponent in the field; or he might elect to abide by the testimony of his countrymen, summoned from the neighbourhood where the deed was

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was supposed to have been committed. In the second, he might have submitted to the ordeal, until it was prohibited by Hen. III. This mode of trial, wicked and foolish as it undoubtedly is, has been too widely spread through all nations in a half-civilized state, to be treated by fellow men with extreme severity; and in this particular instance it was less wicked and foolish than ordinarily, if it be true, as seems probable, that at the period when it was allowed, the first finding or presentment of the inquest was final, and that the subsequent ordeal was allowed to the accused from motives of humanity, and for the purpose of giving him another chance of escape. If he declined the judgment of God, he put himself upon his country, which became the only mode of acquittal after the ordeal was abolished, except in certain cases where compurgation was allowed.

The commonwealth was knit together by the law of free borgh, or frank pledge. Of this singular institution Mr. Hallam has given the best account, and the most reasonable justification. It was a system of mutual suretyship, which gave to every individual, whom it included, a direct interest in the general observation of the law. It bore hard indeed on personal freedom, but the unsettled state of society, and the imperfect authority of the laws, rendered it necessary. When a crime was committed, an account was required from the inhabitants of the township. If the offender was not produced, and the township was unable satisfactorily to purge itself from participation in his guilt, or negligence in the pursuit, it might be amerced. But the offender himself, not appearing in Court after lawful summons, broke the compact which bound him to the commonwealth; he became an outlaw; his property was forfeited, he was said to bear a wolf's head, and might be slain with impunity. The punishments of the law were rigorous, but they were mitigated in practice by the natural yearning to do justice in mercy. If the criminal had taken sanctuary, he might save his life by abjuring the realm, and the white cross which he bore in his hand, whilst he was journeying to the sea-shore, protected him against all harm. Many lives were saved by the benefit of clergy, which, although it was not carried to such an extent as afterwards, was still sufficiently ample. An appeal, indeed, whether of theft or murder, could not be released or pardoned by the king. But the Judges, even as early as the reign of Hen. III., greatly discouraged appeals. They required the utmost nicety in the pleadings, and allowed the defendant to avail himself of every technical objection, however minute; while the heavy punishment which was inflicted upon the appellor, when he failed in his suit, was a powerful guard against any abuse of the process.

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From this hasty outline it will be collected that the Criminal law was entirely Gothic in its structure. Considered in relation to its effects, it was not oppressive upon the people; and the general peace of the kingdom, allowing for the state of society, was well preserved, or at least better than in any coëval state in Europe. Acting by established and acknowledged rules, the law might be harsh, but it was not despotic, and the principle of adopting precedent as the guide of judicial decisions tended to give stability and vigour to its administration. No speculative wisdom will ever devise a code which can anticipate the infinite variety of cases arising out of the transactions of human life. A system of jurisprudence which, founded upon precedents, admits the engrafting of other precedents as they arise, will form the nearest approach to such a code, because, although no two cases are ever exactly similar, still no new case ever happens which has not had a forerunner in some earlier case, so nearly analogous to it as to afford a rational rule for its decision.

The principal permanent tribunals of civil and criminal jurisdiction, noticed by Bracton, Britton, and Fleta, are the courts of the Justices assigned to hold Pleas before the King himself, the Justices of the Bench, and the Exchequer, and of these they treat copiously and clearly; but they scarcely allude to the subject of our present inquiry, the King's Council, which, under the constitution as it existed during the reign of Edw. I. appears to have been the highest permanent tribunal.

'Some have thought,' it is observed by Hale, in his Treatise on the Jurisdiction of the Lords House of Parliament, p. 23, 'that there was lodged in it (i. e. the Council) the plenitude of all civil jurisdiction; and was, as it were, the common mother of those great courts, the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and Exchequer; and that the judges, and others that had jurisdiction in those courts above named, were, anciently, but so many distributions of the members of this Council for the better dispatch of business and ease of themselves and the people, as it were so many sub-committees or sub-delegates taken by the king out of this council for that purpose; but that still this *consilium* in its collective body, retained their primitive and original jurisdiction.

'Others, again, have thought that the institution of these courts, of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, and the judges appointed to sit therein, were in truth the primitive jurisdiction next under the Parliament; but that, for the better accommodation and advice, the judges of these courts, the Chancellor, Treasurer, Justices of each bench, and Barons of the Exchequer, and some other principal attendants of places that concerned the administration of justice and the king's revenue, were called hither to be parts and members of this council; and therefore that the council itself, as such, had nothing of coercive jurisdiction.'

Omitting

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Omitting certain powers and authorities, which do not affect the question now before us, the jurisdiction of the Council may be divided into two principal branches—the authority of dispensing justice immediately by proceedings before the members in person—and the authority of issuing writs upon which the proceedings in other courts of remedial jurisdiction were grounded, which last they shared with the King and with the Chancery. A writ of this description is a mandate issued in the name of the King, but it was not indispensable that his commands should be reduced into writing. He was a record in himself,* and his orders, given by him in his judicial capacity, *ore tenus*, were equivalent to a writ or commission, and required no further authentication; when given in writing, such authentication was afforded by affixing the great seal to the parchment which contained the precept.

Glanville, fully as he treats of original writs, throws no light upon the mode of suing out or of obtaining them. As the precedents inserted in his treatise are tested in the name of the Justiciar, it has been conjectured that they were issued by that great officer of state. This supposition, however, is disproved by a very curious account which has been preserved of the costs and expenses of an ancient law-suit for the recovery of land. When Henry II. was in Normandy, though the Justiciar, Richard de Luci, was in England, it was necessary that the suitor should obtain his writ from the Sovereign, although before it became operative on this side of the channel, the seal remaining in the custody of the Queen was also affixed to it.

* This expression requires some explanation. In the original sense of the word, the *record* was not the written evidence of the fact, but the term was applied to the witnesses themselves, whose testimony could not be doubted or rejected. Thus in the writs of 'Recordari,' preserved by Glanville, lib. 8. c. 6, 7. 9, 10, it is clear that the *record* was the declaration made ore tenus by the knights who, appearing in open Court, were to certify concerning the plea; and it will be seen that whenever Glanville employs the term, it is always applied to such a judicial declaration. In the Grand Coustumier of Normandy, the term bears no other meaning—the record of espousals (c. 101.) is the evidence, upon oath, of seven witnesses who were present at the ceremony. The record in the Exchequer of Normandy (c. 103.) is the testimony of the same number of persons who could testify concerning the things done or granted therein. And it may be doubted whether, either in England or Normandy, there was originally any written record of the proceedings which appear to have been preserved only in the memory of the witnesses. By a natural consequence, the term was applied in England to the written evidence or declaration of the persons giving testimony; thus in the writ of Recordari in the Register, (p. 5.) the record is directed to be transmitted under the seals of the knights, who were present when it was made, yet the distinction between the record or testimony, and the recording parchment which contained it, was long accurately felt.

In the statutes 15 Rich. II. and 13 Hen. IV. c. 7. the *record* of the Justices or Justice, and the Sheriff's 'poair de recorder,' relate only to their testimony and power of bearing testimony, concerning riots, which, by the latter statute, when certified in the manner therein provided, was made equivalent to a presentment. The misconception of the term is probably the ground of the opinion that a justice of the peace is a court of record in himself.

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This may be collected from the following extracts :—

'Hiç est sumptus et custamentum quod ego Richardus de Anesty posui in terrâ Willelmi, Avunculi mei, perquirendâ.

'Scilicet, in primum misi quendam hominem meum Normaniam pro brevi Regis, per quod posui adversarios meos in placitum; qui dimidiam marcam dispendidit in illo itinere.

'Et cum mihi nuncius meus breve apportasset, recepto brevi, perrexi Sarum cum brevi, ut ibi in sigillo Reginæ reverteretur, et in illo itinere dispendidi ij marcas arg.

'Et cum inde redîssem, audiens quod Radulphus Brito debuisset transfretare, secutus sum eum usque Suhantun, causâ loquendi cum eo, ut perquireret mihi breve Regis ad Archiepiscopum, quia scivi quod placitum debebat in curiâ ejus divertere. Et in illo itinere dispendidi xxii sol. et vii den.; et amisi unum palefridum, quem emeram pro xv sol.

'Inde reversus cum brevi Reginæ ivi Angriam,* et tradidi breve Ricardo de Luci; quo viso et audito, posuit mihi diem placitandi apud Norhantun, in vigiliâ Sancti Andreæ.

'Et infra hoc terminum misi Nicolaum, clericum meum, propter Gaufridum de Tresgoz, et propter Albredam sororem ejus; (scilicet quæ fuit uxor avunculi mei,) quos invenit in Norf. apud Berneiam. Et in illo itinere dispendidit v sol.; et amisit unum runcinum† quem emeram ix sol.

'Et cum redisset, ivi ad placitum meum, cum amicis et auxiliis meis. Et in illo itinere dispendidi lviii sol. Ab hinc posuit mihi diem alium apud Suhantun ad xvi diem. Et in illo itinere dispendidi lvii sol. etiam in illo itinere amisi unum runcinum qui valebat xii sol.

'Postea venit Radulphus Brito de Normanniâ et apportavit mihi breve Regis per quod placitum fuit remotum in curia Archiepiscopi, et illud breve apportavi Teobaldo Archiepiscopo, quem inveni apud Wint. Et in illo itinere dispendidi xxv sol.: et iiii. den.'

Such was the course in the reign of Henry II.; and hence we think it may be concluded that the officina brevium, the Chancery, did not then exist; neither does it seem that the Chancellor then possessed all the functions attributed to him in the next age of our legal history.

The dignity, weight, and power of this high office have been traced from remote antiquity. 'Certain it is,' says Lord Coke, 'that both the British and Saxon kings had their Chancellors and court of Chancery'; and Reinbald and Leofrick, Siward and Adulphus, Wolsine and Thurketill are named and quoted in support of his assertions. Many of the charters, authenticated by the subscription of these names, are supposed to be spurious, and it is the opinion of the most competent living authority, that the

* Ongar in Essex.—Richard de Luci 'had, by the gift of Henry the Second, the hundred of Angre, in Essex, as also an hundred acres of assart land in the forest of Stamford, Grenestede and Angre.'—*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 566.

† Runcinus—a load horse. Hence Rowney; 'he rode upon a rowney as he could,' Chaucer.—See Spelm. Gloss. 493.

life

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life of Thurketil, which forms so interesting an episode in the history of Croyland, must be expunged from the pages of Ingulphus, as a later interpolation. The dispute, however, is merely about words; for the administration of justice was so different under the Saxon and Anglo-Norman monarchs, that the Chancellors of Edred or Etheldred could have borne but a slight affinity to Thomas à Becket or Stephen Langton.

Under Ed. I. the *Chancery* became more settled in its course, and this public board or public office, for such it was, and not a Court of Justice, then consisted of the Chancellor, and of certain clerks, whose duty, according to Fleta, consisted in hearing and examining the petitions of complainants, and in affording them due remedy by the King's writ. Perhaps this passage refers to their attendance as receivers of petitions in Parliament, or before the Council; but the whole of the chapter is obscure. Being of the Clergy, they were styled and addressed as Magistri, by which title they are now known. They were also designated as *Clerici de prima forma*, or *de primo gradu*. As part of the King's household, they received their robes and fees from him, from whence they were also called *clerici ad robas*. Besides these there were six other clerks, whose business it was to engross the writs, and they were assisted by certain other juniors, who acted in the name and on the responsibility of their principals. The officers of the Chancery lived and lodged together in an inn, or hospitium, which, when the King resided at Westminster, was near the Palace, or perhaps a part of it, until it was removed to the Domus Conversorum, under Edward III. The writs were sealed on a marble table which stood at the upper end of the Hall, and there they seem to have been delivered out to the suitors. It is supposed that this table still exists beneath the stone stairs. When the King travelled he was followed by the whole establishment of the Chancery. On those occasions it was usual to require a strong horse, able to carry the rolls, from some religious house bound to furnish the animal; and at the towns where the King rested during his progress, an hospitium was assigned to the Chancery.

Writs were of various natures, and the classes into which they were divided are familiarly noticed by Fleta and Bracton, and by the anonymous author of the Treatise entitled Brevia Placitata; but unfortunately they were too well known, and too much matters of course with these writers and their contemporaries, and their accounts of them are therefore so summary, that their meaning can only be gathered by a comparison with records.

Some writs were entitled 'de cursu,' and these seem to have

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been issued from the Chancery, upon the applicant's merely finding pledges, and swearing that he had a true cause of action. It was one of the provisions of the 'Mad Parliament' of Oxford that the Chancellor was not to have the power of issuing any other writs but these, without the commands of the King and of the Parliamentary Council, by whom the royal power was to be controlled; and a portion of this authority remained with the King's Council, when the provisions were annulled, and when the Council reverted to its former constitution. The strength of the aristocratic and popular branches of the legislature has increased so steadily, that no power lost by the crown during any of the revolutionary or constitutional struggles which chequer our history, has ever been fully regained, even where the conflict has appeared to terminate favourably for it.

Writs of grace and favour, which it properly belonged to the King alone to grant, formed a second class; and lastly came the writs by which the Council exercised the various branches of its jurisdiction. During the reigns of Ed. I. and II.* all the proceedings in the courts below, in all their stages, were within its cognizance; and as the functions of the Council in this respect were entirely analogous to those of the modern Court of King's Bench, most of the writs or commissions now issued by the Court of Chancery, or by the King's Bench, upon petition, motion, or suggestion, anciently emanated from it. It had the power of directing writs into any special jurisdictions or franchises, such as Chester or the Marches, the turbulent territories last named often calling for the exercise of its authority; and the territories dependent upon the crown of England, Wales, Ireland, Poitou, and Gascony, were subject to its direct controul.

Partly from the absence, and partly from the ambiguity of records, the history of this tribunal, which occupied so prominent a station in the government of the country, is involved in great obscurity and perplexity. The Councils which the Barons attempted to create during the revolutionary eras of John and Henry III. were intended as restraints upon the royal authority. These disappeared, and the Council, as it existed under Edward I., appears to have possessed its powers, because the King of England, he who had sworn to govern according to law, could seldom act in the exercise of his sovereignty, without the advice of such as were wise in the laws and customs of England. Hence it was composed of the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Justices of either Bench, some of the principal clerks of the Chancery, and such others, usually but not exclusively Bishops,

* Rot. Claus. 19 Edw. I. m. 5.—Ryley, p. 457.

Earls,

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Earls, and Barons, as the King thought fit to name. On certain occasions it appears that the official members sat and acted alone; but that on others they were united to the rest. 'The Council,' thus constituted, has been called the 'Ordinary Council,' or the 'Legal Council,' names not warranted by records, and sometimes, when composed both of its official and nominated members, the Great Council. During the sitting of Parliament, the Council acted, according to the expression of Sir Matthew Hale, as *a council within a council*, or, in other words, it was a house or estate of Parliament, equally distinct from the Prelates and Peers, who sat by virtue of the writ of summons, as from the knights, citizens, and burgesses, elected by and for the commonalty. Statutes were framed by this Council, and brought into Parliament. So much regard was had to the opinion of its members, that they had virtually the power of preventing bills from passing into statutes; for it seems to have been considered that a statute could not be valid without their assent; and all parliamentary petitions, whether of the prelates, or of the peers, or of the commons, or of individuals, until the reign of Henry V., were addressed sometimes, though not very frequently, to the King, or to the Council alone, but in the great majority of cases, to the Council conjointly with the King.

It is not easy to define the manner in which the power of the Council during the convention of Parliament received any additional authority from the presence of the Prelates and Peers then and there assembled. We can only discover that out of Parliament the Council could make no order out of the common course of the law. It is also evident, that the judgments of the Council as such, when delivered in Parliament, were more solemn and binding; that in all cases in which the assent of the King was needful, such assent was more easily and readily attainable there; that consequently the Council could afford more ready relief there; and that the sitting of Parliament may be designated as the term time of the Council; but that in no respect, until the reign of Edw. III., did the Commons concur in any act or proceeding which bore a judicial character.

The loss of our early Parliamentary records throws great obscurity upon the proceedings of Parliament anterior to the 18 Edw. I.; but it appears that until about the fifth year of his reign, all petitions were brought, in the first instance, before the king and his Council. In that year he ordered that they should be previously discussed by the judicial officers, to whose department they belonged, and not brought before the King and Council, unless their weight and importance required it. Another regulation was established 21 Ed. I. Receivers were ap-

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pointed, and the petitions were to be well examined, and sorted into the following classes: those relating to the Chancery—the Exchequer—the Justices—the King and Council—and such as had been answered before.

This practice, after some variations, settled, in the reign of Ed. II., into the regular appointment of receivers of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, for Gascony, and for the Norman islands and other parts beyond the seas—a form which is still observed by the House of Lords at the opening of every new parliament. Many of the petitions related to the payment of the king's debts; these were often brought before him for his opinion. Matters of grace and favour, pardons for offences, and rewards for services, were solicited before the Council in Parliament. If a remainder was in the King, or if land was held by royal grant or charter, actions brought against the tenant were often stayed by the judges until the Council, at the prayer of the demandant, granted a writ *de procedendo*. Oppressions alleged to have been committed by the ministers and bailiffs of the Crown, nusances which could not be abated by the common law, and wrongs and trespasses which could not be so redressed, constituted another fertile source of complaint to the Council. Sometimes these were ordered to be determined in the courts below; much according to the present practice of the court of Chancery, where, if issue is joined on the common law side, the record is delivered by the Chancellor to the court of King's Bench, before which a jury is impanelled and judgment given therein. And sometimes, in the manner of modern issues, inquests were ordered to be taken in the courts below and returned before the Council for judgment. In cases equivalent to those in which evidence would now be investigated by examination of witnesses before committees of either house of Parliament, the evidence was generally obtained by inquests taken under commissions ordered by the Council in or out of Parliament, and returned before the Council. To the King and Council were addressed petitions for grants of pontage, murage, and other tolls and duties of a similar nature. A shadow, if we may so express ourselves, of this ancient power of the Council, is still to be traced in the practice of obtaining grants of light-house dues upon petition presented to the Privy Council, though the validity of such grants are much doubted. Whatever shape the grant assumed, a commission to inquire 'ad quod damnum' was a preliminary step, and the verdict of a jury, testifying that the privilege prayed for would not injure the King or his lieges, preceded its creation.—'Out of the old fields,' saith Coke, 'springeth the new corn.' And we are inclined to think that a recurrence

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recurrence to this ancient practice might afford a salutary check upon the improvident legislation which facilitates the enactment of so many private bills, creating franchises and conferring privileges unprofitable to the community, and ruinous to individuals. If a certain number of members were required to sit as Commissioners ad quod damnum in the very neighbourhood where the dock is to be excavated or the road formed, the verdict which they would obtain in the course of a morning would be infinitely nearer the truth than the evidence elicited at the table of a committee room, during six weeks of strife, uproar, and ruinous expense.

One favourite method of redressing private wrongs from the reign of Ed. I. to that of Ed. III., after which, though not entirely disused, it became much less frequent, was by issuing special writs or commissions of oyer and terminer, at the suit of individuals, in cases where any extraordinary outrage had been committed, demanding more speedy or more effectual remedy than could be furnished by the usual process. These, being writs of grace and favour, were most frequently obtained upon bills or petitions to the King and Council, or to the Council either in or out of Parliament. The poverty of the petitioner, the might, power, and number of his enemies, the inefficiency of the usual process, form the customary allegations in these petitions. Frequently, therefore, the offenders are found among the Baronage. The outrages are always most fearful, and the allegations of assault and battery are without number. It has been suggested to us that these allegations are merely the graceful tautology, the 'other toddy' of the special pleader; but the injured parties state their blows and cuffs with so much minuteness and variation of circumstances, as to leave no doubt of their sad and substantial reality. One of these petitions may be quoted, as illustrating both the law and the opinions of those times. Thomas of York sets forth in his petition, presented about the 14th of Ed. III., that he knows how to work by the art of alchemy, and to make silver in plate, and that he has made it in the presence of men of London, and the silver was assayed by the goldsmiths of the same city, and found to be good. Now there came one Thomas Crop, of London, grocer, who made himself intimate with the alchemist, insomuch that he induced him to bring his instruments and his elixir to the house of the said Thomas Crop, and made him there work before him. The projection, we must presume, succeeded; for the grocer and his allies kept the Alchemist in duress until he sealed two bonds to the grocer, each in the penalty of an hundred marks.—'And thus by virtue of these obligations, the

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said Thomas Crop hath caused the said Thomas of York to be arrested and imprisoned in Newgate, and detains his elixir and his apparatus and other goods and chattels to the mountance of forty marks. Wherefore the said Thomas of York prays for God's sake that they will be pleased to take order for his deliverance, and to cause the said Thomas of York to come before them or others whom it shall please the King to assign, so that he may work and prove his art. And that the fraudulent bonds may be cancelled.

'Indorsement before the King and Great Council:—Let the Mayor of London, Sir Robert de Skadthburgh, and Sir William Scott, or any two of them, be assigned to sit at the Church of St. Martin (le Grand) to inquire concerning the truth of the matters contained in the petition, and to hear and determine the transgression, and to do besides what pertaineth according to law. And if the said Thomas of York can find good and sufficient surety that he will follow up the business diligently, (and who will also undertake to) render the said Thomas to prison in case he cannot prove his dispute, let him have a writ directed to the same parties to allow him to be out upon mainprise by the aforesaid surety.'

It is amusing to find the wonder-working elixir, which had the power of making mines of silver, thus modestly valued with the apparatus, and many other goods and chattels, at the sum of forty marks.

If upon the face of the petition the allegations did not appear sufficient to entitle the plaintiff to the commission, he was directed to 'sue at the Common Law,' not thereby meaning to distinguish 'common law' from equity in its modern sense, but informing the plaintiff that he was to help himself by a writ issuing according to the common course of law, and returnable in the courts below; or that he must otherwise wait the circuit of the Justices in Eyre. The orders made by the Council upon these petitions were variously modified. They made the order in some instances in the disjunctive; the petitioner might have his writ at common law, or his commission upon payment of a fine, and sometimes after the fine was fixed, it was remitted by favour of the Council.

Such process was evidently liable to much abuse, and it soon required the regulation of the legislature. 'From henceforth,' (it is enacted by the statute of Westminster the Second (13 Edw. I.) 'a writ of trespass ad audiendum et terminandum shall not be granted before any justices except justices of either bench, and justices in eyre, unless it be for a heinous trespass, where it is necessary to provide speedy remedy.' But the saving clause allowed

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lowed the power of granting the writ to remain nearly as it was before, for the King, or the King and Council were still to judge of the nature of the trespass.

In the 8 Edw. II.* the Commonalty showed unto the king that great evils and oppressions were sustained, for that commissions of oyer and terminer of trespasses were granted oftener and more lightly than they ought to be, and against the common law. Great Lords, it was alleged, and other men of power, when they wished to shame any one whom they disliked, procured such commissions, directed to partial judges. Sheriffs and bailiffs confederated with the plaintiff, and omitted to summon the defendant, or a day was given to him, in an upland town, in the shire of his adversary, where he dared not to attend; juries were packed and exorbitant damages were assessed and levied with undue rigour. These and many other similar grievances are enumerated, and the answer contains an affirmation of the former statute; but we still find the rolls filled with commissions of oyer and terminer, and no man, who could obtain a special commission, seems to have contented himself with the ordinary course of the law.

The complaints of the commons were again reiterated in the Parliament of Northampton, 2 Edw. III. and the former statutes were repeated and enforced. It was enacted that commissions of oyer and terminer should only be granted before the justices of either bench, or the justices itinerant, *and* that for a great and horrible trespass. Conformably to these statutes, the Council, sitting judicially, exercised the power of superseding special commissions of oyer and terminer, (just as a commission of bankruptcy is now superseded by the court of Chancery,) when they had been improperly granted, or if it appeared that the alleged trespass were not so horrible or enormous, but that the plea might be conveniently tried between the parties at common law. The existence of this controul, however, and the regulations of the statutes, were still deemed insufficient; and another attempt was made in the succeeding reign to impose further limitations. It was the complaint of the Commons, 7 Rich. II.† that special oyers and terminers were granted too lightly, and without requiring the pursuers to swear to the truth of their complaints, and they therefore prayed that no such commissions might be granted thenceforward, 'unless upon good deliberation of your noble Council, and by good and legal proofs.' The King and Council answered, 'There are statutes made in the matter, the which the

* Rot. Par. 8 Ed. II. No. 6. vol. i. p. 290.
† Rot. Par. 7 Rich. II. No. 43. vol. iii. p. 161.

King

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King wills shall be observed and kept, saving nevertheless to our Lord the King his royalty and prerogative undiminished;' a declaration so ambiguous and evasive, that no statute could be framed upon the petition, and none appears upon the roll. No check was therefore put by law upon this extraordinary remedial process, yet from this period it became gradually less frequent. Other methods of exercising the extraordinary remedial jurisdiction of the King and Council had then fully developed themselves, and causes of complaint of a different description were thenceforward afforded to the popular branch of the legislature.

It seems that in the reign of Henry III. the Council was considered as a Court of Peers within the terms of Magna Charta, before which, as a court of original jurisdiction, the rights of tenants holding by barony were to be discussed or decided. It was not confined however to the cognizance of the pleas of such suitors, but exercised a direct jurisdiction over all the King's subjects. Under Edward I. and his successor the original jurisdiction of the Council was frequently called into operation in cases which concerned the King, or which did not appear within the competency of the ordinary courts. The process by which a defendant was called into court was the writ of *scire facias*. Boroughs and cities appeared by six or twelve burgesses or citizens. Great transgressions against the public peace were heard before it, and until the middle of the reign of Edward III., no exception had ever been taken to the forms of its proceedings.* But at the first Parliament held 25 Ed. III., the Commons, as far as they could, protested against its legality by praying that no freeman should be put to answer concerning his freehold nor of any matter which touched life or limb, nor be fined or ransomed by informations (apposailles) before the Council of our Lord the King, unless by such process of law as had been theretofore used.† In the answer to the petition, so much only of the prayer was granted as related to civil rights—but the criminal jurisdiction was emphatically reserved—mes de chose que touche vie ou membre contemptz ou excessez, soit fait come ad esté use ceo en arere.

This was a virtual denial of the most important part of the petition, and therefore the Commons repeated their endeavours in the following Parliament, held on the feast of St. Hilary, in the same year; and setting forth that, 'it was contained in the great

* Unless the statute of the 5 Ed. III. cap. ix. may be considered as an earlier testimony against the authority of the Council. This, however, is by no means clear, and there is no corresponding petition in the Parliament roll from which any further information can be obtained.

† Rot. Par. 25 Ed. III. n. 16. vol. ii. p. 228.

charter

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charter of the liberties of England, that no one should be imprisoned nor put out of his freehold, nor of his franchises, nor free customs, unless it were by the law of the land,' they prayed that no one should thenceforth be taken by petition or suggestion to the king or his Council, unless it be by indictment or presentment of good and lawful people of the same neighbourhood where such deeds be done,' and in due manner; or by process upon writ original, according to the common law; nor ousted of his franchises nor of his freehold, unless he should be duly put to answer and forejudged of the same by way of law, and that any thing done to the contrary should be redressed and held for void.* '*Il plest a nostre Seigneur le Roi que la petition soit octroie*' was the answer, and a declaratory statute was accordingly entered on the roll cautiously worded, and without the exception of criminal jurisdiction. The law, however, produced no effect; the practice of the Council continued unchanged, and the complaints of the Commons were re-echoed; yet the species of jurisdiction, the subject of their remonstrances, acquired more strength and vigour, until it became almost an integral part of our legal constitution.

When the Parliament was summoned at Westminster, the Commons usually sat in the chapter-house of the adjoining abbey; the Lords and Council assembled in various chambers of the Palace; and the Painted Chamber, the White Chamber† and the Chamber Markolph, probably so called from the legend of the trials to which the wisdom of Solomon was subjected by a Syrian peasant, depicted on its walls, were occupied by the receivers and triers of petitions. During the early part of the reign of Ed. I. the Council sat in the Painted Chamber, and occasionally in the Green Chamber, but afterwards, whether 'Parliament' was assembled or not, it held its sittings in the Star Chamber, an apartment situated in the outermost quadrangle of the palace next the bank of the river, and consequently easily accessible to the suitors, for which reason, probably, it was at length permanently appropriated to its use. 'The Lords sitting in the Sterre Chamber' became a phrase; and, when we consider the influence of names in human affairs, and how comparatively weak any body of men remain until they have found an incorporate appellation, no matter whether it be given in praise or contempt, in friendship or enmity, we can hardly doubt but that this circumstance contri-

* Rot. Par. 2. 25 Ed. III. n. 19. Vol. II. p. 238.

† The present house of Lords stands on the site of the White Chamber or White Hall. The ancient hall was nearly demolished in the reign of Queen Ann, but on the east side of the present robing chamber are two circular-headed windows with indented mouldings, apparently of the time of Henry II. As the devastations to which the relics of the palace have been exposed are checked, it is to be hoped that these specimens of ancient architecture may be allowed to exist without further injury.

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buted to assist the Council in maintaining its authority; and a statute was soon passed by which it obtained the support and countenance of the legislature.

Within two years after the complaint of the Commons that no one should be brought before the Council unless according to the ancient course of the common law, they assented to a statute by which a legal sanction was afforded to its summary proceedings. By the statute of 27 Edw. III., enacted for the punishment of such as appealed to the court of Rome, the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and the forfeiture of lands, goods and chattels were incurred by such as did not appear before the king and his Council, or in his Chancery, or before the justices of either bench, to answer in their proper persons for the contempt done in that behalf. This jurisdiction had been exercised by the Council without any direct sanction; but from this period, we have a marked increase in the numbers of persons brought to answer for various contempts before the Council, or before the Council *in Chancery*, terms applied so interchangeably in the records as to show that in substance they designated but one tribunal. The modes of enforcing appearance were not uniform. In some cases, the principles of the common law were partially respected; commissions of inquiry were issued, one of the Commissioners being usually a Serjeant at Arms, and the arrest took place after the verdict of a jury. Warrants, however, were often granted to serjeants at arms to bring in the body of the offender. Writs of præmunire were issued upon suggestions filed before the Council, directing the sheriff to warn the party to come in by a certain day.* But the most efficacious process, at least that which occasioned most complaint, was the writ of *sub pœnâ*. The obscurity which attaches to the first happy inventors of the *Latitat* and the *Quo minus*, has not sheltered Sir John de Waltham, the framer of the first 'sub pœnâ to

* In an inquiry like the present, pleadings and forms of process are amongst the chief data upon which it must proceed: of these, however, our limits forbid us from making more than a very sparing selection. Some few precedents, however, must be given; and the following specimen of the writ issuing upon articles preferred to the Council, constitutes an illustration of our text, which may interest the legal antiquarian. It differs essentially in form from the writ of præmunire grounded upon the statute.

'Edwardus, Dei gratiâ, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ, vicecomitibus London. salutem. Quibusdam certis de causis vobis mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quod præmunire faciatis Henricum Cove, Willielmum Cove (and twenty-one others) quod quilibet eorum, sub pœnâ centum librarum, in propriâ personâ suâ, sit coram Consilio nostro apud Westmonasterium, hac instanti die Martis ad loquendum cum eodem Consilio super hiis quæ eis tunc ibidem exponentur ex parte nostrâ, et ad faciendum ulterius et recipiendum quod per dictum consilium ordinari contigerit in præmissis. Et hoc sub incumbenti periculo nullatenus omittatis. Et habeatis ibi nomina illorum per quos eos præmunire feceritis, et hoc breve. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium viij die Julii anno regni nostri Angliæ tricesimo tertio, regni verò nostri Franciæ vicesimo. Burstall.

Per Consilium.

appear,'

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appear,' a writ which, according to the indignant complaint of the Commons, never had been granted or used before his time. Sir John de Waltham, afterwards promoted to the see of Salisbury, and who has thus obtained rather a lasting than a pleasing reputation, became Master of the Rolls 5 Ric. II., and he appears in the Parliament roll of that year as one of the receivers of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland; but, as the offensive writ was in use in the latter part of the reign of Edward III., we must conclude that when he drew the first precedent, he held some inferior office in the Chancery. We then find it issuing upon bill addressed to the King and Council, exactly in the form from which it never afterwards varied.* The defendant, however, on his appearing answered ore tenus. Pleadings were still conducted in this manner in the courts of common law; and the *courts of equity* followed their example.

During the convulsions of the reign of Richard II. the power and might of the extraordinary tribunals advanced with rapid strides. At the first Parliament of Richard II.† the petition against the determination of suits before the Lords and officers of the Council, was coupled with a reservation of their power in cases where the suit was of such magnitude, and against such high personages that right could not be had elsewhere; *Sil ne soit tiele Querele et encontre si graunde persone que homme ne suppose aillours avoir droit.* This petition, therefore, recognized a very considerable legal authority which the Commons soon desired to restrain: for amongst the many grievances of which they complained, 3 Ric. II.,‡ they prayed that no writ issuing out of the Chancery, or letter-missive under the privy seal, should be directed to any one to come before the Council of the King, or any other, to cause him to answer concerning his freehold or other things appertaining thereto, *as had been used before that time,* but that the common law should have its due course.

The answer given by the Council in the name of the young King is full of import. They reserved the authority which the Commons had conceded in the last Parliament. It did not seem reasonable, they replied, that the King might not *send* for his lieges upon reasonable cause, but those who were summoned before

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* The following is an example of the process:

Edwardus, &c. dilecto sibi Ricardo Spynk de Norwyco, salutem. Quibusdam certis de causis tibi præcipimus, firmiter injungentes quod sis coram Consilio nostro apud Westmonasterium die Mercurii proximo post quindenam Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ proximo futuram, ad respondendum super hiis quæ tibi objicientur ex parte nostrâ, et ad faciendum et recipiendum quod Curia nostra considerayerit in hâc parte. Et hoc sub pœnâ centum librarum nullatenus omittas. T. meipso apud Westmonasterium tertio die Julii, anno regni nostri tricesimo septimo.

† Rot. Par. vol. iii. p. 21. ‡ Rot. Par. 3 Ric. II. n. 49. vol. iii. p. 44.

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the Council should not be compelled to answer *finally* concerning their freehold, but should be thence sent to the places where the law demands and the case requires, and put to answer in due course, 'provided, nevertheless, that when, at the suit of any party, the King and his Council shall be credibly informed that by reason of maintenance, oppression, and other outrages, the common law cannot have its due course, then and in such case the Council may send for the person of whom complaint is made, in order to put him to answer for his misprision, and further, at their good liking, compel him to give surety by oath, or in other manner as may seem to them best, for his good behaviour, that neither by himself nor in any other manner he will disturb the common law for the oppression of the people.' By the last exception, the Council asserted the legality of that authority of preserving the public tranquillity, which by usage had become vested in them. The power of taking bail for good abearing was seldom exercised at common law, and the writ 'de minis,' by which surety was given for keeping the peace, was of rare occurrence; and for an obvious reason—the frankpledge was a permanent surety for the commonalty at large and the Lord was surety for his inmates and manupasts or domestics. But as this old English law had gradually decayed and become obsolete, new remedies had been found. The justices of the peace acquired by their Commission a power to hold to bail for the preservation of the public tranquillity without any special mandate; or the party, apprehending the wrong or injury, might sue out a writ from the Chancery, commanding the sheriff or the justices to take bail and to *return* the names of the manucaptors into Chancery. Towards the close of the reign of Edw. III., this passed insensibly into a new process; the party gave bail in Chancery in the first instance; and offenders arraigned before the Council of misdemeanours, misprisions, great outrages, and transgressions bearing the colour of political offences, were called upon to give bail, either before the Council or before the Chancery, which, as we have before observed, appear nearly as convertible terms.

The conservancy of the peace by the Chancery and the Council gave rise to no marked dissatisfaction. It was otherwise with the subpœna and its consequences, which became the subject of remonstrance in the 13 Ric. II.* The Commons prayed that none of the King's lieges should be compelled by the writ Quibusdam certis de causis, nor by any other writ, to appear before the Chancellor or the king's Council, to answer to any matter remediable by the common law, and that in case of transgression the Chan-

* Rot. Par. 13 Ric. II. n. 33. vol. iii. p. 267.

cellor

cellor should forfeit an hundred pounds, and the clerk writing the writ should lose his office in the Chancery, and never be restored. It was answered that the King would keep his regality as his predecessors had done before him. And this answer, being equivalent to a negative, no statute was obtained.

Indeed, the jurisdiction of the Council was now firmly established and considered as legal in all those cases, in which the common law could not be pursued, and therefore the efforts of the Commons could only be directed to its better regulation. Thus, in the 17 Rich. II.* the Commons alleged that 'the lieges of the kingdom,' by cause of untrue suggestions, made as well to the Council of our Lord the King, as in the Chancery of our Lord the King, are sent for to appear, as well before the said Council as in the Chancery, under a certain penalty upon a certain day, whereby the said faithful lieges 'are tortiously travailed and vexed, to their great damage and destruction, without being able to recover their costs and damages'—They therefore prayed that it might be ordained and established that the Chancellor of England for the time being might have full power to cause the parties complainants in the aforesaid writs of subpœna to find sufficient pledges and surety to make amends to the defendant in case the suggestions should not prove true, and that the Chancellor should have full power to assess and tax the costs and damages so happening to the defendant by the party plaintiff, and to make execution thereof, 'Provided, nevertheless,' that no freehold nor any other action which can be tried at 'the common law shall be drawn into the Chancery or elsewhere,' (i. e. before the Council,) but before the King's Justices, as hath 'been used in time past.' It was answered, 'the King wills' that the Chancellor for the time being shall have power to 'ordain thereon, and to award damages according to his discretion.' The statute, in conformity to this answer, merely gives power to the Chancellor to award damages, according to his discretion, to such as should be compelled to come before the Council or into Chancery by writs grounded upon untrue suggestions. And it may be here remarked, that this statute, which has been quoted in support of the unassisted judicial authority of the Chancellor only relates to his ministerial authority.

This statute did not diminish the alleged travails and vexations, and the Commons frequently repeated their complaints in the following reign. In the first year of Hen. IV.† they charged the Council of the deposed monarch with having received bribes for

* Rot. Par. 17 Ric. II. n. 52. vol. iii. p. 332.
† Rot. Par. 1 Hen. IV. n. 162. vol. iii. p. 446.

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the exercise of its jurisdiction over actions triable at the Common Law, and prayed that all actions wherein the King was not a party, should be tried at common law, and not before the council by writ of privy seal. It was answered that the statutes should be kept, '*except when one party was so great and rich, and the other so poor* that he could not otherwise have remedy.' The difficulty of obtaining relief by the common law was always the reason or the excuse for upholding the authority of the Council.

On their petition presented 2 Hen. IV.* it was granted that no writ of privy seal should be made except when it appeared necessary to the discretion of the Chancellor or of the Council for the time being; and, to the petition presented 4 Hen. IV.† the king replied that he would charge his officers to abstain more from sending for his lieges than they had done before that time; but that it was not his intention that his officers should so abstain that they might not send for his lieges in matters and causes reasonable, as had been done in the time of the good progenitors of the king. None of these answers were sufficiently definitive to afford the foundation for acts, and none are entered on the statute roll.

In the 3d Hen. V. the Commons again attempted to prevent the extraordinary jurisdiction of the Council from diminishing the authority of the common law, and they again failed in their attempt. The petition, from which we learn that John of Waltham was the inventor of the writ of subpœna,‡ contains an enumeration of the real or imaginary oppressions resulting from the process; and, as a remedy, they prayed that every person who should sue out such writs should state the cause of action therein; that the same writs should be enrolled and made patent in the court from whence they issued; and that any person aggrieved or vexed by any such writs, concerning any matter determinable by the common law, should have an action of debt for forty pounds against the person suing out the writ. But the royal assent was not given to the prayer.

In the 9 Hen. V.§ the Commons again renewed their complaints. Their petition states, that whereas it was contained in divers statutes made in the time of the noble progenitors of the King, that none of his lieges should be called to answer, unless by original writ and due process, according to the law of the land; yet so it was that divers of the King's lieges were caused to come before his Council and his Chancellor, by letters of privy

* Rot. Par. 2 Hen. IV. n. 69. vol. iii. p. 471.
† Rot. Par. 4 Hen. IV. n. 81. vol. iii. p. 507.
‡ Rot. Par. 3 Hen. V. part ii. n. 46. vol. iv. p. 84.
§ Rot. Par. 19 Hen. V. n. 25. vol. iv. p. 156.

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seal and writs of subpœna, contrary to the aforesaid provisions and ordinances: therefore it was prayed that no such letters or writs should be granted thenceforward, and that if such letters or writs should be granted, and it should appear by the showing of the plaintiff that his action was at common law, that the defendant should be admitted to except to the jurisdiction of the court, and that such exception should be allowed, and that all letters and writs then pending before the Council or the Chancellor should be voided and held for null, and that all persons against whom such writs were sued should be dismissed out of the aforesaid courts by authority of this present parliament, *except such as are in the aforesaid courts by authority of Parliament.*' Had this bill passed into a law, the jurisdiction of the Council, when acting separately from *Parliament*, or without a direct parliamentary authority, would have soon disappeared; but an obscure and evasive answer, importing a negative, was given to the petition, and no statute was obtained.

Frustrated in this endeavour, the Commons renewed their remonstrances in the next Parliament, held in the name of an infant King, and by the first petition, in the first year of the reign of Henry VI.* prayed that no man or woman should be compelled or held to answer before the Council or the Chancery of the King, or elsewhere, concerning any matter where remedy or action was given or provided by the common law; and that no writ or letter of privy seal, called a writ or letter of subpœna, should issue commanding any one to appear in Council, Chancery, or elsewhere, until the plaintiff should have exhibited his bill, 'which shall be especially examined and approved by the Justices of the one Bench or the other; to whom it must appear that the complainant cannot have remedy by the common law; they also prayed 'that the said bill, after the said examination, may be indented, and that one part may remain with the said two Justices, and the other in the Council, or in the Chancery, or elsewhere, where the party adverse and defendants are to appear by virtue of the aforesaid letters or writs.' It is further prayed, that 'the names of the judges who examine the bills may be expressed at the end of the said writs or letters; that the party complaining may appear in person on every day which the parties shall have given to them, in the said Council, Chancery, or elsewhere, pending the suit, and without being allowed to make an attorney, unless the defendant be admitted to make his attorney in the same suit; and that the plaintiff may give security for costs and damages. To this petition it was

* Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VI. p. 41. vol. iv. p. 189.

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only answered, that the statute of the 17 Rich. II. should be kept and put in use. This answer, according to the old course of Parliament, was a courteous mode of refusing the Royal assent; and therefore no statute or enactment whatever was entered on the roll.

The Commons evidently wished to enable the Judges of the Courts of Common Law to exercise a direct controul over the judicial proceedings of the Council and the Chancery; for, if the bill had passed, no plaintiff could have come into a court of equity without their approbation. Yet, however the regulations required by the Commons may have been needed to prevent an abuse of the proceedings of the Council, still it will be seen that the law could not have been administered, either justly or effectually, without the aid of extraordinary powers, such as that body had exercised.

It is scarcely affirming more than the truth, if we ascribe the greater part of the blessings of the government under which we live, to the trial by jury, as the secondary cause. It has caused the spirit of lawful freedom to penetrate and diffuse itself through the land, as universally and with as vivifying powers as the blood through our natural bodies. But there is no tyranny more grievous than that which is perpetrated under lawful forms; and trial by jury has been and may be so affected by the general position of society as to become an active instrument of mischief and oppression. We have already noticed the incorrectness of the popular view of the ancient trial by jury, namely, that it was a tribunal composed of the peers of the defendant or of the accused. It has become so by the alteration of the law, which now allows the jury to be the judges of the truth of the evidence given before them; but this practice is comparatively recent, and engrafted upon the ancient institution.

The jurors in civil suits were merely the witnesses, who spoke from their own knowledge, or as they had been taught and told. What the *country* knew, the *country* testified. If a deed was pleaded, the sheriff was bound to summon the witnesses to it upon the jury, because they were the persons whose testimony was already recorded. Where an estate was created by verbal grant, and the names of the persons present at the time were known, they were ordered to be on the panel. But, with respect to the jurors at large, the sheriff followed the direction of the writ, and returned the names of the good and lawful men by whom the truth could best be known—that is to say, he selected the persons who happened to be best cognizant of the facts, those who had seen the peaceable possession of the demandant, and the unlawful entry of the intruder.

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The trial by jury in criminal cases was somewhat more complicated in its nature; but the jury, upon whom the accused cast himself for his deliverance, were still only the witnesses, who gave their verdict according to their knowledge of the offence, or the opinion which they entertained respecting the character of the accused.

Such a method of deciding controversies was sufficiently well adapted to a state of society in which the actual possession of land was the most usual and important point for jurors to decide, and all transactions, by which property was transferred, were performed with every possible publicity. But when they were called upon to give their verdict under a more complicated system of policy, it is evident that a jury formed on this principle had no materials upon which to frame their opinions, and were very little able to arrive at a satisfactory decision.

Whilst the jurymen were really witnesses, it was absolutely necessary to intrust the nomination and selection of the panel to the returning officer. Unless he brought such a jury into court as were informed of the case, no trial could have taken place. But this discretionary power of naming the jury, and the obligation to select them from such narrow districts as the township or hundred, became fertile sources of corruption both real and suspected. They afforded means too of wreaking private malice and spite, under colour of the law, which were often but too readily made use of. Wrongs created other wrongs, and the outlaw and the outlaw's friends revenged themselves upon their enemies, and slew in the field those who, they deemed, had forsworn themselves before the justice-seat. Grievous penalties had been denounced by the common law against the perjured juror; but, towards the close of the reign of Edward I., there are indications that they were either evaded, or that the process of attaint had become inadequate to repress the offence; and the following ordinance has been preserved, in which directions were given by the Council to increase the punishment and shame of the offenders:—

'Concerning the two *dozeines* (i. e. juries) who are attainted before you, and who are now in prison, it is agreed that the sheriff shall cause them to come to the Tower of London as soon as he can, and that they be not brought by night, but publicly in broad day-light, so that the people of the country may see the punishment and the shame incurred by those who have been attainted, and be admonished thereby; and that they be at London on the morrow of St. Nicholas, or the third day afterwards at the latest; and the expenses which the sheriff shall incur shall be allowed to him on his account.'

This ordinance is fairly written upon parchment, without date,

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but having been discovered in a bundle of parliamentary petitions and writs of the 33 Edw. I., it must probably be referred to that year. It is singular that this document, relating to a false verdict in a particular case, should belong to the year in which a most important legislative act gives evidence of the perversion of trial by jury. At the Parliament then held, the King and Council, according to the authority then vested in them, settled and agreed upon the definition of conspiracy. Those who bound themselves 'by oath, covenant or alliance, that each would aid and sustain the other in falsely and maliciously indicting or causing to be indicted, or in falsely acquitting, or in raising and maintaining any false plea.' It should seem that the intention of the legislature was to include jurors in this definition; but the courts construed it otherwise, and he who appeared on the inquest could not be treated as a conspirator. Some remedies, however, were afforded by the Eyre, when the judges made their circuits through the land, and inquired into and punished all wrongs and oppressions; and various extraordinary commissions to the same effect were issued from time to time. The most celebrated of these were the commissions of Trail-baston, which, according to Lord Coke, were so called 'because they proceeded as speedily as one might draw or trail a staffe.' But in spite of these, we collect from a ballad of that day, (no weak evidence in such a matter,) that much evil remained unredressed, and that juries still lay under heavy imputations of corruption. We think our readers will agree with us that it is very beautiful and picturesque, though written with almost a homely simplicity; and it is at all events valuable as speaking popular sentiments and feelings.

'Qaraunte souz prenent pur ma raunsoun;
E le Viscounte vint souz, a son guerdoun,
Qu'il ne me mette en profounde prisoun.
Ore agardez Seigneurs, est ce resoun?

'Pur ce me tendroi al vert bois, soutz le jolyf umbray,
La n'y a fauceté, ne nulle male lay;
En le bois de Bel-regard ou vole le jay,
E chaunte russinole touz jours santz delay.

'Mes *le male doseyne*, dount Dieu n'eit ja pieté,
Parmi lur fauce bouches me ount endité,
De male robberies e autre mavesté,
Qe je n'ose entre mes amis estre recepté.

'J'ai servi my Sire le Roy, en pees e en guere,
En Flaundres, en Escoce, en Gascoyne sa terre;
Mes ore ne me sai je point chevisaunce fere,
Tot mon temps ay mis en veyn, pur tiel home plere.

Si

'Si ces *maveis jurours* ne se vueillent amender,
Qe je pus a mon pais chevalcher e aller,
Si je les pus ateindre, la teste lur froi voler,
De touz lur menaces ne dorroi un dener.

'Vous qy estes endite je lou venez a moy
Al vert bois de Bel-regard, la n'y a nul ploy,
Forsque beste savage e jolyf umbroy
Car trop est dotouse la commune loy.

'Si je soi compagnoun, e sache de archerye,
Mon veisyn irra disaunt,—cesti est de compaignie,
De aler bercer a bois, e fere autre folye.—
Que ore vueille vivre come pork merra sa vye.

'Si je sache plus de ley, qe ne sevent eux,
Yl dirrount,—cesti conspyratour comence de estre faus.—
E le Heyre* n'aprocheroy de dix lywes ou deus;
De tous veysinages hony-scient ceux!

'Je prie tote bone gent qe pur moi vueillent prier
Qe je pus a mon pais aler e chyvaucher,
Unqe ne fu homicide, certes a moun voler,
Ne male robberes pur gent damager.

'Cest rym fust fet al bois desouz un lorer,
La chaunte merle, e russinole, e eyre l'esperver.
Escrit estoit en parchemyn pur mout remembrer
E gitte en haut chemyn qe um le dust trover.'

That the hardships set forth in the song were not exaggerated, we have full proof upon record. Whilst the rolls of Parliament abound with general complaints of the falsity, deceit and corruption of jurors and inquest men, the petitions to the Council are equally copious in furnishing statements of the wrongs they occasioned to individuals. Statutes were repeatedly enacted for the purpose of checking abuses; new penalties were added, and new checks devised to ensure truth and impartiality, but without diminishing the evil or repressing the offenders.

The defects of trial by jury bore equally upon the dispensation of civil and criminal justice; but the former branch of jurisprudence was encumbered by many peculiar defects. It was very tedious, and, even at this period, attended with much expense. The serjeant would not *count* without his retainer and his fee; the sheriff and the clerk expected their guerdon; and the necessity imposed upon the parties of following and defending the suit in person, must often have deterred the weak and indigent from attempting either to assert their rights or to defend them from usurpation.

In all such cases the constitution had vested the powers of

* The Eyre.

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remedial or extraordinary jurisdiction in the Parliament, which in its ancient sense was a court of justice composed of various branches. The King indeed alone was the fountain of justice, and although 'forasmuch as he was not able to hear and determine all the complaints of his people, he had divided the burthen in many parts;' yet in all manner of felonies, trespasses, and strifes, and in all actions real and personal, he had power to give judgment, and cause the same to be given without other process, when he knew the right truth, as a judge.* Such was the theory of the law, and such also to a certain extent was its practice. The functions delegated to the judges of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and justices of gaol delivery, were not unfrequently exercised by the Sovereign himself in the reigns of Edw. I. & II. And in Parliament and in the Council we find the personal jurisdiction of the king extending until a much later period. But the provisions of the Lords Ordainers 5 Edw. II. created a new tribunal, consisting of one bishop, two earls, and two barons, who were to be assigned in every parliament with full power to hear and determine the complaints of all such as wished to complain of the King's ministers, whosoever they might be, who should contravene the ordinances.

To this parliamentary tribunal the authority of the Council was transferred, for the ordinances regulated so many portions of the administration of public business and public justice, that most of the complaints which had usually formed the subject-matter of the petitions to the Council, were fairly within its purview. All the most important prerogatives of the Crown, indeed, were in effect conceded to the baronage in Parliament, and in place of a council nominated by the king, a baronial tribunal was formed for protecting the newly-acquired rights of the legislature and the people. The history of the ordinances, which the common people considered as a restoration of the controul imposed upon Henry III. by Simon de Montfort and the Parliament of Oxford, would carry us beyond our limits, but it must be observed, that from the period when the ordinances were annulled, much of the judicial authority of the Council in Parliament was exercised by the *Auditors of Petitions*. These Auditors were Committees of Parliament, composed of some of the judges, and a delegation of bishops, earls, and barons: they had the authority of the Council, and answered the petitions in the name of the Council; but matters of great importance appear to have been still occasionally referred to the *plenum consilium*, or *magnum consilium*, terms which *may* imply the Lords House of Parliament, though this interpretation cannot be given with certainty.

* Breton. cap. i.

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In the reign of Edw. III. the power of the Lords in Parliament had greatly increased at the expense of the members of the Council; and the Judges, about this time losing their ancient weight and station, became merely the advisers and assistants of the Lords. Special powers of adjudication in particular cases, were not unfrequently delegated to the Council, thereby implying that it required the sanction of parliament; or to the Chancellor, associating with him certain of the King's Justices and Serjeants. The exercise of this jurisdiction becomes at this time more distinct and tangible, and its principles more definite. We will take as a precedent the suit between Elizabeth, wife of Nicholas Audley, and her father-in-law, James, Lord Audley, in the Record called Monsire James D'Audeley, for the performance of a deed of covenant executed by him in contemplation of her marriage with his son, whereby he had agreed to settle certain lands to them and their issue, with remainder to his own right heirs. It began by her complaint in Parliament, 40 Edw. III., in which the lady, suing as a *feme sole*, and without her husband, a proceeding entirely against the principles of the common law, showed forth to the king the covenants, and that they had not been fulfilled. The king caused the defendant to come before his Council, that is to say, before the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Justices, and other 'sages' assembled in the Star Chamber. On the appearance of the parties, they both declared their submission to the 'agard et ordenance de nostre seignour le Roi e de soun counseil.' After an adjournment the parties appeared again, Elizabeth Audley in person, and the Lord Audley by David Hanmer and others his attornies, thereto authorized by his letters-patent.

The Lady Audley 'showed forth her grievances,' that is to say, she declared them by word of mouth, and produced the indenture, and prayed that the attornies of Lord Audley might answer. This they refused to do without the presence of the Earl of Arundel. Their demurrer was overruled by the Council in a very remarkable manner.

'The attornies were informed by the Council, that when any one puts himself upon the award and ordinance of our Lord the King, or of his Council, it is not agreeable either to law or reason, that by any nomination any person should be adjoined to the King's Council, save only such as the King may please. And moreover it is testified* by the Chancellor and the Treasurer and all the Council, that the said my Lord James submitted himself entirely, concerning the disputes and grievances before-mentioned, to the award and ordinance of our Lord

* The original word is recorde, which is here used in its first legal meaning of bearing testimony.

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the King and of his Council, *after* which submission he prayed that the Earl of Arundel might be one of them. And the Chancellor said, that he was of the Council, and that his presence would please him well. And, moreover, the Chancellor showed the letter of the said Earl to him sent, which testified that he was summoned to be the same day in the said Council to aid in the discussion of the aforesaid matters at variance, and that he excused himself by saying that he could not do so, but prayed that the Council would make their ordinance concerning the matters at variance notwithstanding his absence, and that he would assent to whatever the Chancellor might ordain concerning the same. And the attornies were asked by the Council, whether they would answer further or not, at their peril, and they answered that they would not.'

The Lady Audley therefore prayed a decree, but it was the opinion of the Council that since the parties had submitted themselves to the King and Council, they could not make an end without advising with the King. Accordingly the pleadings were transmitted to the King, and from him another delegation took place.

'Our Lord the King ordered the aforesaid Chancellor and Treasurer, by writ of privy seal, that they should proceed to the final discussion of the aforesaid matter, according to the effect of the before-mentioned submission, and that he would hold for firm and established what they should do therein. By virtue of which order and submission abovementioned, the aforesaid Chancellor and Treasurer assembled the Justices and Serjeants, and others of the Council, of our Lord the King, before whom the process and orders before-mentioned were read and examined; and after great deliberation had thereupon, it was awarded that all the covenants comprised in the said indenture touching the land, to the amount of four hundred marks, of yearly value, the which the said Lord Nicholas and Elizabeth ought to have by virtue of the said indenture, should be performed by the said Lord James, in all points, according to the purport of the said indenture, and that between this present time and the feast of St. Michael now next ensuing, under forfeiture of six thousand pounds, to be paid to the King; and that he do pay to the said Lord Nicholas and Elizabeth, fully the damages which they have suffered and incurred by reason of the non-performance of the said covenants, according to the purport of the said indenture, either as to the tenements in demesne (except to the amount of one hundred pounds per annum) or in anywise as to the tenements in reversion, after the time that he the said Lord James had been enabled to perform the same when the reversions fell in. And in case it shall not be in the power of the said Lord James to fulfil his said covenants, as he might have done at the time of the making of the said indenture, let him perform the same by conveying other fitting lands of the same value, in as sure a manner as he might have done concerning the lands contained in the aforesaid covenants, under the aforesaid penalty. And because, as yet, full information concerning the amount to which the damages will extend cannot

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cannot be obtained, it is agreed that execution for the damages shall stand over until the quinzaine of Saint Michael now next ensuing, and the said Elizabeth is ordered to be then before the Council to inform them concerning the aforesaid damages, and to take and hold that which the Council shall award in this behalf, and concerning the grievances before named.'

The singularity of this record must be our apology for the length of the foregoing extract. Its importance in our legal history will be easily appreciated, inasmuch as it exhibits one of the earliest equitable decrees upon record, grounded upon a voluntary submission to the King as supreme judge in Parliament, and pronounced, in virtue of his delegation, by the Council. The part taken by the Chancellor throws great light upon the authority afterwards assumed by him, and it is observable that, high as his station was in the court, he did not conceive that it extended to act otherwise than with the concurrence of the other members of the Council.

During the later part of the reign of Edw. III. and during the whole of the reign of his successor, the extraordinary jurisdiction in 'Parliament,' sometimes exercised directly, and sometimes by delegation or reference to the Council, or to the Chancellor and his assistants, was in coustant action. We can find but very few instances in which the assent of the Commons is expressed; but still we imagine that they occasionally co-operated in some stage of the proceedings. They had acquired the right of impeachment, and they laboured to annex the Council to the two houses, protesting against the powers of the Council when acting by itself, or with the Lords to their exclusion. Hence, in the 8th Henry V. they prayed that no man should be put to answer, before the Council or the Chancellor, contrary to the laws of the realm of England, by any bill indorsed 'by authority of parliament,' unless the *assent and request of the Commons* should be endorsed.* And with the same intention of extending and retaining their concurrent power, they carefully reserve, in the petition of the 9th Henry V.† the jurisdiction of the Council and Chancery over such persons as had been brought into these courts by authority of Parliament.

The authority so reserved was variously modified by the *rightwise—right honourable—worthy and discreet Commons*, as they now are styled—new terms of worship, which should not be considered merely as words, since they testify the increasing importance of the popular branch of the legislature—they who were heretofore the *poor* and *simple* Commons, the humble petitioners

* Rot. Parl. vol. iv. 127. † Rot. Par. vol. iv. p. 156.

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to the Council, but who now assumed a parity of state and dignity with the Lords.

An enumeration of the various instances of the exercise of this extraordinary Parliamentary jurisdiction occurring in the reigns of Henry IV. and his successors, would greatly exceed the proper bounds of this essay. It will be sufficient to observe, that it was exercised either with the express consent, or at the express prayer of the Commons. Sometimes it compelled the appearance of a defendant in the ordinary courts by virtue of a writ of proclamation, and thus operated in furtherance of the common law. Sometimes it ordered the appearance of parties before the Council, and the writ of subpœna was issued by its authority. In many cases special juries were ordered, the rank and qualification of the array was stated, and other regulations made, to ensure a fair and impartial verdict. In other instances it appears as supplementary to the common law, either by exercising a direct jurisdiction, and, as the judges said in Thorpe's case, making that law that was no law, or by giving a special parliamentary sanction, on an individual application, and, for that time and turn, to such jurisdiction as was exercised *de facto* by the Council, or by the Chancellor. Parliament dealt with the law in the plenitude of its power, removing, or attempting to remove, every impediment which the ordinary constitution and nature of trial by jury offered to the due administration of justice.

Whilst, to use the expression of Lambard, the ball was tossed between the Commons and the Council, the latter had never entirely intermitted its authority, but, on the contrary, it continually assumed more consistency and order. Under Richard II. it was entirely separated from Parliament, and we meet with the first notices of its interior arrangement. The Lords of the Council, 13 R. II. were to meet between eight and nine of the clock, and the bills of the people *of lesser* charge were to be examined and dispatched before the Keeper of the *Privy Seal* and such of the Council as should be present for the time being. From this delegation to the privy seal, we trace the authority afterwards claimed by that officer in the *Court of Requests*, in which, according to Lambard, 'the bills of complaint ordinarily carried the one or the other of these two suggestions, namely, that the plaintiff was a *very poor man*, not able to sue at the common law, or a king's servant ordinarily attendant upon his person.'*

We have already noticed the causes which enabled the Coun-

* Sir Thomas Smith says of this Court, that the matters cognizable by it were 'properly all poor men's suits, which were made to her Majesty by supplication; and this is called the poor man's court, because there he shall have right, without paying any money.'—Commonwealth, b. iii. c. 7.

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cil to gain ground during an age in which the ordinary arm of the law was insufficient to make its authority duly respected, and in which general turbulence and insubordination were increased by political ferment and civil commotion. It is probable that the long absences of Henry V. from England invested it with a greater degree of importance. After every minority, and after every appointment of a select or extraordinary Council by authority of the legislature, we find that the ordinary Council acquired a fresh impulse and further powers. Hence the next reign constitutes a new era. A Council was nominated by the Lords during the minority of the young king, selected principally from their own body. Immediately upon this nomination, the 'Lords of the King's Counsaille' produced in Parliament a schedule containing provisions for the 'good gouvernance of the land,' in which are included the following important articles concerning their jurisdiction.

'Item, that alle the billes that shul be putt unto the Counsail, shuld be onys in the weke att the lest, that is to seie, on the Wednesday, redd byfore ye Counsaill, and their ansueres endoced by the same Counsaill. And on Friday next folowyng declared to the partie suying.

'Item, that alle the billes that comprehende materes terminable atte the commune lawe that semeth noght fenyd, be remitted there to be determined; *but if so be that ye discrecion of the Counsaill fede to grete myght on that oo side, and unmyght oo that othir.*

'Item, that the Clerc of the Counsail be sworn, that every day that the Counseille sittith on ony billes bitwix partie and partie, that he shall, as fer as he can, *aspyc which is the porest suytur's bille*, and that first to be redd and answered, *and that the King's Serjeant to be sworne* treuly and plainly to yeve *the poor man, that for suche is accept to the Counsail, assistense and trewe Counsaill in his matere, so to be suyd, withoute eny good takyng of hym, on peyne of discharge of their offic.*'

Nearly the same provisions were agreed upon again in parliament in the 8 H. VI. Thus the Council settled and defined its principles and practice. The exception, reserved to their 'discretion,' of interfering whenever they felt too much *might* on one side, and too much *unmight* on the other, was in itself sufficiently vague to embrace almost every dispute or trial. And when, in addition thereto, they allowed themselves to be '*moved*' by any other cause reasonable, they left themselves the power in fact of acting whenever they pleased.

This authority, so largely expressed, had been in fact exercised without controul by Parliament; and the question will now suggest itself whether the Council had usurped the lawful powers of the estates of the realm, or whether the latter had gained upon the ancient prerogative jurisdiction of the advisers of the Crown.

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Crown. On this question, so far as respects the period anterior to the reign of Edw. III. it is extremely difficult to form any decided opinion. 'Parliament' and 'Council' are terms used in early records, with a latitude of meaning which throws great perplexity on the investigation. And the constitution of Parliament itself, when the word is understood to designate the supreme legislative assembly, is still involved in so much obscurity as to perplex every inquiry with which it is connected. So long, however, as the King possessed the power of summoning the temporal Peers of Parliament from amongst the barons and bannerets at his pleasure; and so long as the Commons neither had nor claimed any participation in the judicial proceedings of parliament, or in any acts bearing a judicial character, the distinction between the Council in Parliament, and the Council out of Parliament, was not always forcibly defined.

Under the Lancastrian kings England had changed much more than her ruling dynasty. The territorial parliamentary baronage, united with a titular nobility, had acquired an hereditary and indefeasible right to the rank of Lords of Parliament. A House of Lords now existed, invested with functions entirely distinct from that of the Council of the King's advisers, and who had annulled the authority of that Council in Parliament by possessing themselves of all the functions of judicature. To the Commons also now belonged the unquestioned right of sharing in the enactment of every law. Certainly their concurrence in any judicial proceeding was unknown to the ancient Constitution. Yet when they had obtained an authority which made them coordinate with the other branch of the legislature, it was not wholly unreasonable that they should endeavour to claim a voice in the judicial functions of the court of which they had become an essential portion. Parliament was the supreme remedial court of the kingdom, and as no public statute altering or amending the general course of common law could now pass without their assent, as one of the estates, it was easy to contend that they were entitled to concur in any act, ordinance, or judgment, by which the course or practice of the Common Law in any particular or individual case was altered or amended.

Happily for England this reasoning was successfully resisted. Had it prevailed, the entire judicial functions of the ordinary courts would have soon been absorbed by Parliament, or rather by the Commons, and the union of the legislative and judicial functions would have worked the entire subversion of the law. Indeed without reference to constitutional considerations it may be said that numerous bodies can never be trusted as the arbiters of the disputes of individuals, except in those rare cases which, from

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from their importance, or from their connexion with affairs of state, impress the throng of judges with a sense of their responsibility, so deep as to silence passion, prejudice, and selfishness. By chance they may come to a right judgment, but there is very seldom any certainty that they will act upon principle. Unable, or unwilling, as they will always be, to submit to the tedious and irksome task of long and patient investigation, such suits as are of minor importance (and how few will appear otherwise before a crowd of legislators!) will be decided, without reflexion, by the zeal of any favourable or adverse partisan, or the hot and hasty impulse of the assembly. It was, therefore, fortunate for the country that the parliamentary authority of listening to the case of any petitioner who alleged that he was remediless at the common law, became vested in such courts as were better calculated for the administration of substantial and impartial justice. These were indeed long imperfect and of slow growth; as upon some future opportunity we propose to show. It is time, however, to close our present inquiries: we are aware, from the nature of our materials, that they will still leave the mind in doubt upon several cardinal points: some new lights, we trust, we have thrown by our patient researches—and we think that it is rendering some service to the community merely to bring materials together and throw out suggestions of elucidation on so important and so interesting a subject.

ART. V.—*Travels in South America, during the Years* 1819-20-21; *containing an Account of the present State of Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Chile.* By Alexander Caldcleugh, Esq. 2 vols. 1825.

EVERY species of authentic information regarding the southern portion of the great continent of America is the more particularly welcome at this moment, when the long depressed energies of so many millions of people are at length roused into action, and the whole frame of society, in all its members, is assuming a new attitude. Such a crisis can scarcely ever arrive without painful convulsions, and there was nothing in the previous state of the South American provinces to warrant an expectation, that they would in this respect form a splendid exception to the general history of mankind. Accordingly, lamentable as the fate of this fine but unfortunate country may have been, in the best of times that are gone by, it probably was not, at any period, in so deplorable a condition, as in that intermediate state which, for the last fifteen or twenty years, has called into play all the bad passions, and provoked a fierce and desolating warfare between the adherents of

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of the old government on the one hand, and the revolutionists on the other; and encouraged the native Indians to revenge their ancient injuries on both, just as the situation and successes of either party best suited their means of attack and their marauding purposes. One thing, however, let us hope, as we reasonably may, that whatever be the issue of the struggle, and that issue is now scarcely matter of doubt, the condition of the chequered population will be, ultimately and permanently, improved.

The post which Mr. Caldcleugh held of private secretary to our ambassador at the court of the Brazils may, perhaps, have led us to form unreasonable expectations as to the value of that part of his work which relates to this empire, from the supposed advantages of his official situation; but (for it is as well to confess it at once) we have been a good deal disappointed. On many subjects, on which we looked for much information, the book is meagre and unsatisfactory; and on others there is a vagueness and generality of expression, which prevent our placing implicit reliance on his authority. What, however, he saw and heard, we have no doubt he has faithfully described to the best of his abilities; and though the book is heavy, and languid, and they who read for the sake of deep research, or glowing narration, will be disappointed, yet it is but fair to add, that he has seen and heard much, and has added considerably to our stock of information concerning several parts of South America.

We know how difficult it is to convey, by any description, an adequate idea of the mixed grandeur and soft repose, the sublimity and the beauty, of a mountainous country enriched with the exuberance of a tropical vegetation; but we scarcely recollect so complete a failure as our author's attempt to describe the splendid and magnificent scenery, which bursts upon the view, on passing through the gigantic granite portal into the great harbour of Rio de Janeiro; the tame and formal manner, in which the features are here enumerated, without the least warmth of colouring, or glow of feeling, conveys not the least idea to the reader of this extraordinary assemblage of beautiful objects. For a successful description of this we must refer him to the pages of the Bavarian travellers, Von Spix and Von Martius, which we barely glanced at in a former Number. The grand chasm in the granite ridge through which the voyager sails into the dark blue arm of the sea, generally unruffled as an inland lake;—the verdant banks, forming an agreeable contrast with the numerous white houses, chapels, churches, and forts, with which their sloping sides are studded;—the succession of wooded knolls, stretching to the distance of eighteen or twenty miles, till lost in the grand cluster of the Organ Mountains, with their peaked summits,—are all pourtrayed by these

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these travellers in the most vivid, but at the same time, faithful colours.

With the same success, warm in their language, grouping the whole in the most animated manner, yet minutely true in detail, as some of us can testify, have they described the first appearance of the country as they passed out of the city, opening before them in every richness and variety of vegetation; the night-scenery from a rising ground which overlooks it, is also made the subject of a very spirited sketch; and they have given a very characteristic outline of the succession of animated beings, which fills up a day's space, and enlivens the depth of a tropical forest. This last is so much in the best manner of Humboldt, that we cannot refrain from transferring it to our own pages; and we do so with the less scruple, as the only department of natural history with which Mr. Caldcleugh appears to be acquainted, is the far less interesting one which concerns the inanimate creation, geology and mineralogy.

'The naturalist, who is here for the first time, does not know whether he shall most admire the forms, hues, or voices of the animals. Except at noon, when all living creatures in the torrid zone seek shade and repose, and when a solemn silence is diffused over the scene, illumined by the dazzling beams of the sun, every hour of the day calls into action another race of animals. The morning is ushered in by the howling of the monkeys, the high and deep notes of the tree frogs and toads, the monotonous chirp of the grasshoppers and locusts. When the rising sun has dispelled the mists which preceded it, all creatures rejoice in the return of day. The wasps leave their long nests which hang down from the branches; the ants issue from their dwellings, curiously built of clay with which they cover the trees, and commence their journey on the paths they have made for themselves, as is done also by the termites which cast up the earth high and far around. The gayest butterflies, rivalling in splendour the colours of the rainbow, especially numerous Hesperiæ, flutter from flower to flower, or seek their food on the roads, or, collected in separate companies, on the sunny sandbanks of the cool streams. The blue shining Menelaus, Nestor, Adonis, Laertes, the blueish white Idea, and the large Eurylochus with its ocellated wings, hover like birds between the green bushes in the moist valleys. The Feronia, with rustling wings, flies rapidly from tree to tree, while the owl, the largest of the moth kind, sits immovably on the trunk with outspread wings awaiting the approach of evening. Myriads of the most brilliant beetles buzz in the air, and sparkle like jewels on the fresh green of the leaves, or on the odorous flowers. Meantime agile lizards, remarkable for their form, size, and brilliant colours, dark-coloured poisonous, or harmless serpents, which exceed in splendour the enamel of the flowers, glide out of the leaves, the hollows of the trees, and holes in the ground, and, creeping up the stems, bask in the sun, and lie in wait for insects or birds. From this moment all is life and activity. Squirrels, troops of gregarious monkeys,

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monkeys, issue inquisitively from the interior of the woods to the plantations, and leap, whistling and chattering, from tree to tree. Gallinaceous jacus, hoccos, and pigeons, leave the branches and wander about on the moist ground in the woods. Other birds of the most singular forms, and of the most superb plumage, flutter singly, or in companies, through the fragrant bushes. The green, blue, or red parrots, assemble on the tops of the trees, or flying towards the plantations and islands, fill the air with their screams. The toucan, sitting on the extreme branches, rattles with his large hollow bill, and in loud plaintive notes calls for rain. The busy orioles creep out of their long, pendent, bag-shaped nests, to visit the orange trees, and their sentinels announce with a loud screaming cry the approach of man. The flycatchers sitting aloof, watching for insects, dart from the trees and shrubs, and with rapid flight catch the hovering Menelaus or the shining flies as they buzz by. Meantime, the amorous thrush, concealed in the thicket, pours forth her joy in a strain of beautiful melody; the chattering manakins, calling from the close bushes, sometimes here, sometimes there, in the full tones of the nightingale, amuse themselves in misleading the hunters; and the woodpecker makes the distant forests resound while he picks the bark from the trees. Above all these strange voices, the metallic tones of the uraponga sound from the tops of the highest trees, resembling the strokes of the hammer on the anvil, which, appearing nearer or more remote according to the position of the songster, fill the wanderer with astonishment. While thus every living creature by its actions and voice greets the splendour of the day, the delicate humming-birds, rivalling, in beauty and lustre, diamonds, emeralds, and sapphires, hover round the brightest flowers. When the sun goes down most of the animals retire to rest; only the slender deer, the shy pecari, the timid agouti, and the tapir still graze around; the nasua and the opossum, the cunning animals of the feline race, steal through the obscurity of the wood watching for prey, till at last the howling monkeys, the sloth with a cry as of one in distress, the croaking frogs, and the chirping grasshoppers with their monotonous note, conclude the day; the cries of the macuc, the capueira, the goat-sucker, and the bass tones of the bull-frog announce the approach of night. Myriads of luminous beetles now begin to fly about like ignes fatui, and the blood-sucking bats hover like phantoms in the profound darkness of the night.'—pp. 244—249.

The new Brazilian Empire is, indeed, a tempting subject for a traveller's pencil; in whatever light we view it—whether we examine its mountain ridges, clothed to their very summits with noble forests, while within they are stored with gold, diamonds, topazes, and other precious metals and stones—its spacious plains, covered with the richest pasturage—its valleys smiling with cultivation, on a soil pregnant with all the luxuries, the conveniences and the necessaries of life—its rivers communicating with a coast full of safe and convenient harbours, so happily situated as to command a ready commerce with every part of the world—or, lastly, the general salubrity of its climate, in every degree of latitude from

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from the equator to 35° south, favourable in some part or other to the growth and production of every useful and valuable article of the vegetable kingdom—in all and every of these points Brazil must be considered as a country peculiarly favoured by nature, equalled by very few, and certainly not excelled by any.

But all these inestimable advantages were, in a great degree, lost to the inhabitants, while, as a colony of Portugal, Brazil was subject to the paralyzing restrictions of the mother-country. The accession of the court, therefore, could be considered by the colonists in no other light than as a most auspicious event, and was accordingly hailed with acclamations of joy. The ports, which had hitherto been rigidly closed, were now thrown open to foreigners and foreign commerce. Not fewer, according to Von Spix and Martius, than twenty-four thousand Portugueze flocked to the shores of Brazil, besides English, French, Dutch, Germans and Italians. At that period the population of Rio de Janeiro was estimated at 50,000. The authors above-mentioned state it to have risen, in 1817, to 110,000; and Mr. Caldcleugh gives it in 1821 as amounting to 135,000, of which he supposes 105,000 to be negroes, and 4,000 foreigners. The total population of Brazil, including the Indians, is calculated to be from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000. What the proportion of slaves may be is not easy to ascertain; but it is enormous, and must be rapidly accumulating, if it be true that not fewer than 20,000 are imported annually into Rio de Janeiro alone, exclusive of Bahia and the other ports, for which must be added at least 10,000 more—a number which must cost to Africa an annual drain of at least 40,000 of its unhappy natives. Yet these importations are, in fact, not only useless, but injurious to the country, and, indeed, could only be tolerated by a race of men destitute of all energy, and wholly given up to habits of sloth and indolence. Here, however, the negro is at least not driven to labour with the cart-whip; on the contrary, Mr. Caldcleugh tells us, 'they appear in many cases to do as they please, and completely rule their indolent masters.' 'Without wishing it,' says this author, 'to be inferred that they lead an enviable life, nobody can affirm, on seeing them singing and dancing in the streets, that they are wretched, and continually pining over their unhappy fate.' The Bavarian travellers frequently hold the same language, and they give a curious instance of the general kind feeling of the Portugueze towards their slaves. A negro of Minas Geraës, who had been hired to attend their mules, absconded, and on being found and brought back, they were advised, instead of punishing him for his misconduct, to speak kindly to him and to give him a good large glass of brandy; a mode of treatment operating, we should have thought, rather as a reward

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for past offences, than encouragement for future amendment. Something may be collected from this little incident; the Brazilians may be indulgent masters, and their slaves may lead easy lives; this is at least in a certain degree consolatory; but we cannot see any reason to infer that a spirit of improvement is at work among them, or that any thing is really done for their moral or intellectual advancement.

In no part of the world are slaves enfranchised on more easy terms than in the Brazils, though their condition is rarely changed for the better by becoming free; for it is observed, that the free blacks are generally the most idle, vicious and disorderly, and by their dissolute habits bring themselves and families to distress. Unaccustomed to spend a moment in thought, they are usually improvident and utterly unfit to take care of themselves. Sometimes, however, they so far succeed as to become slave-owners themselves, and whenever this is the case, they are the most cruel and tyrannical of masters—'to turn a black into the world,' says Mr. Caldcleugh, 'absolutely, in many cases, without common sense to direct his steps, so far from being a charitable deed, is, on the contrary, one every way worthy of reprehension.' We quite agree with him, but we are a little surprised that his reflection stops here, and does not ascend a little higher to the cause of that want of common sense and intelligence. We suppose he does not quite agree with the theory of the lower order of Brazilians as to the original formation of this oppressed race.

'At the time, say they, of the creation of Adam, Satan looked on and formed a man of clay, but every thing he touched becoming black, he determined to wash him white in the Jordan: on his approach the river retired, and he had only time to push the black man on the wet sand, which touching the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands, accounts for the whiteness of these parts. The Devil, in a state of irritation, struck his creation on the nose, by which the flatness of that organ was accomplished. The negro then begged for mercy, and humbly represented that no blame could be attached to him; upon which the other, something pacified, patted him on the head, and by the heat of his hands, curled his hair in the way it is seen at the present day.'—vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

If we do not mistake him, however, he seems to think it better that the masters should retain their slaves, form connections with the females, and produce a race of mulattoes, which with the muscular power of one race added to the intelligence of the other, would produce a population of free men fit for every purpose, and well calculated to supersede the importation of African negroes. The extreme morality of this is obvious enough; but he forgets that children in all slave countries follow the condition of the mother; of which he himself mentions an amusing instance

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in a *Padre Canto* who had four mulatto sons, 'two of whom he sold, and the others performed the pleasing and filial act of carrying their father about the town in a sedan-chair.'

It is greatly to be lamented that the Conde de Linhares, among the many improvements which he introduced into the Brazils, did not avail himself of his situation to put a stop to the detestable traffic in slaves, so far, at least, as to check a further importation. But this nefarious trade cannot continue long in South America. Hemmed in as the Brasils are by Columbia, Peru, Chile and Buenos Ayres, in all of which the traffic has ceased, and the negroes have become, or are in the course of becoming, free—Brazil will be compelled to follow the example; which she had better do as an act of grace than wait till the slaves demand the same privileges which have been conceded to their neighbouring brethren. This minister encouraged literature, and permitted the establishment of a licensed press, which has gradually been freed from most of its shackles; so that political and party pamphlets issue from it, and a gazette is published twice a week. The present emperor seems disposed to encourage literature, arts and science; but being a young man of a vivid and volatile temperament, whose education has not been of the best kind, he is said to be capricious, self-willed and despotic; and we understand he has recently committed an act against some unfortunate Germans, which, if extended to the subjects of Great Britain or the United States, might lead to consequences affecting the stability of his new empire. These poor men, who emigrated on the faith of being received as colonists, to cultivate the land and work the mines, were on their arrival pressed into the Brazilian army; and to prevent their escape, notices were sent to the foreign shipping in the port not to receive them on board, as being deserters. Schools, however, are forming under his auspices; there is a public library, to which his father gave 70,000 volumes, carried away from Portugal; a museum of natural history, and a school of surgery. Lectures are read in natural history, more particularly in botany, by Fra Leandro do Sacramento, a learned Carmelite, who has a nursery of rare plants close to the city; there is also, at a little distance, a botanical garden. Besides these, there is an academy for the arts, containing a gallery of paintings, and a hospital with other charitable institutions; and it is stated that the inhabitants show a disposition to profit by and encourage these laudable establishments. Music is much cultivated by the ladies, and there is an opera, but the performers are confined chiefly, if not wholly, to persons of colour; but it is said that Don Pedro is so particularly attached to music, that he sometimes does not disdain to lead the dingy band himself.

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The benefits already felt by the removal of many restrictions on trade have infused a spirit of adventure into the inhabitants of Rio unknown before; more activity than formerly is displayed by many of the shopkeepers; all the markets have been greatly improved, and are now well stocked with butcher's meat, poultry, fish, fruit and vegetables. Of fruits in particular no country can boast a greater variety—the orange, pine-apple, grenadilla, guava, custard-apple, cashew, jambo, jambuticaba, mango, the prolific and nutritive banana, and the plantain, are within the reach of the poorest inhabitants. Besides the common vegetables of Europe, they have excellent yams and sweet potatoes; and the mandioca and maize are the chief articles of subsistence for the slaves. The cocoa or chocolate tree, indigo and tobacco, are raised as articles of commerce; but the staple products of Brazil, and the great sources of wealth, are coffee, cotton, and sugar, which with gold, precious stones, drugs, dye woods, tallow and hides, they export in return for our manufactures to the amount, it is said, in the year 1820, of £1,860,000; and in 1821, of £2,230,000. The annual revenue of Brazil is stated to be about £2,500,000, which is nearly double its amount during the residence of the king. It arises principally from duties on imports and exports, and the fifth of the produce of the gold mines. The whole value of this metal annually produced is supposed to amount to about one million sterling.

Not satisfied with so many valuable articles of commerce, it was conceived that the introduction of the tea plant might in a short time supersede the necessity of going to China for that article; and accordingly some hundreds of Chinese from the tea plantations were imported, together with a number of the plants. In the year 1820, the plan had so far succeeded, that the number of plants amounted to about six thousand; but it was found that although the shrub had been planted, the leaves plucked, dried and prepared precisely in the same manner as in China, the infusion had a rough and earthy taste, without any of that fine aromatic flavour which the teas of China possess. By this time the Chinese had also become home-sick; many of them had died, and others left the garden and repaired to the town, where they may still be seen selling their toys and their *too-foo* in the streets; and thus ended a foolish attempt to open a new source of wealth, which in fact was not wanted, and never could succeed where the price of labour exceeded two-pence or three-pence a day.

The climate of the Brazils is good, both in those parts which are within and those without the tropic, and the population is generally healthy. 'The diseases,' say the Bavarian travellers, 'most frequent, are chronical diarrhœas, dropsy, intermitting fevers,

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fevers, syphilis and hydrocele; and of these, perhaps, only the last can be considered as endemic and peculiar to the city.' Fevers are by no means so common in Rio as might be expected from the unwholesome exhalations of a marshy swamp, which extends into the suburbs and receives all the filth of the city. The exhalation from this place entices thousands of the common vulture to feed upon the garbage, which they are permitted to do without molestation, being considered here, as anciently they were in Egypt, the best and most useful of scavengers. This swamp will, no doubt, in time be drained by proper sluices, and the sea kept out by dykes; but the Brazilians seem not to have discovered as yet the comforts or utility of cleanliness. In the lower parts of the houses, fire-wood and rubbish of every sort are heaped up, to become the nurseries of fleas, mosquitoes, scorpions, and other noxious and disgusting insects. Rats are innumerable, and appear to dread no enemy in the canine race, as it is no unusual thing to observe whole troops of the two animals feeding amicably together at the same heap of garbage. The streets are much infested with dogs, which being left to seek their own subsistence, are in a state of constant warfare with the negroes. Mr. Caldcleugh says the hydrophobia is unknown; and he seems to think that the process of *worming*, so common with us, may contribute to this disease by depriving the animal of one of the salivary ducts.

Besides these town-nuisances there are many very serious drawbacks to be set against the beauty and fertility of the Brazils. Ants and termites swarm in every part of the country, and commit great ravages in the houses and property of the inhabitants; and mosquitoes, ticks and jiggers, are among the inferior plagues, both within doors and without. Scolopendras, centipedes, scorpions, immense toads and frogs, abound in the woods. Spiders of enormous size spin their webs of such strength, as to catch the smaller kinds of birds. Snakes, in great variety, are very numerous, and the bite of several species is frequently attended with fatal consequences. The boa constrictor attains the size of sixteen or eighteen feet in length, and its skin, when tanned, is said to make excellent boots. Rattle-snakes are numerous and grow to a large size. Mr. Caldcleugh was informed, that in many of the farms two or three slaves lost their lives annually by the poison of this reptile. In the province of the Mines the following extraordinary circumstance is said to have happened:

'At Saint João del Rey, a young man went into the woods, was bitten on the instep by a rattle-snake, came home ill and died. His widow (time being very precious with the fair sex in Brazil) soon married again, and her second availed himself of the clothes of the first, and among other things put on a pair of boots. He was shortly afterwards taken

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ill and died. A third husband followed and experienced the same fate. Another Brazilian, little alarmed by what had happened, and induced, perhaps, by the accumulation of wealth, became the fourth husband, and by chance discovered the fang of a rattle-snake sticking through the instep of the boot, which being worn by his predecessors, had, in a climate where mortification soon occurs, been without doubt the cause of their deaths.'—vol. i. p. 39, 40.

A belt of mountains, of the average height of 4,000 feet, runs north and south at no great distance from, and nearly parallel to, the sea-coast, about the central part of the Brazils. Several streams fall from these mountains, those on the eastern side into the Atlantic, but the more numerous and considerable ones on the western side swell the Parana in its course to the Rio de la Plata. The eastern rivers are not navigable, except perhaps the Rio de Francisco, whose tributary branches rise out of the very centre of the mining district.

The want of roads is a greater drawback on the wealth and prosperity of the Brazils than the want of navigable rivers. The fertile district of Santo Paulo communicates with the bay of Santos by one road over the ridge of mountains, but it is passable only by mules. The populous district of the Minas Geraës has no communication with the capital, but by the port of Estrella, at the head of the harbour, from whence there is a road travelled only by horses or mules; yet all the gold is brought down by this route. The whole distance from Rio to Villa Rica, the capital of Minas Geraës, does not exceed 240 miles, yet it occupied Mr. Caldcleugh fifteen days hard travelling to reach it. It appears from his account of this mining district, and also from that of Von Spix and Martius, that gold is abundantly scattered through the rocks of the mountains, the superincumbent soil, and the beds of the rivers, over a surface of many thousand square miles in extent, but generally in such minute particles as to require a considerable degree of labour in collecting it; sometimes it is found in crystals, sometimes in a dendritical form, and more rarely in lumps; of the latter a piece was found at Villa Rica which weighed sixteen pounds. It is said that this metal has frequently been found in little lumps under the roots of plants pulled out of the ground, having accidentally been washed thither by the rains. So universally indeed is gold disseminated over the central parts of the Brazils, that a golden shower, more extensive and substantial than that which is said to have been poured into the lap of Danaë, might be supposed to have fallen upon them. Even in the streets of Rio, children may be seen, after heavy rains, picking up pieces of gold.

In the mountains this precious metal is found in a red heavy loam,

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loam, in beds of clay-slate, quartzy mica-slate, or in veins of quartz and red ironstone. It usually assumes its most beautiful form in the large foliated iron mica-slate; it is also found in arsenical iron pyrites. All the numerous streams that trickle down the sides of the mountains, but more especially those at their feet which assume a slow and muddy character, are auriferous, not only in their beds but their banks also. Nor is gold the only treasure that the Minas Geraës possesses. We are assured by Von Spix and Martius, that almost every kind of metal is to be found here, with the exception of silver; ironstone, which may be considered to form the chief component part of the long chain, is so rich as to produce ninety per cent. of metal; lead is found beyond the Rio de S. Francisco; copper in S. Domingos; manganese in Paraopeba; platina in several of the mountain streams; quick-silver, arsenic, bismuth, antimony, and red-lead ore, about Villa Rica; diamonds in Tejuco and Abaité; yellow, blue and white topazes, grass and bluish green aqua-marines, red and green tourmalins, chrysoberyls, garnets, and amethysts, in Minas Novas. To which may be added that which is, or ought to be, the greatest of all treasures, yet the most neglected, a very fertile soil covered with a luxuriant vegetation, capable of producing every luxury and necessary of life, under a climate which, from the elevation of the surface, is temperate and agreeable. But here, as elsewhere, the *auri sacra fames* has exerted a baleful influence over the infatuated inhabitants. Neglecting agricultural pursuits, their whole attention has till very lately been drawn to the mines, a lottery in which the great prize generally remains in the wheel. It is a curious circumstance, stated by the Bavarian travellers, that at the first place they entered in the gold district, the only currency was a depreciated paper-money, with a large number of forged notes. Mr. Caldcleugh thus describes the capital:—

'As Villa Rica may be considered the emporium of the Minas Geraës, and as the thoroughfare to the diamond district and other parts in the interior of Brazil, there is still the appearance of much bustle; but it is quite evident from the deserted houses and general appearance of neglect, that it no longer boasts the population that it once contained, nor the affluence which at one time prevailed in such an extraordinary degree. No place exhibits a more interesting spectacle to the moralist than this. A large mountain, thickly veined with gold, draws, on that account, a population of upwards of thirty thousand persons, who, in the course of sixty or seventy years, exhaust its precious riches. With nothing else to recommend it, the soil being very unproductive, and the immediate inhabitants little inclined by love of agriculture to endeavour to improve it, the population, at the end of a century, decreases to a third of its former number, and the streets and the palace, the governor, and the establish-

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ment, are alone left as monuments of the extraordinary riches which once prevailed. Poverty has now her full sway at Villa Rica; the streets swarm with mendicants, who, if diseased, confine themselves entirely to begging; but if in health, alternately try the bowl in the streams and the charity of the more affluent in the town.'—vol. ii. p. 249, 250.

There are three modes of collecting the scattered particles of gold—by scooping up the sediment of rivers—by splitting the rock with fire or gunpowder, and carrying the fragments to a stamping-mill—and by turning streams of water into trenches made in loamy auriferous soils, along the declivities of the mountains. The few solitary negroes that are now employed at the *lavras*, or washing-places, may still be seen, each with his wooden bowl, 'picking up,' says Mr. Caldcleugh, 'a miserable and uncertain subsistence of a few *vintems* daily.' The isolated hill upon which Villa Rica stands, appears from the base to the summit absolutely like a honeycomb, by the perforations that have been made into the veins or nests of quartz. Whatever gold is found must be carried to the registering office, in order to be smelted and fined, that the Emperor may receive his fifth, and good care is taken, by placing guard-houses, that as little smuggling as possible may be carried on. At the diamond mines of Tejuco, the negroes who are suspected of concealing diamonds, are turned over to an old woman, who acts as the village doctress, and doses them with strong decoctions of plants. Mr. Caldcleugh mentions an instance of an old woman of this kind practising upon a lady, on her way from Villa Rica to Rio de Janeiro, who was stopped at the *registro* on suspicion of concealing a very large and valuable diamond; which the old woman very shortly produced, and was rewarded for her pains.

The process of amalgamation, without which the gold can never be properly separated from the specular ironstone, antimony, and arsenic, is but ill understood and little practised. Indeed the general want of proper management of the metal fully corresponds with the defective manner of working the mines.

On the river Ypanema an iron-foundery has been established, which is now worked by Germans, after having been abandoned by some Swedish miners, introduced by the Conde Linhares. These poor people, disgusted and dissatisfied with the idleness, irregularity, and impracticability of the mulattoes and negroes, soon became, like the Chinese, lingering and longing after their native land, and some of them having died, the others took an early opportunity to quit the country. The ore is rich, producing ninety per cent., but the iron is brittle, owing, it is supposed, to the nature of the charcoal. Were there are any good roads

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roads of communication, this foundery, it is said, would supply all South America with iron.

It would appear from the Bavarian travellers, that the little profit arising from the search after gold has at length induced the inhabitants of the mining districts to turn their attention to their fertile lands, as a surer source of wealth; and that, wherever this has been the case, the appearance of their houses without, and their neatness and comfort within, form a striking contrast with the residences of those who continue the pursuit after gold. The population too, as might be expected, appears rapidly on the increase within the last few years. Thus in 1808, Minas Geraës contained a total of 433,049, of whom 180,972 were negroes, and, in 1820, there were 621,885 of which 165,210 only were slaves.

The miners might take a lesson from their southern neighbours in the district of Santo Paulo, who with half the population, and not a third part of the slaves in Minas Geraës, produce more real wealth from their cattle and agriculture, than all the gold and precious stones brought from the latter, and are infinitely superior in civilization and all the comforts and luxuries of life. On the plains behind the Sierra, the farms are stocked with horses and horned cattle, the numbers of which amount from two to forty thousand on a single farm. From the cattle they derive milk and cheese, dried flesh, hides, and tallow, which are sent down by horses and mules to the port of Santos. They have most of the fruits peculiar to tropical climates. The pine-apple grows wild, covering extensive spots of ground, and when cultivated the fruit attains an extraordinary size and delicious flavour. A pleasant and wholesome wine is made from it; and one of a light and agreeable flavour is also expressed from the fruit of the jabuticaba *(myrtus cauliflora)* which has been brought out of the woods, and very generally cultivated, as being one of the best fruits of the country. The mulberry thrives well, and the silk-worm produces a beautiful thread. Here too is a species of worm found plentifully on a laurel-like shrub, which spins a more delicate and brilliant fibre than the common silk-worm. The cochineal plant and insect are every where found, but totally neglected, and indigo grows as a weed.

The brief sketch we have given of this magnificent country, so peculiarly favoured by its climate, its fertility, and its situation on the globe, is quite sufficient to show to what a height of prosperity it might be brought by an intelligent and industrious population, possessed of a moderate capital and judiciously employing it. In the present rage for embarking English capital on foreign speculations, it certainly does appear to us that in no one of the new states of South America could it be so advantageously employed

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as in working the mines, improving the agriculture, and giving facility of intercourse between the sea-ports and the interior, and between the several districts of the Brazils.

Before his visit to the Mines, Mr. Caldcleugh proceeded by sea to Rio de la Plata. At Monte Video he thought he perceived an air of desolation in the streets, but ill according with the reported prosperity of the place; and, in fact, the population had decreased from 15,000 to 10,000 souls, owing to the unsettled state of the country; but the gloom, he says, was somewhat enlivened by the number of well-dressed and handsome females met in the streets, which was a novel sight after a residence at Rio de Janeiro, where they can neither boast of much beauty, nor are frequently met with out of doors. He here obtained some curious information respecting Paraguay, the once populous and flourishing territory of the Jesuits. This country, situated on the western frontier of the Brazils, between the rivers Parana and Paraguay, and six or seven hundred miles from Buenos Ayres, was early revolutionized under a native chief of the name of Francia, who, having taken a degree at the university of Cordova, was usually distinguished as *Doctor* Francia. The king's governor, Velasco, joined the revolutionary party of Paraguay, but Francia soon contrived to get rid of him, and then declared himself Dictator.

In 1810, an expedition was sent from Buenos Ayres against the Dictator, and having entered the country, and marched a considerable way through the woods unmolested towards Asumpcion, its commander concluded that he should be allowed to take possession of the capital without opposition. One night, however, soon after the troops had encamped, large fires suddenly blazed all around them, and a trumpet arrived from Francia to say, that he had no wish to shed blood, and would therefore permit them a free retreat to Buenos Ayres; but that if they advanced a step farther, they must take the consequences. The commander, after some hesitation, thought it most prudent to retire; but every night while he remained in the territory of Francia, he found himself surrounded in a similar way, and was glad to escape from the danger with which he was menaced. Since that time no intercourse has been had with Paraguay. Artigas, after his defeat, fled into that country, but was seized and placed in confinement. In 1820, M. Bonpland, the fellow traveller of Humboldt, received an invitation from Francia to visit him, and to follow his favourite pursuit in Paraguay. He was advised, however, not to trust himself with the Doctor, and contented himself with remaining in the *Entre Rios*, between the Paraná and Uraguay, and to the south of Paraguay, where, finding the matté, or tea-shrub, commonly called *Yerba, par excellence*, he entered into partnership with a Scotchman to

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to carry on the cultivation and manufacture of this commodity; but they had scarcely commenced business when the dictator sent a party down the river to seize the offenders; the more wary Scotchman escaped, but poor Bonpland was taken, and has never been able to return; it is understood, however, that he is a prisoner at large, and permitted to pursue his favourite study within the limits of the country.* It seems also that an English physician, of the name of Powlett, and a shipbuilder, had some years ago gone to Asumpcion, and, if alive, are still there.

It is a subject of much speculation what the views of the Dictator really are. The Paraguay tea, which is the prepared leaf of a species of ilex, was a most valuable article of exportation; the demand for it in the Spanish parts of South America was so great, that in one year 20,000 bales, of the value of one million sterling, are stated to have been sent down to Buenos Ayres alone. But he has almost entirely prohibited the exportation of it, and induced the Brazilians to attend to the cultivation of the plant, which is indigenous on the western side of the ridge of mountains. The Spaniards say that he is one of the old Jesuits, and that he is holding the country for the King of Spain. If that be so, the sooner he makes his peace with some of the revolutionary governments the better, as he can hardly expect that he will long be suffered to remain shut up within his little territory, excluding all mankind, like another Emperor of China. In his government he is supposed to follow the system of the old Jesuits, and that a population of 200,000 whites, exclusive of Indians, are perfectly

* We have a letter from Rio de Janeiro of the date 19th December last, from which we extract the following particulars, respecting this French botanist and his lady.

'To those who knew Bonpland, the companion of Humboldt, it may be interesting to know that he is alive, and, I believe, well. But Francia, the tyrant of Paraguay, refuses to set him at liberty. He is employed both as a surgeon and assistant superintendant of some new road Francia is planning to lead to one of the Chilian passes of the Andes. The new empire of Paraguay promises to be as singular as the old. Francia seldom appears—when he goes from place to place doors and windows are shut, and 'tis said, that no face must be seen at either, on pain of death. A new veiled prophet! he is at the head of church and state—calls himself plain Mr. Francia—permits no intercourse, not even of commerce, with any other state, and upon the whole, does no further maltreat his prisoners than absolutely keeping them from any kind of communication from without. Mad. Bonpland, with a daughter by some former husband, is *here*, in very great pecuniary distress. Several French and English gentlemen have been good to her—she is a pretty woman, but meddles in politics, so that people are neither so kind to her as they would be, nor so ready to associate with her as her agreeableness would induce them to be. She is a good musician too, but can get no pupils, because the real old French spirit of intrigue, both private and political, frightens people. She was sent from Buenos Ayres, really, I believe, on that account. I am truly sorry for her, but I cannot help her; and 'tis a wretched thing to think that such a man as Bonpland should be shut up with half savages, and be unable even to provide for his family. However, science may, perhaps, console him, for he will, at any rate, become more acquainted than any enlightened European ever has been with the interior of this vast continent.'

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satisfied with the order of things which he has established. Some idea may be formed of the way in which he manages affairs, and of the people whom he has to manage, if Mr. Caldcleugh's information may be depended on in the following story.

'A few years ago the Dictator settled some disputes in a novel way. He decreed that the government of the country should be of the most popular nature; that there should be a congress of a thousand members, chosen from all classes of the people, to arrange the affairs of the country, &c. and settle a new form of government. The members were accordingly chosen from all parts, and obliged to assemble at Asumpcion, where, after an address from the Dictator, they were set to business. At the end of three days, passed without pay or allowances, and with the certainty of the ruin of their farms and families, they came in a body to the Dictator, and replacing the sovereign power in his hands, declared that they were perfectly satisfied with his plan of government, and concluded by begging permission to retire to their homes. His Excellency, disguising his satisfaction at the success of the plan, replied, that he should reserve to himself the power of calling them together again; and if he heard any more complaints or murmurs, he should avail himself of it, and in that case the deputies must make up their minds to a session of at least six months' duration.

'By means of philosophical instruments Francia has been able to strengthen his power considerably over the people. Every night he sallies out from his dictatorial palace, attended by a crowd of persons, and, examining the stars, he makes his calculations, and then retires amidst the admiration of the multitude.'—pp. 135, 136.

If Buenos Ayres was situated at the head of a bay of a less intricate and dangerous navigation than that of the great gulph of Rio de la Plata, it would be admirably adapted for a convenient commercial intercourse with the rest of the world. In one respect it has the advantage of Rio de Janeiro, which is a *rio* without a river—a *lucus, a non lucendo*. The two great navigable branches of the Rio de la Plata, the Paraná and the Paraguay, extend northerly along a great part of the western frontier of the Brazils, and by their tributary streams a navigable communication might easily be opened with Cordova, St. Jago, Tucuman, Mendoza and St. Juan, which stretch along the eastern bases of the Cordilleras. A great part of the territory of this republic is composed of the Pampas plains, which extend westerly to the feet of the Cordilleras, and southerly to the mountains of Patagonia, useless for agricultural purposes, but covered in many parts with rich pasture, and supporting innumerable herds of horses and cattle. Not a tree, scarcely even a shrubby plant, is found on these interminable plains, excepting perhaps a few willows or mimosas by the sides of stagnant pools or ditches of salt and muddy water. Such, indeed, was the scarcity of fuel at Buenos Ayres, that the Spaniards

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Spaniards were obliged to introduce and plant the hard peach tree of Europe for a supply of that necessary article. Several European vegetables have also been introduced, but not with much success. The only good fruit is the grape; melons have little flavour; apples are positively bad, and the cherry tree will not bear fruit; yet nothing can be finer than the climate, the temperature of summer seldom exceeding 80°, and that of winter seldom falling lower than 40°, the annual average being about 60°. Wheat is the grain mostly cultivated; but barley and maize are also raised; and gourds or pumpkins are the vegetables principally used by the natives. Whether the Scotch colony, which has recently proceeded thither, will maintain its ground, a little time will show; but we confess we are not very sanguine as to the favourable result of associations of this kind; industrious individuals may succeed; but the partnership concern is not likely to prosper. It is a great mistake to suppose that men will quit their native country, submit to a voyage of six or seven thousand miles, and labour hard from morning till night, in a climate less congenial to their constitutions and habits than their own, for the sake of wages alone. The settlers who carried out labourers to the Cape of Good Hope soon found out their error in this respect; and we suspect that such will be the fate of the Scotch colony to South America, unless lands be granted on easy terms to individuals, and they be allowed to make what use of them they may deem fit; and in this case, we would ask, what becomes of the association?

The large farms, and particularly those on the Pampas, are almost entirely taken up with the breeding of cattle. Some of them are said to be stocked with not fewer than 6,000 head of horses, besides an immense number of horned cattle. It was a custom of the Spanish government before the revolution, which has recently been revived, to seize, at particular times, all the unmarked cattle, to cut their ears, and take possession of them for the use of the state. Most of the horses, and all the mares, are considered as valuable for little else than for their hides. A strong prejudice, it seems, exists against employing the mares in any kind of work. 'An Englishman,' says Mr. Caldcleugh, 'braved the public opinion for a few days, by riding about the streets on a mare; but he was so pelted with mud and abuse, that he was forced to give up his point.'

The number of horned cattle, in addition to the horses, is perfectly astonishing; a whole ox, skin, tallow, and horns, may be purchased for five or six dollars, of which the hide alone sells for three or three and a half. The price of beef, therefore, is so trifling as scarcely to be estimated; it furnishes the universal food, and is given even to the poultry; but of late years the numbers have

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have much diminished, owing to the demand made by English traders for hides and tallow. The trade, indeed, between the two countries is becoming of considerable extent and importance. In the year 1817, the value of goods shipped for that port was £388,487; but in 1823 it had increased to £1,164,745. In 1821, the number of British ships which arrived at Buenos Ayres was 114; in 1822 it was 167, bringing from thence 957,600 horse and cow hides. The distant provinces in the interior produce cotton and tobacco; and the sheltered valleys at the foot of the Andes are highly favourable for the cultivation of the vine; and it is said that the wines and brandies of Mendoza and San Juan, to the amount of 12,000 barrels, annually find their way to Buenos Ayres, where they are exchanged for English manufactures, many of which Mr. Caldcleugh found circulating in the remotest corners of the Cordilleras.

The dependencies of Buenos Ayres have at no time derived much from their mineral treasures. Some English merchants, in 1814, entertained an idea of renting and working the mine of Famatina, near San Juan, but were ultimately deterred by the unsettled state of the country. Mr. Caldcleugh, however, gives a flattering account of the general improvement which has taken place, and is still going on, under the influence chiefly of the secretary of state Rivadavia.

'The very improved state of the country in every branch, but particularly in the finances and police, must be attributed to the appointment of D. Bernadino Rivadavia to the secretaryship of state. This nomination took place in July, 1821, when the country, from intestine disturbances and misrule, was reduced to the lowest ebb. From that period every thing has put on a renovated appearance; confidence has been restored, and old and dangerous prejudices combated and eradicated. Rivadavia had been for some time the agent of Buenos Ayres in London, and while there, he watched all our admirable institutions, and, in his mind, saw what could with advantage be transplanted to his native country, and what was as yet too refined, or not adapted to its sphere. He appears to have used, whenever it was possible, England as his model; and his public spirit has certainly been well seconded by the most thinking part of the community.'—vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

He first began, it seems, by curtailing the influence of the cloistered clergy, and suppressed several monasteries and convents; but in doing this he very wisely converted their chapels into parish churches, providing at the same time handsomely for the regular clergy. He remodelled the courts of justice, increased the salaries of the judges, and directed monthly lists to be published of all cases, criminal and civil, which had been decided, or were in progress; and at the same time rendered the military amenable to the civil law. In the first years of the revolution several thousand negroes were purchased

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purchased by the state from their owners, to fill up the ranks; and the practice continued to 1822, when it was ordered to be suspended, the stock by these means having nearly been exhausted. And as the General Congress assembled in January, 1813, decreed that all children born of slave parents after that time should be free, the number has so far decreased that, according to Mr. Caldcleugh's information, the proportion is now not greater than one slave to nine freemen. The total population, he says, of all the provinces does not exceed 450,000, exclusive of the Indians. The province of Buenos Ayres, including the Indians of the Pampas, is stated at 80,000, of which the city alone contains about 65,000.

The relaxation of the human frame, occasioned by a tropical climate, may be considered as some apology for the want of that energy which characterizes the inhabitants of colder regions. But the indolent habits of all ranks and classes of Buenos Ayres are wholly inexcusable in so temperate a climate. Every one avoids the slightest degree of labour. Horses are so numerous, and are procurable at so little expense, that every man possesses one or more of these animals, one of which may generally be seen tied up at the door of each house, ready to be mounted; and this is done even if the owner has occasion only to cross the street: nay, the beggar who asks charity at the corner of a street is generally mounted. Mr. Caldcleugh bears testimony to the good disposition of the people, and says that their honesty has never been called in question; but the lower classes are remarkably addicted to gambling—'to sit in a *pulperia* (spirit shop) and play at some game which requires little personal fatigue; to drink as fortune becomes unfavourable, and, in a fit of passion, to stab the more fortunate, is no uncommon way of spending the day among the lowest inhabitants of Buenos Ayres.' On the least dispute the Spaniard wraps his *poncho* (cloak) round the left arm, and grasps his knife with his right; but deliberate murder is said very rarely to occur.

The manners of the upper ranks are generally good; and as to the female sex, Mr. Caldcleugh says, it is hardly possible to speak too favourably of them. They have begun to follow the English fashion of dress. Every family of respectability has its *tertulias* or evening parties, to which strangers are invited, and received with the greatest kindness and cordiality; the amusements consist of music, or dancing Spanish country dances, minuets and waltzes. He speaks with more than usual animation of the politeness and elegance of the Spanish ladies, which, he says, has the appearance of being the result of the most finished education, instead of proceeding, as it does, from innate goodness of heart. It seems, however, that the means of education have not been neglected.

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lected. Several large schools have been established for the instruction of the lower orders at the public expense. There is an academy for music and painting—a public library, which some years ago had upwards of 12,000 volumes; and as books are allowed to be entered duty free, their number has of late considerably increased. Two years ago a literary society was instituted by Rivadavia, who caused a collection of national poetry to be made and printed at the public expense. Several gazettes or newspapers are published and respectably conducted, and a new theatre has been built, which is well attended.

The uniformity of the great Pampas plains certainly admits of no lengthened or varied description; but Mr. Caldcleugh might have made some account of their vegetable productions interesting. He crossed them on horseback in sixteen days from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, a distance of more than 1,000 miles. The heavy articles of commerce to and from the western provinces, which stretch along the feet of the Andes, are sometimes conveyed in waggons drawn by oxen; but this is a tedious process, owing to the bad roads, swamps, and muddy streams; the usual conveyance therefore is by horses and mules. The post-houses, which occur at certain distances, are mere wretched mud hovels, with holes and rents in the walls and roofs, filthy beyond description, and swarming with bugs, fleas, and every other tormenting insect that creeps, jumps, or flies. The inhabitants, for the most part, are kind and obliging to travellers, but miserably poor. All the water they use, whether stagnant or running, is brackish and muddy; they never taste bread, but subsist entirely on milk and beef; a little *yerba* or Paraguay tea is a luxury eagerly sought after, but seldom indulged in. Towards the western extremity of the pampas, just where the rise of the surface commences on approaching the spurs of the great mountain range, thickets of the prickly cactus and thorny mimosa begin to make their appearance. Here, also, the villages are more frequent, and the houses somewhat better built; streams of fresh water are trickling down from the hills, and, at the distance of five or six leagues from Mendoza, inclosures and cultivated lands indicate the approach to a considerable town.

Mendoza is situated at the foot of the Andes opposite to the great pass of Uspallata. It is well-built, the houses of brick, the streets wide, with refreshing streams of pure water running through them. A great square, an *alameda*, or public walk, where parties assemble in the evenings and take their ice and sweetmeats to a late hour, and six or seven churches, are the principal objects that attract the stranger's attention. The town is said to contain 20,000 inhabitants, mostly whites, the negroes having been given up by their masters to serve in the revolutionary army.

It

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It is a place of considerable trade, being in the direct road from Buenos Ayres to Chilé. The chief produce is wine, which is said to be not unlike Malaga, but of an inferior kind. Some of the vineyards contain not less than 60,000 plants. Other fruits are melons of exquisite flavour, figs, pears, and quinces, the latter superior to any raised in Europe. The exports of Mendoza are chiefly wines, brandies, and dried fruits, for which they receive in exchange the *yerba* and manufactured goods, principally those of Great Britain; which are sold at a rate almost incredibly cheap. Mr. Caldcleugh bought a Birmingham penknife for less than a shilling, after its having travelled such an immense distance by sea and land, and afforded a profit to so many different hands. The inhabitants also derive a considerable revenue from breeding mules, which are employed as the safest animals to cross the Cordilleras.

The climate of Mendoza is excellent: though at an elevation of 4400 feet above the level of the sea, with the snow-capt Cordilleras immediately behind it, the winter season continues only about three months, with slight occasional frosts, and at times a little snow; the rest of the year is pleasant and agreeable. The society was more refined than any which our traveller had yet met with in South America. The ladies, who indeed seldom fail of his good word, were particularly well informed, and took great delight in music, singing, and dancing. 'The only misfortune,' says our traveller, 'that attends this beautiful spot, is the prevalence of the *gota* or wen;' but the inhabitants use with confidence the *palo di gota*, or wen-stick, as a remedy; it is the stem of some plant from the coast of Peru, apparently a species of alga or sea-weed; judging, however, from the numbers afflicted with this disease, it might be doubted whether the remedy was effective. Mr. Caldcleugh mentions one woman, herself a *goiteira*, who had five children similarly afflicted, and all of them dumb. This malady is said to prevail along the whole line of the eastern side of the Andes, while on the western or Chilé side it is very rare.

There are four different passes in this portion of the southern Cordillera; the northernmost is that of Patos, opposite to the town of St. Juan; the next, the grand pass of Uspallata, in front of Mendoza; the next, the Portilla, thirty leagues south of Mendoza, where the Cordillera divides itself into two branches; and the fourth, that of El Planchon, opposite the Chilian port of Conception, through which, it is said, carts may pass with facility. Mr. Caldcleugh chose that of Portilla, the entrance of which appeared in the distance like a dark hole in the Cordillera, down which rushes with a tremendous torrent the river of the same name. On advancing towards the highest point of the ridge, all

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vegetation had disappeared, with the exception of one single plant, which was a species of *fragosa*. Here patches of snow two or three inches deep were lying on the ground; and before they reached the summit, numerous carcasses of mules, many of them having probably lain there a hundred years, were still as plump and perfect as if they had only died the preceding day. Mr. Caldcleugh had no barometer; but he estimates, from the distance of the lower point of perpetual congelation to the summit, that the highest part of the road was about 12,800 feet above the level of the sea. In the descent to a valley the party passed the night in a continued snow-storm under the shelter of some rocks. The next morning, the snow still falling, they moved but a little way to some more sheltered caves, and there passed a second night of snow, thunder, and lightning. On moving forwards, the snow was so deep that the mules were almost unable to proceed, which compelled them to pass a third night under some overhanging rocks, just where the *fragosa* re-appeared as the only vegetable. The next day brought them to the frontier guard-house of Chilé, called San José, where there was an establishment for the reduction of silver from the ore, procured at a mine about six leagues distant in the mountains.

On emerging from the mountains, the heat was intolerable; little vegetation on the ground except some prickly mimosas of an unhealthy appearance; the number of straggling huts by the way side increased; some church-steeples appeared in the distance, and the capital of Chilé was entered by our traveller after a journey of eight days from Mendoza. This city is described as presenting a picturesque appearance. The olive tree and the fig, the mimosas and algarobas are so blended with steeples and houses that it presents to the eye a mass of vegetation rising out of the centre of a barren plain. The river Maypocho runs through St. Jago, the two parts of which are connected by a bridge. The streets are wide; the houses in general limited to a single story, on account of the earthquakes. The director's palace and the cathedral occupy two sides of the great square. On the bank of the river is a public walk. There are several churches, a college, and a public library, containing, among others, some of the books and manuscripts which belonged to the Jesuits College, and are said to be of a curious and interesting nature. They have a printing-press and a gazette, but political pamphlets have hitherto been almost the only publications.

The government of Chilé extends from the 26th to the 37th parallel of latitude, and its average breadth between the Cordilleras and the Pacific is only about two degrees. The native tribe of Araucanos, who still preserve their independence with the same bravery,

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bravery, which the Araucana celebrates, border on Chilé to the south. Captain Basil Hall has collected some interesting information respecting this nation; his account of Bonavides, who joined them against the patriots, differs considerably from that which is given by Mr. Caldcleugh; but the latter traveller has no imagination, while the former has the knack of saying 'as much upon a ribbon as a Raphael.' It is said that among them is a tribe of European whites, supposed by some to be the descendants of shipwrecked mariners and passengers; by others, the progeny of Spanish women carried off by the Indians.

The population of Chilé is stated to exceed 600,000, exclusive of the slaves and Indians, who are few in number; and as all children born of slaves have some years ago been declared free by an act of congress, ere long there will not be a slave in all the territory. Two fifths of the population is supposed to be employed in the mines; they form a sort of moving body, building towns and deserting them for others, according to the success of their pursuit.

'As soon as a vein is discovered, application is made to government to work it; an application it may be supposed seldom encountered with a refusal. As soon as this discovery becomes known, a number of miners fly to the spot and commence operations; an alcalde is then sent to preserve order; a small church is erected and it becomes a town. If the veins of metal are extensive, a natural influx and increase take place, and the town acquires some extent; but if, on the contrary, the vein becomes poor, the whole population depart, leaving their reed cabins to the elements, and seek some other district where metal is reported to be plentiful: the existence of their towns is therefore very ephemeral.'

The soil is not of the best kind, and a large proportion of the surface is mountainous and rugged. Wheat, barley, and maize are the chief articles of produce. Grapes are good, and the wine made from them similar to that of Mendoza. Figs, olives, peaches, melons, water-melons, and strawberries, are all excellent. From a species of palm tree is extracted a juice resembling honey. The bark of the *quellai* is said to produce soap by mastication, and a plant resembling groundsel to yield a beautiful scarlet dye; but Mr. Caldcleugh is no botanist, and has added nothing to the scanty catalogue we possess of the botanical treasures of the country. Chilé is rich in mines of gold and silver; the latter are all in the Cordilleras. Many of them are said to produce pure sulphurate of silver containing eighty per cent. of metal, which is cleared of the sulphur by amalgamation; this, perhaps, might be done better by roasting, but then the ore must be brought down, as some of it in fact is, to the fuel. It is not, however, the want of this indispensable article alone that renders it doubtful whether

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steam-engines can ever be successfully used in clearing the mines of the Cordilleras of their waters. Seams of coal have been discovered near Talcahuana or the port of Conception, said to be of very excellent quality, which may be conveyed by mules to the mines. But there are parts of an engine, the cylinders, shafts, and fly-wheel, for instance, which, we much doubt, whether any number of mules would be able to drag to the height of 12,000 or 13,000 feet over such roads as now exist.

Though the miners are invariably the poorest and most miserable class of natives, they prefer, with a sort of unaccountable infatuation, the search after gold and silver to the less arduous and more wholesome labours of agriculture. This is not without precedent however, nor is Mr. Caldcleugh correct, when he says that Chilé affords a striking and solitary exception to the commonly received notion, that great mineral riches exist only in a barren soil; and that this is the only portion of South America, where 'streams, abounding in gold, wander through the most luxuriant corn-fields, and the farmer and miner hold converse together on their banks.' His visit to the mines of Brazil might have corrected this mistake, where every stream is auriferous, and the soil infinitely more productive than in Chilé. Large farms in this latter province are found appropriated solely to the breeding of cattle and horses. The former are killed in the autumn, and the meat, being deprived of its fat, is cut in strips and, with a sprinkling of salt, is hung up in the shade to dry; this process being that of making *jerked* beef, is called *charqueando*, and the beef, of which great quantities are thus prepared, is one of the staple articles of commerce. In this and grain Chilé has a considerable trade with Perú, from which it takes in return, sugar, cocoa, and coffee; but since the revolution, vessels from the East Indies have brought the same species of supply at a much cheaper rate, together with Indian cottons, nankeens, and Chinese goods—a trade that interferes very much with the direct commerce from England. The exports from England to Valparaiso in 1818, are said to have amounted only to 32,000*l.*, but had risen, in 1823, to 162,850*l.*

The innate good disposition of the Chilians is highly extolled by our author, and the ladies, as usual, come in for a full share of his praise.

'With infantine simplicity the ladies have a strength of intellect, accompanied by a greater number of acquirements than are usually met with in any country excepting England, and attained on very limited means. Possessed of great personal charms, and endowed with perfect sweetness of disposition, the ladies of St. Jago have not a few temptations to overcome; but undoubtedly their general character is not to be impeached. To say that a little coquetry exists—to state that the large

shawl

shawl with which their lower dresses are enveloped, frequently wants arranging and drawing closer, by which operation slight glimpses of a fine form may be enjoyed, is not to call in question that character for delicacy and modesty to which they are so fully entitled. To pretend that no vice exists would be ridiculous, when it is considered that forty or fifty thousand people are living together in the finest climate in the world, where there are few maladies to depress the spirits; but it must be allowed by all, that little comparatively exists among the higher orders of the people.'—vol. i. pp. 369, 370.

The upper ranks live in a comfortable manner, and are fond of social pleasures; so that an evening seldom passes without a ball or a concert. Music is almost universally cultivated, and with great success. The peasantry, generally speaking, live in huts formed of wood and reeds, with doors of hides. One bed, two stools, and an old table, generally comprise the furniture. The bed is occupied by the eldest of the household, and, upon his death, is taken by the next in succession, so that it may properly be called a death-bed: the rest sleep on hides thrown on the floor; and in this way whole families live together in large communities. Their food is the flesh of their cattle, with pumpkins and Indian corn. The Paraguay tea, or matté, since the prohibition of Dr Francia, is beyond their ability to purchase, being quite as dear as teas from China in England; but smoking tobacco is universal. The spirit of gambling is equally so. The lower orders spend whole days in cards, dice, throwing of sticks, &c., and the fruit-women at the corners of the streets are generally surrounded by gamblers betting whether the inside of a water-melon be red or white.

Mr. Caldcleugh visited Lima, the capital of Peru. Here also the frequency of earthquakes has led to the precaution of confining the height of the houses generally to one story. Much as this city has suffered by the revolution, it still exhibits many traits of grandeur. The cathedral, which occupies one side of the great square, is a noble pile of building. The riches which have been lavished on its interior, 'are scarcely to be credited,' says our author, 'any where but in a city which once paved a street with ingots of silver, to do honour to a new viceroy.' He says, that three weeks before his visit a ton and a half of silver had been taken from the various churches, without being missed, to meet the emergencies of the state. Monasteries and convents are very numerous; the latter, for women alone, amounting to fourteen; and there are besides several *casas de exercicio*, wherein ladies, retiring from their families, shut themselves up for two or three weeks at a time, to submit themselves to a stricter discipline than that which they observe at home. The ladies, however, have so

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many good qualities in the eyes of our author, that one would suppose such voluntary severity quite unnecessary; notwithstanding their elastic silk petticoats, 'showing the contour of the person,' and so contracted at the ancles 'as scarcely to allow the wearer to step over the little streams which run down the streets;' and, notwithstanding the custom of going *tapadas*, or in disguise, which has by repeated edicts been abolished in Old Spain, on account of its 'creating scandal and flagrant irregularities.' These kind, agreeable, beautiful, and cleanly ladies, who take the cold bath every day, our readers will be shocked to hear, 'smoke a little, and occasionally take snuff,' even in the theatre.

The whole population of Peru is stated at 1,400,000 souls, of which 800,000 are Indians; that of Lima, at about 70,000, of which 25,000 are Spaniards, 2,500 monks, nuns, and secular clergy, 15,000 free mulattoes, 15,000 slaves, and 12,000 mestizos and Indians. The negroes are chiefly employed in the cultivation of sugar, coffee, and cocoa; the Indians are generally the miners. We are assured, and if true it is a singular fact, that in the neighbourhood of Lima no rain has fallen for fourteen years, yet the poor sandy soil, within twelve degrees of the equator, 'produces some of the finest fruits and heaviest crops to be met with in any quarter of the globe.' This singular degree of fertility is attempted to be explained by the almost continual damp fogs and mists that prevail for the greater part of the year. Among the excellent fruits the *chirimoya*, a species of *annona*, is the most esteemed, of which the following description reminds us very much of the mangostan, (a species of *garcinia*,) which is perhaps the most elegant, delicate, and agreeable fruit that the earth produces.

'The flavour is not easily described, but the suffrages of all persons are united in its favour; it resembles the custard-apple more than any fruit I am acquainted with, but it is very far superior to it. Some persons have compared it to the small white tartlets which are seen in our best confectioners' shops: it contains, in short, that happy mixture of sweetness and acidity with delightful scent which forms after all the perfection of fruits; it may be eaten to excess without being in the least noxious, excepting when the stomach is weak, in which case, Dr. Unanue says, it must be abstained from.'—vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

On returning to Valparaiso, some immense condors were seen, and one of these carnivorous birds was brought to England; he darted upon a large albatross which had been caught, and running his beak into his eye, ate him up, bones, feathers, and all, to the very claws. These powerful birds seize and carry up young lambs, kids, and even children.

Mr. Caldcleugh recrossed the Cordilleras at the end of May, from

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from St. Jago, by the pass of Uspallata, the only one that can be crossed in the winter months, along which O'Higgins ordered several brick huts to be built for the accommodation of passengers. The journey was effected in nine days to Mendoza, without any other accident than the loss of a mule, by rolling down a precipice. At Mendoza he learned that the Indians were committing ravages along the Pampas. He therefore proceeded northerly by *la punta de San Luis* to Cordova. His account of the inhabitants along this eastern base of the Andes is interesting from the state of simplicity in which they live. The *cura* or rector of the Morro de San Jose invited him to supper, which was excellent, and served by two pretty children; the house, a hovel of one room, with an earthen floor, the roof of grass, the door a hide; within was a hide bedstead, two stools, and a table, which, having lost two of its legs, was supported against the wall; a small copper pan, a drinking horn, and a missal, completed the catalogue of the furniture. Contented and happy in the love borne to him by his parishioners, he had no wants that they were not ready to supply; one old woman brought water and boiled it for his matté; one dressed his dinner, and another his supper; the best pieces of meat, the choicest grain and fruits were selected for him, and the muleteers with the caravans left him a little yerba, wine and brandy.

Cordova is a well-built town, with about 14,000 inhabitants; but it has suffered much from the revolution; its trade destroyed; the country around plundered by the Indians, and the university, once so flourishing, now scarcely deserving the name of such an establishment. Of their flocks and herds, their lands and houses, there scarcely now remain enough to preserve their buildings from the common dilapidations of time. The churches, all built under the eye of the Jesuits, are of excellent taste; but that attached to the university is said to be magnificent. In the apartments of the college were mouldering away various philosophical instruments; in one there had been a printing press, which, after a long concealment, was dragged into misuse at Buenos Ayres, and employed in publishing political squabbles by the parties which successively obtained the upper hand.

But these times, it is hoped, have nearly passed away, and a brighter dawn is opening upon the various inhabitants of this quarter of the globe. It was to be expected that the change they have undergone could only be accomplished at the expense of much bloodshed and misery—the result of conflicting opinions, of clashing interests and ancient attachments. Time and misfortune, however, have smoothed down the rancour and asperity of party-spirit, and almost all classes begin to feel the benefits arising from a free

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and unfettered commerce, and a system of equal justice impartially administered. It may require time to shake off the inveterate habits of indolence invariably induced by a slave population, and to make the free inhabitants industrious and active; a change, however, which cannot fail of being accelerated by a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and the influx and example of British settlers in the several states of the South American continent.

ART. VI.—*The Library Companion; or, the Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library.* By the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, F.R.S., A.S. London. 1824.

MR. Dibdin has now been for many years employed in composing and compiling some of the most expensive, thickest, largest and heaviest octavos which have ever issued from the press. The volume which is now before us, not the last we presume, is certainly not the least of the Dibdin family. The 'Bibliotheca Spenceriana' beats in breadth—the 'Bibliographical Decameron' and 'Bibliographical Tour' in height, or, as he would say, in tallness,—but, for thickness and specific gravity, the intellectual, as well as material, pound weight, we will back 'the Library Companion' against any of them.

In all his long, many and weighty labours, Mr. Dibdin seems to have had but one object in view, and that neither a very good-natured nor in him a very gracious one: his ambition has been to raise a laugh at the expense of a very innocent, but not very wise, body of men,—the collectors of scarce and black-letter books. In this object, by the aid of Swift's figure of speech, he has undoubtedly been successful; under the masque of a more than common zeal in their pursuit, and of affectionate regard for their persons, he has bestowed much complimentary sarcasm upon the one, and placed the other with great gravity in exceedingly ludicrous situations.

Yet it is a dangerous thing to possess talents for ridicule so extraordinary as Mr. Dibdin's; for they seldom come accompanied with a proportionable share of discretion. For ourselves we will honestly confess that we have sometimes felt more pained than amused by the exhibition which he has been pleased to make of persons high in honour and estate, whose single harmless folly might better have been spared than exposed. We are at a loss to conceive any adequate motive for such unrelenting persecution; the Roxburghers, or Bibliophilists, as Mr. Dibdin has inhumanly nicknamed them, are a simple sect; there is something very laughable in the system of buying unreadable books at immense

abuse prices, of destroying copies for the sake of making a scarcity, and of setting a higher value on an edition on account of some important error or omission, or some ridiculous particularity in it. We feel all this as strongly as Mr. Dibdin can desire we should; but we know also that the sect, if rather less enlightened, is certainly not more numerous than Johanna Southcote's; the sane part of the community can never take the infection, and there must be an inherent susceptibility in those who have taken it, which makes their restoration hopeless. He should recollect, too, that the best joke may be persevered in too long; and we happen to know that, while some are inclined to question his motive, and some are beginning to be tired of his humour, others, very simple personages to be sure, actually have mistaken his serious tone for downright earnest; and that the more excusably, because to perfect the illusion of his style, he has not scrupled to enter himself before the mast, in the same goodly 'Shippe of Fooles.'

One or two extracts from Mr. Dibdin's works will explain the objections which we have made to the manner and object of his persevering ridicule. Our readers, we suppose, have all heard of the sale of the late Duke of Roxburgh's Boccaccio, a volume of very ordinary appearance, the only merit of which was its rarity: the following is the account of it in the Bibliographical Decameron:—

'I have a perfect recollection of this notorious volume while in the library of the late Duke. It had a faded yellow morocco binding, and was a sound rather than a fine copy. The expectations formed of the probable price for which it would be sold were excessive; yet not so excessive as the price itself turned out to be. The marked champions for the contest were pretty well known before hand to be the Earl Spencer, the Marquis of Blandford (now Duke of Marlborough), and the Duke of Devonshire. Such a rencontre, such a "shock of fight," naturally begot uncommon curiosity. My friends, Sir Egerton Brydges, Mr. Lang, and Mr. G. H. Freeling, did me the kindness to breakfast with me on the morning of the sale; and, upon the conclusion of the repast, Sir Egerton's carriage conveyed us from Kensington to St. James's Square.

> ——— "The morning lowered,
> And heavily with clouds came on the day,
> Big with the fate of —— and ——"

In fact, the rain fell in torrents as we alighted from the carriage, and rushed with a sort of impetuosity to gain seats to view the contest. The room was crowded to excess; and a sudden darkness which came across, gave rather an additional interest to the scene. At length the moment of sale arrived. Mr. Evans prefaced the putting up of the article by an appropriate oration, in which he expatiated on its excessive rarity, and concluded by informing the company of the regret, and even "anguish of

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of heart," expressed by Mr. Van Praet, that such a treasure was not at that time to be found in the imperial collection at Paris. However, it should seem, Buonaparte's agent was present. Silence followed the address of Mr. Evans. On his right hand, leaning against the wall, stood Earl Spencer: a little lower down, and standing at right angles with his lordship, appeared the Marquis of Blandford. The Duke, I believe, was not then present; but my Lord Althorp stood a little backward to the right of his father, Earl Spencer. Such was "the ground taken up" by the adverse hosts. The honour of firing the first shot was due to a gentleman of Shropshire, unused to this species of warfare, and who seemed to recoil from the reverberation of the report himself had made! "One hundred guineas," he exclaimed. Again a pause ensued; but anon the biddings rose rapidly to five hundred guineas. Hitherto, however, it was evident that the firing was but masked and desultory. At length all random shots ceased; and the champions stood gallantly up to each other, resolving not to flinch from a trial of their respective strengths. A "*thousand guineas*" were bid by the Earl Spencer—to which the Marquis added "*ten.*" You might have heard a pin drop. All eyes were turned—all breathing well nigh stopped—every sword was put home within its scabbard—and not a piece of steel was seen to move or to glitter save that which each of these champions brandished in his valorous hand. See, see!—they parry, they lunge, they hit: yet their strength is undiminished, and no thought of yielding is entertained by either. "*Two thousand pounds*" are offered by the Marquis.—Then it was that Earl Spencer, as a prudent general, began to think of an useless effusion of blood and expenditure of ammunition, seeing that his adversary was as resolute and "fresh" as at the onset. For a quarter of a minute he paused: when my Lord Althorp advanced one step forward, as if to supply his father with another spear for the purpose of renewing the contest. His countenance was marked with a fixed determination to gain the prize—if prudence, in its most commanding form, and with a form of unusual intensity of expression, had not *bade* him desist. The father and son for a time converse apart, and the biddings are resumed. "*Two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds,*" said Lord Spencer! The spectators are now absolutely electrified. The Marquis quietly adds his usual "*ten,*" and there is an end of the contest! Mr. Evans, ere his hammer fell, made a due pause; and indeed, as if by something preternatural, the ebony instrument itself seemed to be charmed or suspended "in mid air." However, at length, down dropt the hammer.'

Mr. Dibdin, immediately after this special passage, proceeds to give a most laughable account of the 'Roxburghe Club,' of which he has not hesitated to 'write himself down' Vice-President, taking thereupon equal liberty with many noble and learned personages whom he enrolls as members of this worshipful society. He tells us that the brethren are obliged, by the rule of their order, to reprint each some old book by turns—of which, we understand, only a sufficient number of copies may be struck off to afford one for each of the initiated. The choice which he states them

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them thus far to have made is really worthy of the institution! Out of six reprints, four are as follows:—'Dolarney's Primrose'! 'News from Scotland, declaring the damnable Life of Doctor Fian, a notable Sorcerer'!—'The three first Books of Ovid de Tristibus, translated into English metre by Thomas Churchyarde'!—'Caltha Poetarum, or the Bumble Bee, composed by Thomas Cutwode, Esq.'! And among the treasures with which 'the club are promised to be gratified,' are some scarcely less valuable productions, such as Cocke Lorells Bote, the Gluttons Feaver, and Mery Gestes of the Wydow Edyth.

Next comes an anecdote of a club-dinner, at which a worthy Bibliomaniac substituted a copy of a trumpery little tract, which he had privately reprinted, for the *roll* in every member's napkin at the table! a conceit which seems to have had vast success—

'For gentle dulness ever loves a joke!'

We have no doubt but that all this is intended for excellent quizzing—if the facts, however, be true, why does Mr. Dibdin drag them from their proper obscurity? Why may not the 'Roxburghe Club' hold its meetings, indulge in its little black-letter jokes, and perpetrate its innocent follies, unheard of and unheeded?—For the sake of many of the respected names which he prints at full length, and we may be sure without permission, we really wish he had had this consideration.

We have another but less material quarrel with Mr. Dibdin for the manner in which he blazons these follies to the world. We are not now alluding to his style, which is pretty equally compounded of the slang of the printing-office, of travestied quotations, and serious bombast; we speak of the enormous costliness of publications so utterly valueless in themselves. There really should be some proportion between the worth of a book and its price; and it is, at all events, quite unworthy of a scholar and a gentleman to lend himself to a foolish rage for expensive books, and to make gain not by the honourable exercise of his own talents, but by pressing into his service the printer and engraver, with all the meretricious adornments of vignettes, cul-de-lampes, devices, gold letters, illuminations, and id genus omne. In these things, if this be the literary reputation which Mr. Dibdin affects, we admit that his books are surpassed by no man's. We remember to have seen a manuscript letter of Lord Chesterfield's written on paper with a flowered border—in allusion to which he proposes that such ornaments should be received in lieu of wit or other merit—and that a scale should be established by which the quantity of ornament on the paper should be increased in proportion to the stupidity of the letter. It is possible that Mr. Dibdin may

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may have heard of this plan; it is certain that it may be applied with great truth to his own case.

It is time, however, to say a few words upon the volume before us. 'The Library Companion,' Mr. Dibdin also denominates 'The Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library.' There is much in a title, and we have no doubt that this was chosen after due consideration, though we profess ourselves unable to comprehend the sense of an old man's comfort in the choice of a library. In his preface the title is expanded, and the author modestly informs us, that—

'To the well read young man, be he enthusiastic in the cause or well versed in the mysteries of bibliomania or not; and to the old of *whatever denomination*, it may be fairly stated that the work before them is replete with curious and diversified intelligence; gleaned with unceasing industry, and embodied with no ordinary care. Indeed, he continues, with perfect confidence may it be stated, that no single volume in our language contains such a record of so many rare, precious, and instructive volumes.'

This to be sure is to defy, or to invite criticism, according to the humour of the critic—for our parts we are by no means pugnacious, and we confess that we dislike this book less than any former production of its author. In the first place it is less costly, less in book-making fashion—it contains also some useful, and some curious information, and with all the defects of its execution it at least may furnish a hint to some more competent person for a delightful and useful assistant in literary pursuits. The work opens with a synoptical table of subjects and authors—for example, under the head of Divinity we have the following subjects—Bibles subdivided into Polyglot, Latin, German, Italian, Hebrew, Greek, French, English; Testaments; Prayer Books; Fathers and Commentators, Greek and Latin; Old English Divines; late English Divines; Old Sermons, Modern Sermons; Summary of Foreign Divines; Ecclesiastical History—French, Italian, English; Manuals of Devotion. Under each of these heads are ranged a number of authors, and in the work itself a character of each is attempted to be given, together with an account of the different editions, and a recommendation of those which Mr. Dibdin esteems the most valuable.

We have no fault to find with this plan—we wish we could say as much for its execution. In such a work perhaps faults of style are of minor importance, yet Mr. Dibdin's are such as indicate the character of his mind, and detract from our confidence in his accuracy. There is the same false glitter as in all his former works, the same bad jokes, the same affected collocation

of

of his words, and the same elaborate and weighty kind of fulsomeness. We take an extract at random; it is the opening passage of the chapter on Poetry:—

'At length we reach "DIVINE POESY!"—but little more can be done than to afford a glimpse, scarcely amounting to a DIORAMA view, of the principal rivers, streams, and streamlets, that rush or roll along the banks of the famous *Parnassian Mountain*. There are Parnassuses for all countries; and who, learned in our own lore, has not heard of, and longed for, a choice and delectable copy of *England's Parnassus*? Doubtless, I shall treat more copiously of the indigenous Bards of this country, than of any others. But, first and foremost, we turn the eye, and almost bend the knee, to the venerable and immortal HOMER:—

Father of verse! in holy fillets drest,
His silver beard waves gently o'er his breast.

Pope's Temple of Fame.

'Father of beauty, of instruction, and of every heroic and tender sentiment, too!: for, where is there an amiable and honourable feeling, which may not be found delineated in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*?! But to business. There once lived a man—yet is this business? There once (I say) lived a medical gentleman, of the name of Douglas, who made a point of collecting every known edition of HORACE. To perfect this collection, he toiled as assiduously as in visiting patients; and yet he wanted many a precious impression. If Dr. Douglas have been long *pardoned* for this classical mania, what may not any man be for that of collecting an HOMERIC LIBRARY? I own, it were among the most rational of all book-manias—with the exception of that mentioned in a note, in a certain bibliographical production . . . not necessary to be here particularly specified.

Yet, of the early editions of Homer, I will only notice the *princeps* of 1488, printed at Florence in two folio vols, and still worth some sixty guineas, if in a perfect and sound condition. I shall bestride the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries without the mention of a single edition; and come at once to those of *Clarke*, *Ernesti*, and *Heyne*—particularly specified in the subjoined note. And yet shall the rarest and most splendid of ALL editions be passed over in a sort of unseemly silence?' Is the ardent "Young Man" to be kept in Vandal darkness respecting the existence of an impression which goes by the name of the *Grenville Homer*, published in four small quartos, in 1800? And, much more, if he wishes to purchase a LARGE PAPER copy, may he not sit down and make a calculation of its probable cost? *Of Translations*, I must be wholly silent; for there is no end of them; but let it be permitted me just to say, that the most curious and rare is that published in modern Greek, about two centuries ago.'—p. 613—617.

This is the taste in which the whole book is written—nothing is expressed simply in a work where any thing but the simplest language is entirely out of place; if Mr. Dibdin wishes to say that a bookseller has many good editions of Milton, he tells us 'of a delicious array of Miltonic treasures;' if he means to recommend

commend the purchase of a particular edition, the language is, 'it ought to quit the shelves of booksellers much more frequently than it does;' and the important information of a large paper copy, bound in green morocco, being to be found at Althorp, is conveyed in the holiday term of 'its rejoicing the eye, coated in green morocco.' When to this affectation we add, that every page in the volume is deformed by the booksellers' slang of a 'sweetly-coated volume,' a 'prizable volume,' a 'tempting article,' a 'crack article,' a 'glorious set,' a 'membranaceous copy,' a 'lovely copy,' a 'tall copy,' a 'broad copy,' a 'comely copy,' 'pic-nic copies,' a 'comfortable price,' a 'slim quarto,' 'spacious condition,' and a thousand other such expressions, we need not assure a sensible reader, looking for information in a book of reference, that he must arm himself with all his patience and good humour to get quietly through fifty pages of the volume.

Critics, however, as we are, we will confess that no faults in style have tried our patience so much as the miserable system of puffing, which disgraces this no less than all Mr. Dibdin's other publications. Knowing no more of him, or his station in life, than we learn from his title-page, we are yet provoked to see a member of his profession lower himself into a sort of walking puff for booksellers and book-collectors, engravers and auctioneers. Yet so it is—puffing oblique and direct, unmeasured, unceasing puffing, is more than any thing else the characteristic of the volume.

And now but a few words as to the matter, before we close these remarks. We had made out an immense list of omissions, not merely of individual works, but of whole departments. Mr. Dibdin, however, pleads guilty to many faults of this kind and attempts to extenuate their importance. Their importance must of course depend upon their quantity and nature; and of these our readers will be able to judge when we tell them that in the head of Divinity alone, to which he has very properly, as he declares, paid the most attention, we recollected in a few moments the following among our countrymen, whom Mr. Dibdin does not deem worth recommending to his young or old readers; the list, no doubt, might be easily swelled, but it is formidable enough already;—Horne, William Law, Magee, Waterland, Butler, Leighton, Smallridge, Jewell. Without recapitulating names in other departments, we will only add that there is not a single head in which authors are not omitted, not merely the authors of rare and curious books, but of sterling, standard works of every day's occurrence, some of them the only authorities on the subjects on which they treat.

But

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But indeed Mr. Dibdin's insertions do not make us much regret his omissions. The head of Modern Sermons occupies in the whole about six pages; Clarke, Seed, South, Sherlock, Jortin, Porteus, Horsley, Paley and Gisborne are selected and disposed of in a single sentence; about four pages are devoted to an account of the theological principles of certain literary journals; and the remainder of the chapter is an extract probably from some successful sermon of Mr. Dibdin's own composition. This being the manner in which the English sermon writers are introduced to the notice of the young and old man, they will not be surprized at the satisfactory fullness of the Summary of Foreign Divines, which immediately follows, and which we will present entire to our readers.

'In foreign schools of divinity the same great lights have appeared to check the fury of human rashness, and to show forth the cause of Christian redemption. Who does not love the amenity of Erasmus, and the philanthropy of Melancthon? each of whom in turn seemed to hold the scales of moderation and Christian charity, in order to prevent Luther and Eckius from engaging in more than a war of words.'—p. 89.

It is part of Mr. Dibdin's professed undertaking, and properly enough, to give some account of the works which he notices, as well as of the editions. And in this part of his labour nothing can be more complete than his failure—his taste, the superficiality of his reading, and the common-place nature of his observations, are really below criticism. For example, his Greek poetry (exclusive of the tragedians) is limited to Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, Anacreon, and Callimachus! He is pleased, indeed, to say that *if* Valerius Flaccus be admitted into the Latin poets, Apollonius Rhodius, Bion, and Moschus, ought to find a place among the Greek; (admirable reasoning!) but for poor Aristophanes, whom he entirely omits, he has not even this honourable reserve. This may be mere forgetfulness, not to be visited severely on any man; but what shall we think of the judgment passed upon Apollonius, from whom Virgil has confessedly borrowed some of the most beautiful parts of the Æneid?

Let us pass to the Latin poets;

'Who may be,' says he, 'safely divided into two classes. In the first appear Virgil, Lucretius, Ovid, Juvenal, Persius, Martial, and Horace; in the second, Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, Claudian, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Valerius Flaccus.'

Pape! Virgil and Martial on one file, Silius and Catullus on another; we seriously ask Mr. Dibdin, did he ever read a single line of Catullus, perhaps of all Roman poets the sweetest, the simplest, the most idiomatic, and the most picturesque? This can only

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only be matched by his ingenuity in placing Plato among the Greek, and Plautus and Terence among the Latin *Philologists*.

We feel that with such specimens as these in our way it would be a waste of time and paper to lengthen our remarks. A work of this sort is intended to be useful to the ignorant—and the authority of the writer is every thing. If we cannot depend on the accuracy of the statements, and the justice of the opinions it contains, it is worse than useless, it can only mislead, and had far better not have been written. The manner of the volume, if we had never seen the author's former works, would have made us doubt his judgment—an examination of the matter confirms those doubts, and makes us suspect the accuracy of his research. Mr. Dibdin would have rendered a real service to the student if he had executed his plan as well as he has conceived it; but executed as it is, it has no advantage over the ordinary catalogues of booksellers, except for those who delight in trifling anecdotes of unimportant men, in bad jokes, and very common-place or very unsound criticism.

ART. VII.—*The Present State of England in regard to Agriculture, Trade, and Finance; with a Comparison of the Prospects of England and France.* By Joseph Lowe, Esq. 1822.

IT is beneficial to the public, as it is to individuals, to take a review from time to time of the state of its affairs, and to examine with scrupulous and patient attention if its general interests are prospering or declining. On behalf of the British Empire the present period appears peculiarly calculated for such an inquiry. We are in a state of peace with all the surrounding nations abroad, and we enjoy a more than common degree of tranquillity among ourselves at home. There has scarcely ever been a time when every branch of industry has been so generally prosperous, or when the persons engaged in them have with such few exceptions been so fully employed. In almost every past period complaints have been made with greater or less reason and with greater or less vehemence, either by the agricultural, the commercial, the manufacturing, or the shipping interest, of actual suffering, or of disappointed expectations. At present, if none of the great interests of the community are elevated with prospects of extravagant gains, none of them are suffering under severe privations; if none are indulging highly agitating hopes, none are feeling the more agitating distress arising from the dissipation of such hopes. We seem now to be enjoying that steady but gentle breeze

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breeze which conveys the ship to her destined port with more security and more certainty than when she is impelled by violent even though favourable gales.

The work of Mr. Lowe has the merit of extracting diligently and arranging clearly from the authentic documents laid before parliament, a statement of the actual condition of the kingdom. When it was first published, a temporary depression in the price of agricultural produce existed, which he has mistaken for a permanent fall. In consequence of this error, he has been induced to estimate much too lowly the value of the property annually created in this island. Upon this ground we sometimes differ from his conclusions; but we still consider his book as a valuable addition to the general stock of information on its interesting subject, and especially so because it compresses into an accessible and intelligible form many particulars of importance which must otherwise have been sought for with great labour and patience in voluminous parliamentary papers by the comparatively few who can obtain access to those collections. The view, however, which he thus presents of the present state of our affairs would have been rendered more complete and satisfactory, if his picture had included some comparative statement of the condition of the kingdom in former periods, by which the fact and the rate of our progress might both have been ascertained with more accuracy. It is this deficiency which we intend upon the present occasion to attempt to supply; and as we necessarily must trespass on the patience of our readers at some length, we shall confine ourselves to facts, rather than indulge in theories, and commence our statement without further introduction or apology.

The most important, and one of the most extensive of all branches of national industry is agriculture. Whilst it affords the chief means of subsistence to all, it finds employment for a greater number of persons than any other occupation. It is, however, from its nature, less susceptible of rapid improvement than any other pursuit. From the earliest ages the attention of mankind has been applied to it, and yet it is, even at present, little more than a mere accumulation of facts, from which scarcely the outlines of a theory have been formed; all the detail and arrangement of the interior parts must be filled up in practice by each individual engaged in the occupation.

The great principle, by the application of which the wealth and comfort of mankind have been advanced, is the division of labour. But as the labours of agriculture are not simultaneous, this principle is capable of application to them only in a very limited degree. We have indeed arrived at dividing the grazier from the dairy-man, and both from the grower of corn; but in the actual

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cultivation of the soil, and in the various manual occupations of a farm, the division of labour has rarely been attempted to any considerable extent. The same hand which at one season uses the reaping-hook or the scythe, must at another wield the flail, or exercise the spade or the hoe; hence, none acquire that very superior degree of expertness which might be obtained by constant adherence to the same description of operations.

The use of various kinds of machinery to abridge labour, especially since the importance of its division has been universally felt, has been of incalculable value in all the branches of manufacturing industry; but those mechanical improvements have been but little applied, and seem little applicable to the business of farming; the most important of those, which have been tried, the threshing mills, will scarcely repay the expense of their construction, unless they can be worked by water-power; drill ploughs and sowing machines have hitherto been used to a very limited extent, and in many districts of the kingdom are wholly unknown in practice. The winnowing machine, indeed, forms an exception to the general rule, for by performing its work in all states of the weather in our variable climate, it has forced itself into almost universal adoption; but this may be considered with more propriety as a contrivance against the inconvenient uncertainty of our climate than as calculated to abridge the extent, or increase the productiveness of human labour.

The great body of agriculturists are far from being migratory, and are hence less open to the influence of improvement than any other class of the community. They are indeed singularly averse to innovations, and view every change that is suggested with alarm or with contempt. This was manifested in England on the introduction of the turnip husbandry, about fifty or sixty years ago; at a much later period, on the first cultivation of the ruta-baga, or Swedish turnip; and is still experienced wherever the mangel-wurzel is first attempted to be raised. The same spirit prevails amongst our agricultural labourers, and makes it very difficult to assist their operations by any alteration of their old habits, or improvement in their implements of work. Thus the Hainault short scythe and crook enable the workmen habituated to its use to reap nearly three times as much wheat in a day as can be done with our English reaping-hook, and Sir George Rose at his own expense brought over some Flemish reapers to instruct our workmen in the use of them. The effort was of no avail, and we believe the practice, so far from spreading, is not now followed even on the spot where the attempt was made.

Although, however, from its nature, the pace of agriculture is necessarily slow, yet in England we have advanced at a rate which may

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may be denominated rapid when it is compared with that of our neighbours. We need not go back to the fourteenth century to assist our inquiry into the progress we have made in this branch of industry. It may not, however, be amiss to remark, that the author of Fleta, who wrote in the reign of Edward I., says, 'that if land yielded only three times the seed sown, the farmer would be a loser, unless corn should sell dear.' It appears by the same work that the usual quantity of seed was two bushels to the acre. Sir John Cullum gives an account of a farm in Norfolk in 1390, by which it appears that the produce per acre was, wheat six bushels, barley twelve bushels, and oats five bushels; that must, however, have been an unproductive year, as the same writer estimates the usual produce of corn at twelve bushels the acre. It is not, however, so much in the knowledge of the growth of corn as in the cultivation of other vegetables and in the rearing of domestic animals that our improvements upon our ancestors are to be traced. Gardens appear to have been formed in England in the early part of the fifteenth century, but during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster were almost totally destroyed. They were first introduced chiefly on the eastern shores of the kingdom from the neighbouring country of Flanders, and were insufficient for the entire supply even of the few wealthy inhabitants who possessed them. According to Evelyn, common cabbage was first introduced from the Netherlands, in 1539; though it had made but little progress in 1562, when Bullein, in his 'Book of Simples,' says, that cabbage 'is good to make pottage withall, and is a profitable herbe in a commonwealth, which the Flemmings sell deere, but we have it growing in our owne gardens, if we wold prefer our own commodity; for there be great plenty growing betweene Aldbrought and Horthforde, in Suffolke, upon the sea-shore.'

Hartlib, the friend of Milton, pensioned by Cromwell for his agricultural writings, says, that old men in his days remembered the first gardeners that came over to Surry, and sold turnips, carrots, parsnips, early peas, and rape, which were then great rarities, being imported from Holland. Cherries and hops were first planted, he says, in the reign of Henry the Eighth; artichokes and currants made their appearance in the time of Elizabeth; but even at the end of this latter period we had cherries from Flanders, onions, saffron, and liquorice from Spain, and hops from the Low Countries. Potatoes, which were first known in these islands about the year 1586, continued for nearly a century to be cultivated in gardens as a curious exotic and furnished a luxury only for the tables of the richest persons in the kingdom. It appears in a manuscript account of the household expenses of

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Queen Anne, wife of James the First, that the price of potatoes was then one shilling the pound.

In tracing the earlier history of agriculture it is interesting to remark how much its progress was advanced by the incipient commerce and manufactures of the time. Flanders had taken the lead equally in commerce and in agriculture; the former had increased the number of consumers, with the ability to indulge in many gratifications to which their ancestors were strangers; and this created a stimulus which caused a rapid advancement of the latter. The same process may be remarked with the English, who received from the Flemings the first rudiments of commerce and manufactures, and by them an impulse which gave birth to the introduction of new objects and new methods of agriculture. This impulse has continued, and produced the same effect continually extending and accelerating up to the present moment. In the most remote of the periods to which we have referred there was scarcely any middle class in society. The land was apportioned among great proprietors, and was cultivated by dependants of various ranks for their benefit. As there were few inhabitants of towns, there were few purchasers of the productions of agriculture, and the surplus in years of abundance was wasted in feudal profusion; whilst on the other hand, whenever deficient years occurred, and in that rude state of culture they were necessarily not uncommon, all the severity of scarcity, if not of absolute famine, was endured, and was usually followed by disease and a diminished population. The few country towns depended on some neighbouring baron, who granted to the burgesses the use of the land on which it was built, as well as that around it, on condition of being supplied with clothing, with arms, or with some few specified luxuries. It was by gradual steps that a tenantry arose; first from agreements with proprietors to pay a certain portion of the produce; next by a species of partnership between the owner and the cultivator; and at length as commerce, by increasing general wealth and population, produced a number of persons who could pay in money for the fruits of agriculture, the occupiers were enabled to enter into contracts for the payment of money rents to the proprietor, and acquired in return an assured and determinate interest in the land.

It appears that between the reign of Edward I. and that of Elizabeth, the culture, and of course the produce, of the land had been much improved, as Harrison in his Description of Britain says.

'The yeild of our corne-ground is much after this rate following:—Throughout the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent years, whereon each acre of rie or wheat well tilled and dressed, will yeild commonlie sixteene or twentie bushels; an

an acre of barlie six and thirtie bushels; of oats and such like, four or five quarters; which proportion is notwithstanding often abated towards the north, as it is often times surmounted in the south.'

At that period the customary acre was nearly one-fourth larger than our present statute acre; but, on the other hand, the bushel was at least of nine gallons instead of eight, as at this time. The return of produce here given is stated to be from land well tilled and dressed, or, as we now term it, manured; and as the population at that period did not probably exceed 5,000,000, it is natural to conclude, that only the land best calculated for the growth of corn would be appropriated to that purpose. As agriculture had thus advanced, and the land yielded a greater rate per acre, fewer hands became necessary for tillage, and the portion of land in pasture was increased as fast as the consumers increased who could afford to buy meat. This is a change indicated by several laws in the statute book, which were made to prevent the increase of pasture farming, with a view to continue employment to the labourers, who had then but few other occupations by which they could gain subsistence.

Without, however, tracing step by step the gradations by which agriculture has been improved, for which purpose there are but few authentic documents, the result will show with sufficient accuracy what the progress has actually been. During the last four or five years this country has been *wholly* subsisted on corn of home growth; and for the last seventy years, though some crops have been very deficient, the whole supply from foreign aid has been very insignificant. From the year 1754 to the close of 1824, the whole of the foreign wheat imported, after deducting what has been exported, has amounted to 15,195,004 quarters, or 217,071 quarters and a fraction per year. As the average of the population of Great Britain during the period in question was upwards of 10,000,000, having gradually risen from eight to fifteen millions, the whole quantity furnished from extrinsic sources, allowing *one quarter a year to each individual*, would not be more than thirteen days supply in each year. If the importations of the five years, 1800, 1801, 1810, 1817 and 1818, which followed harvests of most extraordinary deficiency, be left out of the calculation, it will appear that on the average of the other sixty-five years we have not received more than between eight and nine days supply in each year. It is thus clear that whilst, in the period in question, the number of mouths to be filled has increased from eight to fifteen millions, the supply of corn from our own soil has kept nearly an equal pace with it; and of late years, though probably that may have been owing to occasional exuberant harvests, it has gone somewhat beyond it.

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There are not wanting persons who look back with regret to the ten years which ended in 1764 as to those of prosperity to agricultural property. They think that because during those years the quantity of corn exported was greater than was imported, the farmers of that day must have enjoyed more prosperous times than their successors have since done, when the importation has exceeded the exportation. We would wish such persons to consider what effect, under any circumstances, the exportation or importation of so small a portion as one forty-fifth part of the supply of the country could have on the general prosperity of the growers. The average exportation above the importation in the ten years from 1754 to 1764 was only 238,378 quarters of wheat, and 250,075 quarters of barley, and even this small portion could not have been exported unless the prices had been lower here than in the countries to which it was conveyed, and thus, though the small quantity might not produce any perceptible effect, yet it is sufficient evidence to show the depression of the agricultural interest. It appears from the Windsor account of prices, that in the ten years from 1754 to 1764, though two years of scarcity had occurred, the average price of wheat was 4*s.* 8½*d.* the Winchester bushel; and that during the succeeding ten years, when importation was allowed, the average price of the same quantity was 6*s.* 4*d.* Domestic consumers must obviously be the most profitable for the landed proprietors; and whatever increases the number of inhabitants, and the general power of purchase and consumption, must confer the greatest benefit on their property and labours. As commerce and manufactures increase the wealth of the community, so will the demand for the more valuable productions of agriculture increase with them. Those accustomed to subsist on barley or oats will become consumers of wheat; those whose diet was chiefly bread will advance to beef and mutton; those who at one time could afford only beef and mutton will be enabled to indulge in the delicacies of more expensive kinds of food. Every step made by the community in this direction must increase the value of land and its productions; while the land-owners and occupiers in return become able to indulge in the luxuries introduced by commerce and effectually to repay the benefits which they have derived from its demand. The process here intimated has been regularly and, with short interruptions, gradually going on in every part of this island, in spite of the calamities induced by changes from peace to war, and from war to peace, by which individuals, too many indeed in number, yet bearing but a small proportion to the whole of the community, were compelled for a time to descend in the scale of society, and had the power of indulging in their accustomed comforts somewhat diminished.

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A branch of national industry which, from its extent and utility, merits observation, is that of building, whether for dwellings, for warehouses to deposit the commodities that are to supply the market, or for workshops in which such commodities are to be prepared. We have no data which will enable us to make any accurate calculation of the extent to which the two latter have been recently increased. The returns, under the population acts, of 1801, 1811 and 1821 give only the houses existing in the several years, and the difference between one period and another consequently shows the increase of numbers only; but it does not show how many new houses have been erected in the place of old and decayed buildings; how many large and costly edifices have taken the place of inferior ones; nor how many comfortable dwellings of a smaller class have been completed for those who before lived in hovels, in garrets, and in cellars. It appears by the returns of 1801 that the number of inhabited houses in England and Wales was then 1,580,923: by the returns of 1821 they are shown to be 2,088,156, being an increase of 507,233, or nearly one-third of the number occupied at the first period, in the short space of twenty years.

As the building of houses seems to be an unquestionable proof of the increase of wealth, besides being one of those operations by which wealth is most extensively created, and by a process the most easily demonstrable to our readers, we shall be excused if we enter into some detail on this part of our subject.

Building is incontrovertible evidence of the previous accumulation of capital. Few persons begin to build new houses till they have obtained the means both of building and afterwards of living in them. In cases in which this cannot be said with truth, the necessary capital must have been accumulated by the individual of whom the builder borrows, or by workmen who have acquired a fund to enable them to work upon credit. A house can no more be built without capital than without hands, and it is the same, for the purpose of the argument, whether the wealth has been amassed by one individual or the other. Building may be carried to an injurious extent, so that the persons who embark in it may lose a portion or even the whole of that which they invest in it, but in this respect it differs not from other branches of industry; and, as in them, the diminution or absence of profit will prevent the pursuit from being prosecuted to such an extent as greatly to affect the general wealth. I the population presses on the dwellings, the occupiers will pay the more for the buildings, and the builders will gain more by them. If the buildings are redundant for the population, the builder will obtain less for his work, and the occupier will have it the cheaper. In either

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case the erection of a house is evidence of previous accumulation of wealth, and whether it is more beneficial to the builder, to the person who buys, or to the occupier who rents, is of no more consequence to the community, than the results of the outlay of any other portion of the capital of individuals.

But the building of a house is not only proof of an accumulation previously made, it is also a mode of positively increasing the wealth of the nation. The site of the building in the first place generally acquires an additional value from the circumstance of being chosen for that purpose. The materials which constitute the several portions of a house are for the most part of little value till the different descriptions of them are brought into contact by human labour. The stone which was valueless in the quarry becomes immediately valuable, when brought to the surface. A profit out of it is gained in the operation, by the labourers, of all that their wages exceed the cost of their subsistence; and even the providing their subsistence, their clothing, and household furniture, leaves a profit to the tradesmen who supply them. The master quarrier derives a profit to the amount of the difference between the wages he has paid and the price for which he sells the stone. The stone must be conveyed to the place fixed on for the house by boats or waggons, or by both. To take the first case only, a profit is gained by the boat-builder upon a profit previously gained by the timber-merchant, the sawyer, the rope-maker, and all the others whose labours have assisted in constructing and furnishing the vessel. He who navigates the vessel thus loaded with stone, gains a profit in proportion to the cost of the vessel, and the wages of the men who navigate, and the labour of the horses who draw it on the canal; whilst those wages are expended to the profit of the several persons who supply them with necessaries; and the constructors of the canals or roads derive a profit, by their tolls, on the substances which are carried on them.

Before the crude substance can be made of use, another must be prepared by a more operose process to cement the several parts into a solid mass. Stone, fit for making lime, must, in a similar way, and accompanied by similar profits, each small, but widely diffused, be brought from some other spot to a kiln where another substance, coal, equally of little or no value in the mine, must be brought with similar profits to meet it. The building the walls creates a profit to the labourers of all their wages beyond the amount of their subsistence and the expense of their tools; on the former a profit is left in the hands of the several shopkeepers who supply them; and on the latter a profit is gained by the miner, the forger, the smith, and all the ramified variety of trades employed for these purposes. Besides these diffused profits, the

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master-mason gains something on the whole labour of the men, and on the cost of the materials which they work up.

We have stated but the very simplest beginnings in the process of building a house; it is obvious that at every step the materials used become of more complicated origin, and are consequently productive of profit in more numerous shapes and sub-divisions; the carpenter, the plumber, the painter, the glazier, the paper-hanger, the whitesmith, and others, are all to receive profit, and are all the centres as it were of other circles in which profit is diffused by the same process. We need not pursue the analysis through all these stages; it is sufficient for our purpose, and we hope is made intelligible to our readers, that a large, probably the largest, portion of what is expended in building, is reproduced in such an advantageous form as to increase vastly the general wealth of the community.

If the number of houses increased faster than the population, though it would be a clear indication of the previous accumulation of the necessary funds for building them, it would be a less decisive symptom of a continuation of improvement than is exhibited by the relative proportion which the increase of houses bears at present to that of inhabitants. It will be seen, by comparing the tables of population for the years 1801 and 1821, that whilst the whole number of inhabitants of Great Britain has in the twenty years increased at the rate of thirty-one, the houses have increased only thirty per cent. London, including the out-parishes, contained in 1801, 121,229 houses, and 864,845 inhabitants; and in 1821, 164,681 houses, and 1,225,694 inhabitants; so that it would have required no less than twelve thousand additional houses to have brought the proportions between the number of persons and of the houses to the same state at the end as at the beginning of the twenty years. The greatest excess of houses over persons, however, is to be seen in some of the manufacturing towns, where the increase of both has been the greatest; thus in Manchester the inhabitants have increased sixty-eight in the period before stated, and the houses only fifty-six per cent.; in Birmingham the inhabitants forty-nine, the houses forty-five per cent.; in Nottingham the inhabitants forty-eight, and the houses forty. Leeds, Derby, and Carlisle have preserved nearly the same proportions at both periods. In Bristol, Norwich, and Exeter, the inhabitants have increased faster than the houses, and nearly in the same degree as in London.

It is not easy to calculate what proportion the buildings constructed for warehouses of different kinds, and for the reception of the costly machinery employed in manufactories, bear to those used as dwellings. We shall content ourselves with showing to what

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what amount the whole have been increased, by exhibiting the number of bricks charged with duty at certain periods. This will be as accurate a criterion of the progress as can be adopted, as it is fair to presume that the proportion of stone to brick, in building, has varied, if at all, to the diminution of brick building, since the tax was first imposed on the latter article.

The tax was laid on bricks in the year 1784; the gradual increase in their consumption may be seen by the following statement, viz.—

	Bricks.
Annual average charged with duty in the years 1785, 1786, and 1787	463,405,628
Annual average charged with duty in the years 1801, 1802, and 1803	728,447,055
Annual average charged with duty in the years 1811, 1812, and 1813	934,065,839
Annual average charged with duty in the years 1821, 1822, and 1823	1,020,289,183

We come now to another branch in which national capital has been most beneficially employed; we mean the construction of navigable canals, which were scarcely known sixty years ago. We have often heard this kind of operation compared to lotteries, containing a few large prizes, with many blanks, and it is frequently asserted, that the produce of the whole of the canals in this kingdom does not amount to nearly the legal interest on the whole of the sums expended in forming them. We have been induced to take some pains to ascertain their productiveness, not because, if the assertions we refer to had been found correct, we should have doubted of the utility of the undertakings to the public, but because, on a subject of such magnitude, it is at all times desirable to obtain accurate knowledge. As these large concerns are for the most part under the management of corporate bodies, and the shares in them exposed to public sale, information sufficiently certain to be relied on may be acquired, which we have endeavoured to collect and digest.

An analysis of the statements of eighty of these corporations will give the following result:—Twenty-three canal companies have expended, or calculate on expending, £3,734,910, and have as yet made no dividends to the original subscribers. Fourteen others have expended £4,073,678, and now pay in dividends £92,281. Twenty-two have expended £2,196,000, and now pay in dividends £162,400. Eleven have expended £2,073,300, and now pay in dividends £216,024. The remaining ten companies have expended £1,127,230, and pay in dividends, at the rate of £20 and upwards per share, £311,554. The whole sum expended has been £13,205,117, and the present dividends are £782,257, or

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or about five and three-quarters per cent. on the capital. We have not, however, drawn the attention of our readers to this source of public wealth so much with a view of representing the immediate profits drawn from it by the capitalists who invest their money in these concerns, or to show the wealth created by the labour in the operation of constructing the canals, as to notice that created by the additional value communicated to the various substances that lie in the districts through which they pass. Iron in the mines, stone in the quarries, and even flints, chalk and gravel, which were before of little or no value, are thereby rendered objects of trade, and become exchangeable for other commodities; a power, if we may so express ourselves, which is communicated by every new canal to a large circle around the whole length of its course.

Another object of industry is somewhat similar to navigable canals in its tendency to diminish labour. We speak of those modern inventions by which the power of steam has been extensively substituted for that of man and of animals. It is now not fifty years since the first of the steam-engines on Mr. Watt's improved principles was set in motion. The advantages were soon obvious, and, with additional means of adapting them to more common purposes, they have multiplied to an extraordinary degree. Mr. Partington, in his Historical Account of the Steam-engine, estimated the number of them three years ago at ten thousand, performing the work of two hundred thousand horses. Though the expense of erecting them is equal to the purchase of more than double that number of horses, yet from their not requiring such frequent renewal, and from the cost of the necessary fuel in those districts, which employ the far greater number of them, being less than a fourth of the expense of feeding an equal power of horses, the economy of using them is very easily demonstrable, and the additional wealth created by substituting them for the labour of men or of horses may be easily inferred.*

That branch of industry which, in numerous ramifications and sub-divisions, is comprehended under the name of the cotton manufacture, is of peculiar interest both as exhibiting the powers of the human mind and of human skill, and as having enriched the community, and raised the condition of our lower orders to a degree of comfort to which their forefathers were wholly strangers. This manufacture, though probably introduced into England

* The cost of constructing these engines varies according to their power, the smaller ones costing nearly £100 for each horse's power, and the largest not quite £40. The consumption of coal is rated at one bushel, or eighty-four pounds, per hour for an engine of ten horse power. The quantity is somewhat less in the machines of the largest power.

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about the year 1600, and extensively carried on, as was then thought, in the neighbourhood of Manchester about the year 1641, according to Lewis Roberts's book, entitled *Treasure of Traffic*, had not reached such a state in the year 1760 as to produce any cloth made of cotton alone. The art of spinning cotton of sufficient tenacity to be used as warp, was utterly unknown; and that part of the fabric, on the strength of which its utility to the wearer depends, was made of linen-yarn, cotton only being used for the weft or shoot. The introduction of the carding machine about 1762 was soon followed by several attempts to spin also by machinery; but these seem to have been ineffectual till 1769, when Mr., afterwards Sir Richard, Arkwright obtained his first patent for the spinning frame. It is not our design to speak of the merits of the invention, or of the subsequent improvements which have been made by himself and others. Our only object is to mark the definite period from which that progress commenced, the course of which has been so rapid, and the effects so extensive.

Notwithstanding the division of labour in this branch of industry is carried as far, if not farther, than in any other, and the abridgment of human labour is proportionably great, yet from its consequent cheapness it is adapted to such numerous and various purposes, that it affords employment and subsistence to a larger number of individuals of all classes than any other pursuit, except agriculture. It is not too much to assert, that as the use of the raw materials has increased a hundred fold within the last seventy years, so, in spite of all the economy in the application of labour to the manufacture, the demand for workmen has increased in far more than an equal proportion. It appears by the custom-house accounts that the quantities of cotton-wool imported on averages of three years, which for comparison's sake we have selected at different periods, have been as follows:—

	lbs.
Average weight of cotton annually imported in the years 1765, 1766 and 1767	4,241,364
Average imports of the years 1804, 1805 and 1806	59,908,673
Average imports of the years 1822, 1823 and 1824	153,799,308

The increased use of the raw material gives, however, a very imperfect view of the augmentation of the national wealth created by this manufacture. At first the chief application of cotton was to the fabrication of the heavier kinds of goods, such as were adapted for pockets, or jackets for grooms or other labouring men; cotton thicksets, barragons, herring-bones, and similar goods were next added; and later still cotton-velvets, velveteens and various fancy cords; in all of which the weight of the cotton was great in proportion to the value of the finished commodity. At a later period, when mule spinning became perfected, muslins were introduced,

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duced, which were gradually made of a finer and finer texture, till, it is said, a single pound of cotton, not worth more than three shillings, has been converted into a piece of muslin worth double that number of pounds. The advances made in this last article have been so great, that whereas forty years ago all the muslins worn in Europe and America were furnished from the several parts of India, at this time considerable quantities are shipped for that country, beyond those which are required for the increased home demand, and for other foreign markets.

According to that official valuation of the customs which is found in practice the best criterion for comparison, the export of cotton goods has been as follows, viz.

Average annual value of the years 1765, 1766 and 1767	£223,154
Average annual value of the years 1804, 1805 and 1806	8,734,917
Average annual value of the years 1822, 1823 and 1824	26,128,221

The woollen manufactures of the country have been gradually extended and improved for the last two centuries; but since the commencement of the reign of George III. their advance has proceeded with a rapidity that has no parallel in past times. Till about forty or fifty years ago the wool, when shorn and washed, was scribbled, combed or carded by hand. It was then distributed among various persons, at scattered residences, to be spun; and most of the manufacturers had houses for receiving periodically the yarn from the several spinners. The resort to them caused the sacrifice of much time, and perpetual squabbles between the parties regarding the weight of the work, or the length and number of the threads in the skeins. In many cases the spinning was performed in distant counties, and much time sacrificed, and heavy expenses incurred, in the transmission of the material. The warping was slowly performed by hand, and the abb or shoot placed on the quills also by the same tiresome process. The parts of the work which followed the weaving, such as shearing, dressing and finishing, were likewise all performed by manual labour. By regular and gradual steps machinery has been invented for the whole of these operations; and though human labour has been thus abridged, the manufacture gives employment to a greater number of hands than at any past period; and whilst the very lowest description of labourers are now as well paid as the majority of them formerly were, new and superior classes of workmen have been created, who, without the introduction of machinery, would have been left in the general low condition of the cloth-makers in former times. By machine-spinning a greater evenness is given to the threads; and

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and in shearing and dressing by mechanism less injury is sustained by the cloths, and, with equal durability, more beauty in the appearance is obtained. The whole work is under the eye of the master; he can have the several divisions of it prepared in quantities to suit each other; he knows exactly when the goods can be ready for the market; and a degree of dispatch is given to the whole proceeding, which enables the capital employed in it to circulate with a rapidity heretofore deemed impossible.

Of the rapidity of the manufacture a singular specimen was given a few years ago, when the late Sir John Throgmorton sat down to dinner dressed in a coat which, on the same morning, had been wool on the back of the sheep. The animals were sheared; the wool washed, carded, spun and woven; the cloth was scoured, fulled, sheared, dyed and dressed, and then, by the tailor's aid, made into a coat, between sun-rising and the hour of seven; when the party sat down to dinner, with their chairman dressed in the product of this active day.

Although the machinery invented in England, or applied first in England to this branch of industry, has been copied by the manufacturers on the continent of Europe, and naturalized in the United States of America, the exportation of our cloth has gone on increasing. We have not only worked up all the wool shorn from our own gradually augmented flocks, but have found the supply from Spain so inadequate to our demand, that we have drawn prodigious quantities from Prussia, Saxony, and many parts of the continent of Europe from which little or none was formerly imported into this country. The importation of no species of raw material, except of cotton, has increased in the same ratio as that of sheep's wool, which our readers may believe probable from looking at the following account.

	lbs.
Average annual importation of sheep's wool for the years 1765, 1766 and 1767 . . .	4,241,364
Average annual importation of the same for the years 1788, 1789 and 1790	2,911,499
Average annual importation for the years 1822, 1823 and 1824	18,884,876

At the same time, the consumption of our woollen goods by foreign nations has been increasing at the rate shown by the following account:

Annual average exportation of woollens, according to official value, for the years 1765, 1766, and 1767	£4,630,384
The same for the years 1804, 1805 and 1806 .	5,667,551
The same for the years 1822, 1823 and 1824 .	6,200,548

The silk trade was one of those exotics which require patient and

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and sedulous attention at their first introduction; though it seems now naturalized in this kingdom, and abundantly pays for the fostering care that has been bestowed upon it. The raw material was burdened with a heavy impost, but the manufactured goods had almost the exclusive possession of the home market, which, from the increasing numbers and wealth of the community, gave it a favourable and steady impulse, and from means of employment originally contracted, it has gradually extended itself to the finding means of subsistence to several hundred thousand persons. The tax on the raw material was not, however, the only check upon the extension of this trade. The wages of the labourers in it were prescribed by law, and this gave rise to discussions and combinations which could not but be very injurious. The operative weavers and other workmen became frequently insubordinate and riotous, and during the national ferment excited by Wilkes, this grew to such an extent, that some capitalists in the silk trade resolved to remove their concerns from the large and populous towns in which they were established, to more tranquil spots. Paisley was selected, and the silk gauze trade, first introduced there, gave birth afterwards to the establishment of the muslin manufacture, and has been the means of raising that place from an obscure village to a flourishing city. Similar considerations induced the removal of other important branches of the silk trade in succession to Leeke, Macclesfield, and Manchester. At present, though so large a proportion of the trade is carried on in the country, yet the number of hands employed in the metropolis and its vicinity is greater than ever; and the experimental law of last year seems to act as a successful antidote to many of the evils arising from the legal regulation of the rate of wages.

The raw material for the manufacture was originally furnished almost exclusively from the southern countries of Europe, the intercourse with which was often interrupted by political events. A great change has, however, been brought about of late years. In our settlements in India, the cultivation of silk has been much extended, and great improvements have been made in its fineness and softness, so that the Bengal silk has become a sufficient substitute for the silk of Italy, for the shoot or weft of most kinds of goods, and for almost all parts of trimmings, fringes, and other inferior articles. The silk of China, by its colour and fineness, is peculiarly adapted to hosiery, and even the foreign manufacturers have now regular information of the sales of the East India Company, and draw part of the raw silk they want from this country. The regular increase in the consumption of silk is shown in the following statement, and the reader will see with satisfaction, that the proportion

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proportion of the import of thrown to raw silk, has been gradually changing as the general trade has advanced.

	Raw Silk. lbs.	Thrown Silk. lbs.
Annual average importation of the years 1765, 1766, and 1767, deducting the quantities exported . . .	352,130	363,498
Annual average for 1785, 1786 and 1787	547,605	337,860
Annual average for 1802, 1803 and 1804	967,805	384,506
Annual average for 1822, 1823 and 1824	2,172,401	386,691

Our limits will not allow of our tracing the progress of the iron manufactory, from its first rude state to its present condition: indeed, in speaking of air-bloomery, blast-bloomery, and blast-furnaces, we should probably be using terms unintelligible to the majority of our readers. The great change in the fabrication, which began about seventy years ago, when coke from pit coal succeeded to the use of charcoal from wood, gave an impulse, which has continued, though not without occasional fluctuations, to the present time. We have sufficient evidence before us to state an immense, and gradual increase in the production, at different periods, of pig iron in England and Wales; and although we have not at hand the means of stating the precise amounts for the same periods in Scotland, yet we have reason to believe that the growth of the trade there has been proportionably great; the quantities of pig iron made in England and Wales is as follows:—1750, 22,000 tons; 1788, 68,300 tons; 1796, 124,879 tons; 1806, 252,000 tons; 1816, 380,000 tons; and in 1824, 600,000 tons.

By the progressive improvements made in this article, we have not only almost superseded the necessity of using foreign iron, though for some special purposes that of Sweden is still required, but have enjoyed a continually increasing export trade.

	Tons.
Annual average of British iron exported in the years 1765, 1766, and 1767	11,373
Annual average for the years 1804, 1805, and 1806	28,009
Annual average for the years 1822, 1823, and 1824	94,008

This increase in the iron trade has been accompanied with a great, though not an equally great, progress in the copper mines. If we may judge from the sales of copper in the county of Cornwall, for we have not the returns from Anglesea, before us, the quantity raised has been nearly doubled within the last twenty-five years, but it does not as yet suffice for our consumption, and large quantities are imported to supply our several manufacturers. One of the best proofs of the growth of the trade in hardware generally, is to be found in the growing population of the places in which

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which the several branches of it are carried on. There is no one branch of industry in which so many and such minute operations are performed by machinery as in the manufacture of all the articles produced from the metals, and yet, notwithstanding these various contrivances to abridge or to dispense with human labour, no where has the demand for human labour been greater or the inducement of high wages collected a larger addition to the natural stock of population, if we may so call it, than in the districts chiefly employed in that trade. The increase of inhabitants within the last twenty years, has been in;—

	1801.	1821.
Birmingham . . .	73,670	106,722
Sheffield	45,755	65,275
Wolverhampton . .	12,565	18,380

The parishes in the neighbourhood of these towns have received an augmentation of inhabitants in proportionate degrees.

The manufacture of linens has been hitherto chiefly confined to those particular districts the soil of which is best adapted for the cultivation of flax. From the extensive use of cotton goods a diminution might have been expected in the consumption of linen, but that is so far from being the case, that it has been gradually increasing, and more especially of late years, since the principle of the spinning-jennies has been introduced into that manufacture. We know of no reason for supposing that our own cultivation of flax has lessened, and we rather think, on the contrary, from a partial survey of some districts, that the produce is greater than it was thirty or forty years ago. But at any rate the custom-house books afford sufficient evidence of an increase in the quantity of foreign flax imported, as well as of the surplus quantity, which, after supplying the growing wants of an increased population, furnishes an object for our export commerce.

	Cwts.
Average annual importation of flax in the years 1788, 1789, and 1790	219,610
The same for the years 1804, 1805, and 1806	414,246
The same for the years 1821, 1822, and 1823	601,887

The exportations of British linens, including both white and printed, taken at three several periods, appear to be as follows:—

	Yards.
Annual average of the years 1765, 1766, and 1767	4,681,806
The same for the years 1804, 1805, and 1806	10,387,543
The same for the years 1822, 1823, and 1824	32,287,543

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That this increased exportation of British linens has not been made by sacrificing to it the interests of the Irish manufacturers may be reasonably inferred from the following account.

	Yards.
Annual average exportation of Irish linen from the several ports of Great Britain, in the years 1765, 1766, and 1767 . . .	2,219,496
The same for the years 1804, 1805, and 1806	4,991,946
The same for the years 1822, 1823, and 1824	12,791,126

There is scarcely any manufacture which is so interesting to contemplate in its gradual improvement and extension, as that of earthenware, presenting, as it does, so beautiful a union of science and art, in furnishing us with the comforts and ornaments of polished life. Chemistry administers her part by investigating the several species of earths, and ascertaining as well their most appropriate combinations, as the respective degrees of heat which the several compositions require. Art has studied the designs of antiquity, and produced from them vessels even more exquisite in form than the models by which they have been suggested. The ware has been provided in such gradations of quality as to suit every station, from the highest to the lowest. It is to be seen in every country, and almost in every house, through the whole extent of America, in many parts of Asia, and in most of the countries of Europe. At home it has superseded the less cleanly vessels of pewter and of wood, and by its cheapness has been brought within the means of our poorest housekeepers. Formed from substances originally of no value, the fabrication has induced labour of such various classes, and created skill of such various degrees, that nearly the whole value of the annual produce may be considered as an addition made to the mass of national wealth. The abundance of the ware exhibited in every dwelling is sufficient evidence of the vast augmentation of the manufacture, which is also demonstrated by the rapid increase of the population in the districts where the potteries have been established.

The trade in glass has naturally increased with the increase of our buildings and inhabitants, but it has had less extension in other countries than its beauty would have enabled it to obtain, had it not been made the subject of a very heavy tax. For, although that tax is drawn back on exportation, yet it reaches the foreign consumer charged with the interest on the additional capital which its original payment requires, with the profits on that capital made by the several hands through which it passes between the manufacturer and the shipper, and with the entire duty on whatever is broken in the conveyance from the first to the last.

Whenever

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Whenever the same wise policy, which dictated the repeal of the duty on silk, shall be extended to glass, a policy the more obvious now that the duty on salt, from which the fossil alkali as a flux is made, has been put an end to, there is very good ground to believe that the glass-houses of this kingdom will supply, to a great extent, the several markets of the world with their productions. The same observation may be applied to leather and to stationery, which, though maintaining the same pace as other goods in the home market, have been restrained from that extensive circulation abroad, to which their excellence would entitle them, by the taxes imposed upon them.

We have thus taken a slight survey of the chief articles of national production; we have found in each an extensive advance, and if our limits would have permitted us to descend into more minute detail, we should have been able to show, that the increase has been gradually going on during the whole of the late reign, or at least from the peace of 1763, and has continued with an accelerated pace during the government of his present Majesty. The whole of the annual exports of British produce and of foreign goods, on the average of the three years immediately following the peace of 1763, amounted to £14,925,950,—not one third in value of the present exports of British produce alone. How these have gradually increased since that period may be seen in the following statement:

Annual average exportation of British produce and manufactures in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785	£11,090,718
The same for the years 1803, 1804, and 1805	27,726,983
The same for the years 1821, 1822 and 1823	45,283,359

In a review of the great interests which have, each in its respective degree, contributed to the prosperity of the country, we naturally look with peculiar interest to the mercantile shipping. It may be considered as the rudiment of that power to which, under Providence, the civilized world is indebted for the general scene of peace and prosperity which it now displays. The increase in our mercantile shipping has proceeded with so regular a pace, that the war seems to have had no other effect on it, than to give consistency and firmness to its growth; like the oak of which it is built—

'per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animumque ferro.'

The progress of our shipping, up to the close of the last century, has been carefully ascertained and arranged by Mr. Chalmers.

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He gives the tonnage of British and foreign ships which clear out from the several ports of this kingdom, from the restoration of Charles II., to the year 1802; during which period, our own shipping had grown from 95,266 tons, to 1,459,689 tons. At the commencement of the period he has reviewed, the proportion of foreign shipping, which cleared from our ports, to British shipping, was as one to two; and at the conclusion, as two to seven. This proportion had, however, varied in favour of foreign shipping in the periods of war; and of British shipping in the intermediate periods of peace. The progress since the year 1802 has continued, and from 1,459,689 tons, the amount at that period, we arrived, in 1823, at a mercantile marine of 2,519,044 tons, navigated by 166,333 hands. In this, too, we include only such vessels as are registered; the numerous craft employed in the several inland canals and navigable rivers are not noticed, nor have we any means of estimating their tonnage or the number of hands employed in conducting them. They form, however, an important feature in the wealth of the community, and must have kept pace with the increase in the number of canals, and of the goods conveyed from one part of the kingdom to another by their means.

The quantity of shipping does not appear to have increased, during the last ten years, in the same ratio as in the preceding thirty. This may be satisfactorily accounted for. The merchant vessels hired by government, as transports, or for other purposes, during the later years of the war, have been added to those employed in trade. These amounted to from 200,000 to 300,000 tons. It must be considered, too, that in time of peace the same quantity of shipping will be adequate to the purposes of a much larger commerce than in time of war; because, in the latter, voyages are less expeditiously performed than in the former, owing to detention for convoy, to the sailing in fleets, and of course waiting for their formation, and to the rate of the progress of a fleet being regulated by that of the slowest sailing vessels of which it is composed.

Owing to the fluctuations in the value of money the account of quantities is the most satisfactory proof of the growth of wealth, when the examination is carried through so considerable a period as sixty years, and it is to that therefore to which we have hitherto had recourse in this inquiry; but for short periods the amount of a tax is quite sufficient evidence to show national advancement: and a reference to that criterion will, as far as it goes, be found equally satisfactory.

Thus to take a single instance, because the most definite which we can offer, the taxes on legacies and probates. We all know the

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anxiety manifested, in numberless instances, to evade the payment of these by deeds of gift, and other modes of disposition; yet the following table shows a very large increase in the amount of personal property transferred by testament.

	Amount of Tax on Legacies.	Amount of Tax on Probates.
1810 . . .	£520,983 . . .	£424,026
1815	675,807	506,854
1819	855,633	682,221
1823	990,787	706,805

In the review we have now taken of the wealth of this country, we have endeavoured to conduct it in such a manner as to avoid every disputable topic. It has been our chief purpose to show that production has universally increased; that much of that increase, instead of being expended as it has arisen, has been added to the previously accumulated mass of general wealth; and that by this process the nation, as a whole, is become much more abundant in every species of property than at any former period. We have thought it most prudent to avoid the debateable questions to what extent that increase has reached, or what was the whole value of the property of all the inhabitants of this kingdom at the several periods of the close of the Seven Years' war—of the independence of North America—of the peace of Amiens—and of the present time. Though we could not avoid making such estimates and calculations for our own guidance in the course of our present examination, yet we do not think it right to submit the results to the public without far more detail than our limits will allow; because without them we are aware that we might subject ourselves to the charge of exaggeration, or the suspicion of sanguine credulity. Whether the property of the country has increased in a three, four, or five-fold degree since the peace of 1763, is a question on which men, according to their different lights and views, may reasonably differ; but no man of competent information will hesitate to allow, that we have been constantly advancing, that the whole income has constantly exceeded the whole expenditure of the nation, and the surplus regularly added to the previously acquired stock, has made us the richest people on the face of the earth.

We might avoid adverting to that fertile subject of complaints and alarms, the National Debt, by simply asserting, that as, with the exception of an annual payment of £600,000, for about sixteen millions owing to foreigners, the whole of the interest on it is paid by one portion to another portion of the same community; though some individuals may be the poorer, an equal number will be the richer in consequence of such payments; and that therefore whatever may be its effect in retarding the progress, it can be of

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no weight in shaking the evidence of the actual and independent amount, of the wealth of the nation.

We have no other objection to grapple with this important subject than its extent when compared with the limits within which we must now confine ourselves. Perhaps we shall be able at some future time to examine more generally than we have hitherto done, the nature of the funding system, to estimate the evils arising from the careless expenditure which it admits, and the heavy taxation which follows from it; and to compare them with the benefits arising from the stimulus it applies to many branches of industry —from the encouragement given to economy by presenting secure means of making interest even of the smallest sum that can be saved—from the great number of persons who thereby become securities for the public tranquillity—from its tendency to create a middle class in society—and from the necessity which it imposes on our rulers of maintaining the most scrupulous fidelity in all their pecuniary transactions with the public.

That the increase of the national debt has no tendency to lessen production must be evident from what has been already shown; for we have seen that in the period of the largest and most rapid increase of the debt the productions of the country have most regularly increased. According to the able position of Mr. Malthus, the payment of the dividends—

'will of course diminish the demands of the persons taxed by diminishing their power of purchasing; but to the exact amount that the powers of these persons are diminished, will the powers of the government and those employed by it be increased. If an estate of five thousand a year has a mortgage upon it of two thousand, two families, both in very good circumstances, may be living upon the rents of it, and both have considerable demands for houses, furniture, carriages, broad-cloth, silks, cottons, &c. The man who owns the estate is certainly much worse off than if the mortgage-deed was burnt; but the manufacturers and labourers who supply the silks, broad-cloth, cottons, &c. are so far from being likely to be benefited by such burning, that it would be a considerable time before the new wants and tastes of the enriched owner had restored the former demand; and if he were to take a fancy to spend his additional income in horses, hounds, and menial servants, which is probable, not only would the manufacturers and labourers who had before supplied their silks, cottons, and cloths, be thrown out of employment, but the substituted demand would be very much less favourable to the increase of the capital and general resources of the country. The foregoing illustration represents more nearly than may be generally imagined the effect of a national debt on the labouring classes of society, and the very great mistake of supposing that, because the demands of a considerable portion of the community would be increased by the extinction of the debt, these increased demands would not be balanced by the loss of the demand from the fundholders and government.'—*Malthus on Population*, vol. ii. p. 362. 5th edition.

Without

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Without believing, however, the national debt to be an unmixed evil, making every allowance for the alleviating circumstances which attend it, and placing in the opposite scale the benefits which it confers, we have no hesitation in admitting that, in its present extent, the balance is adverse to the interests of the country. We rejoice, therefore, in every one of the diminutions which it has recently undergone, but much more in the growing numbers and wealth of the community which make the burden lighter and lighter in every succeeding year.

Politicians of a certain class are very fond of impressing on the public mind the deplorable state of public affairs, arising from our debt and consequent taxation. Not only during the whole progress of the long war, which required every encouragement to perseverance, but during the peace which has followed, when the object of that war was accomplished, the condition of the country has never ceased to be made the subject of lamentation, and her recovery pronounced to be hopeless. No remedies have been thought capable of saving her but such as the patient felt so strong a repugnance to that they could not be safely administered. In spite of the doctors the obstinate patient not only still survives, but is, to say the least, convalescent. Whatever mortification may be felt by such advisers, we can assure them, their case is not singular. The same gloomy race of prophets has existed ever since the revolution in 1688; they have always exhibited the same anxiety to administer their own remedies, which have always been as daringly, and yet as safely rejected.

In 1699, Davenant foretold his readers, that

'It will be found in no long course of time, we shall languish and decay every year. Our gold and silver will be carried off by degrees, rents will fall, the purchase of land will decrease, wool will sink in its price, our stock of shipping will be diminished, farm-houses will go to ruin, industry will decay, and we shall have upon us all the visible marks of a declining people.'

The Craftsman, in 1736, says,

'The vast load of debt' (*it then amounted to less than fifty millions, and the 3 per cents. were at* 105!) 'under which the nation still groans, is the true source of all those calamities and gloomy prospects of which we have so much reason to complain. To this has been owing that multiplicity of burdensome taxes, which have more than doubled the price of the common necessaries of life within a few years past; and thereby distressed the poor labourer and manufacturer, disabled the farmer to pay his rent; and put even gentlemen of plentiful estates under the greatest difficulties, to make a tolerable provision for their families.'

Bolingbroke, in 1749, 'declared that the aids in the nine last years, amounting to fifty-five millions, was a sum that would appear incredible to future generations;' and Doddington resigned

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a lucrative office, as he asserts, from pure disinterestedness, 'because he saw the country in so dangerous a condition, and found himself so incapable to give it relief.' Hanway, in 1756, asserts, that 'it has been a generally received notion among political arithmeticians, that we may increase our debt to one hundred millions; but they acknowledge that it must then cease, by the debtor becoming bankrupt. But it is very difficult to comprehend, if we do not stop at seventy-five millions, where we shall stop.' Hume, Blackstone, and Lord Kaimes occasionally indulged the same desponding anticipations. Even Adam Smith warned the public, 'not to be too confident that we could support, without great distress, a burden a little greater than that which had been laid upon us up to the year 1777;' then about one hundred and fifty millions.

We have, however, found by experience the fallacy of all these predictions; and we trust that the faithful exhibition which we have here made, will at least inspire a tranquillizing confidence in our future destinies; at least, that it will satisfy the most anxious minds, that so far as regards the national wealth, the national safety is in no way endangered.

If, indeed, the picture we have drawn be, as we believe it to be, a faithful resemblance of the actual state of things, another and a different question of vast importance arises; we then become concerned to know, how the vast accumulation of national property has been distributed among the various classes of the community. This is, however, difficult to be traced, and the best guide seems to be the advancement in the rate of expenditure which may be remembered or traced among all the inhabitants, in each different degree, from the lowest to the highest. In this inquiry we may, however, avail ourselves of a paper laid before Parliament, in which the holders of stock are classed according to the amount of the dividends they are entitled to receive. The funds may be considered as the receptacle for that part of the savings of individuals, which has not been applied to increase the stock of their commodities in actual use or consumption. We limit our expression thus, for if the whole savings during the growth of the national debt had been absorbed in it, we should not have seen every species of property belonging to individuals, such as houses, shops, stores, barns, cattle, implements, and other objects, continually increasing during that growth; nor could we have had those greater operations, which required combined wealth, such as docks, canals, roads and bridges, carried on to the vast extent which we every where notice. The mode in which this part of the savings of individuals has been distributed, may be seen by the following account.

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An Account of the Total Number of Persons who received Half-yearly Dividends in 1823.

Stock.	when dividends became due.	not above £5.	not above £10.	not above £50.	not above £100.	not above £200.	not above £300.	not above £500.	not above £1000.	not above £2000.	above £2000.
3 per cent. Consols	January, 1823	28,660	12,869	32,086	9,352	6,300	2,262	1,458	855	264	109
3 per cent. Reduced	October, 1822	12,011	4,998	12,133	3,528	2,215	804	512	300	105	44
3½ per cent. Annuities	———	233	166	447	205	173	60	71	58	23	14
4 per cent. Consols	———	9,981	5,174	12,502	3,593	2,021	608	400	181	35	17
Long Annuities	———	8,360	3,369	7,731	1,644	825	254	157	58	12	7
New 4 per cent. Annuities	January, 1823	31,359	14,629	34,472	7,677	3,903	1,145	644	280	48	24
3 per cent. Annuities, 1726	———	151	90	211	50	22	———	1	net	net	net
Old South Sea Annuities	March, 1823	746	390	905	190	76	19	11	5	1	2
New South Sea Annuities	January, 1823	573	331	668	156	58	15	5	3	2	net
South Sea Annuities, 1751	———	149	67	119	15	11	3	1	1	net	1
		92,223	42,083	101,274	26,410	15,604	5,170	3,260	1,741	490	218

(Not including the Money of Savings' Banks, nor that in the names of the Commissioners for reduction of the National Debt.)

Ordered to be printed April, 12, 1823.

The

The funded property classified in this paper may, for the most part, be described as fixed capital, invested for the purpose of uniting income with security. It appears by another paper laid before Parliament, that of the 800 millions of which the stocks consist, only about 175 millions can be considered as fluctuating, and that the remainder is either in wardship in Chancery, or the Exchequer, or belonging to charities, corporations, and trusteeships, or is the fixed property of individuals. In what periods this enormous sum has been saved, what proportions of the total savings it forms, or how much of the annual interest on it is still farther saved and added to the national capital, would be difficult to calculate; and if it could be calculated, would not be so important as the gratifying distribution of it which this paper exhibits. The effect of that distribution has been to enrich a numerous middle class of society, that class which is the most distinguishing ornament of this kingdom, and best security against the encroachments of arbitrary power on the one hand, and the more degrading tyranny of an ignorant rabble on the other.

It appears, that out of 288,473 stock-holders, there are 277,594 of various incomes below £400 per annum; and only 10,879 above that sum. We see with much pleasure nearly 140,000 persons with funded incomes under £20 per annum, and nearly 130,000 from £20 to £200. The class receiving from £200 to £600, though, as might be expected, less numerous, yet amounting to more than 20,000 persons, forms another step in that gradual ascent, from the lowest to the highest ranks of property, which has been regularly and almost insensibly formed; obviously as the constant accompaniment, and probably as the necessary consequence of the accumulation of general wealth.

There is no reason to suppose that other descriptions of accumulated property have been distributed in proportions very dissimilar to that in the public funds. We have sufficient presumptive evidence in the assessed taxes, that the middle classes have not only rapidly increased, but have increased in a proportion much greater than either the highest or the lowest. The number of persons keeping one horse for pleasure, since the abolition of the tax on agricultural horses, is 148,788; those keeping two, 23,493; those keeping from three to eight, 15,704; and those above eight, 1,168. The same proportions may be seen in male servants; those charged with one are 40,218; those with two, 6,761; those with three and under five, 4,652; those with five and under eight, 1,596; and those with more than eight, only 618. The same view presents itself on looking at the window tax. The houses charged with less than ten windows, are 735,110; those between ten and twenty, 178,334; those between twenty and thirty, 36,485; those between thirty

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thirty and forty, 10,673, those between forty and sixty, 6,326; those between sixty and one hundred, 2,649; and those above one hundred, only 940.

It appears, from the number of carriages kept for convenience or for luxury, that, whilst from the year 1804 to the year 1823, the four-wheeled carriages have increased from 13,250 to 26,799, or 100 per cent., the two wheeled carriages have increased from 20,147 to 45,856, or 125 per cent. Every view we gain either of income or of expenditure, tends to show the same result, that the greater part of the additions made to the public wealth are deposited in the hands of those who form the middle class of the nation, and increases that class by abstracting from the ranks beneath them numerous persons, some of whom it gradually elevates to the highest places in society.

No candid reader will suppose that we are inclined to undervalue the real importance either of the lower or the higher classes. Both are useful in their stations, and both indispensable in forming the grand and connected total of the British Nation; but we must still consider the classes which rise regularly rank above rank, in the great interval between the two extremes, as forming the peculiar and happy characteristic of this kingdom. We must consider them the chief, not the exclusive, depositaries of the piety, the virtue, the knowledge, the industry, the independence, the valour, and the patriotism, which have produced, under the blessing of heaven, a degree of happiness unknown, to the same extent, in any other country in the world.

In the view of the subject which we are now taking, the richer classes seem to act as stimulants for the purpose of increasing production and consequently general wealth. We hear of enormous prices paid for early fruits, to furnish out splendid entertainments. This is sometimes condemned as wasteful profusion, and it is lamented that such money is not bestowed on those who want it. The folly and vanity rather than sensuality of such expenditure in the intention of those, who are guilty of it, cannot be doubted; perhaps, however, it may be questioned, whether in this way the general comforts even of the lowest orders are not unintentionally more increased, than they could have been by a charitable distribution of the same sums among a few indigent individuals. In fact such prices are not paid in many instances, and if ten gardeners obtain them, a hundred, perhaps a thousand, will make the attempt and fail. The first gain the highest price, but the next to them must sell at lower rates, those a little behind at still lower, and in a few days, or at most weeks, the productions which these high prospects of reward have brought to the markets, will become so common, as to be within the reach of thousands, who

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who would either never have obtained them, or have obtained them at a much later period and at much higher prices.

We may look at another subject of luxury. It appears, that in the year 1765, the number of four-wheeled carriages was 12,904, at the present time they are 26,799, besides two wheeled carriages, now 45,856, but at that day so inconsiderable in number, as not to be deemed worthy of notice in a financial view. At the first-named period, the number of coach-makers in London was 36, who employed about 4000 men, working at the different branches of the trade; there are now 135, employing 14,000 workmen. As the journeymen coach-makers do not multiply by natural means faster than the rest of the community, the increased number must have been drawn from the other classes of society. They would not be drawn from those above their own station. They must, therefore, have been elevated to that from some lower rank; and though we may smile at its being called elevation, we should recollect that there are degrees in all classes. The same effect may be traced in every other branch of that industry which the comfort or gratification of the higher classes puts in activity.

If a project so wild could be entertained even for a moment, as to divide the wealth of all the largest owners among all the other members of society, it would be a scanty pittance to each; what would be carefully husbanded would be too small to benefit any, and what would be squandered, would produce only vice and idleness during the short period it would last. The stimulus that would be withdrawn from the objects of art and of luxury would induce a loss far very far exceeding any gain, that could be derived from the robbery.

The physical powers of enjoyment of the richest are not greater than those of the classes beneath them; they are not more free from anxiety, and are more subject to the mental depressions which arise from inactivity, satiety, and the absence of rational excitement. In the administration of their wealth, they are, whether they will or no, merely stewards for the public. If their capital be land, it cannot be occupied by themselves; it must be let to others, whose activity and skill draw from it the necessaries and comforts of life for themselves. If the capital be in money, this too must be employed by others, whose profits, upon the whole, are nearly equal to that which is returned to the lender in the shape of interest. On the other hand, the moral benefit which the rich derive from the gradual advancement of the intermediate ranks, far more than repays them for the advantages they adventitiously confer in the administration of their extended property. The ancient barons residing in their castles, in the centre of their domains, surrounded by their tenants, or rather their slaves, were under

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under no external influence but that of force. The estimate that might be formed of their character by others, had little or no power to correct their conduct. The murmurs of their vassals, or the threats of their neighbouring equals, were either stifled or defied. There was then no such power as that of Public Opinion. That power has been generated by the creation of the intermediate ranks of society, and in the same proportion as those ranks have risen in numbers and in influence, has the salutary controul of their judgment been exercised with greater effect on their more elevated fellow-citizens. No man is so far raised above others, as to come in collision only with his equals in rank and wealth. The close contact, the scarcely perceptible gradations, and the universal circulation of intelligence, not to say the desire for political consequence, all contribute to make the highest dependant on the good opinion of those in inferior stations.

The increased wealth of the middle classes is so obvious that we can neither walk the fields, visit the shops, nor examine the workshops and store-houses, without being deeply impressed with the changes which a few years have produced. We see the fields better cultivated, the barns and stack-yards more fully stored, the horses, cows, and sheep more abundant and in better condition, and all the implements of husbandry improved in their order, their construction, and their value. In the cities, towns, and villages, we find shops more numerous and better in their appearance, and the several goods more separated from each other; a division that is the infallible token of increased sales. We see the accumulation of wares of every kind adapted to the purses, the wants, and even the whims of every description of customers. This vast increase of goods, thus universally dispersed, is an indication and exhibition of flourishing circumstances. It may be traced into all the manufactories, and observed in the masses of raw materials in each, in commodities of every kind in their several stages of preparation, and in all the subdivisions of those stages, by which not only the increase of wealth is manifested, but the modes by which it is acquired are practically illustrated. If we could ascend a little higher and examine the accounts of the bankers in the metropolis, and in the provincial towns, small as well as large, we should find that the balances of money resting with them, ready to embrace favourable changes in the price of any commodity, or to be placed at interest as beneficial securities present themselves, are increased to an enormous amount. This indeed may be fairly inferred from the low rate of interest in the floating public securities, from the prices of the funds, from the avidity with which every project for the employment of capital is grasped at, and from the general complaint, almost the only complaint heard, that there is now no way

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way of making interest of money. The projects for constructing tunnels, rail-roads, canals, or bridges, and the eagerness with which they are embraced, are all proofs of that accumulation from savings which the intermediate ranks of society have, by patience and perseverance, been enabled to form. The natural effect of this advancement in possessions has been an advance in the enjoyments which those possessions can administer; and we need not be surprized at the general diffusion of those gratifications which were formerly called luxuries, but which, from their familiarity, we now describe by the softened, and exclusively English, term comforts. This is manifested in our houses, in their finishing, in their decorations, and especially in the numerous conveniences, with which they are stored.

The merchants of London forty or fifty years since lived in the dark lanes in which their counting-houses are still to be found, ate with their clerks a hasty meal at two o'clock, and returned to the desk to write their letters, by which they were often occupied till midnight. The shop-keepers lived behind their shops, their best floor was let to lodgers, and few only of the wealthier of them could afford a retreat from the bustle and the cares of the city to the surrounding villages of Islington, Hackney, or Camberwell. The watering-places which have sprung up on the whole coast of Kent and Sussex were then unknown to those classes of traders who now, by occasionally resorting to them and spending there a part of what they can spare from their annual savings, contribute largely to maintain the inhabitants in comfort and respectability. We do not assert that all who frequent such places can afford to spend what their excursions require. But we have reason to believe that extravagance in this way is not so common as many people suppose; and even where it cannot be justified, as no expenditure beyond income can be, short escapes from the crowded streets of London to the country or the sea-side are amongst the most pardonable of all acts of dissipation in their nature, and least injurious in their degree. It is gratifying, too, to find, that in a period during which this passion has prevailed more than ever, and while the traders of London have been tripled in number and multiplied tenfold in extent of dealings, we mean within the last thirty years, the proportionate number of bankruptcies has greatly decreased. We give the average annual number of bankruptcies for the years

1791, 1792, 1793	816
1801, 1802, 1803	1,168
1811, 1812, 1813	2,228
1821, 1822, 1823	1,134

In the mean time much correspondent improvement in many respects

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respects is visible in the habits and manners of the inhabitants of our cities. The morning drinkings have ceased, and the taverns have diminished faster than even the population and the wealth have increased. The pleasures now enjoyed are more rational, more healthful, and more improving than the clubs, the smokings, and the compotations, on which their predecessors of the last generation expended so much of their savings and their time.

If we visit the country we experience the same pleasing emotions as are communicated on the contemplation of the increased enjoyments of the city. We do not see, indeed, among the farmers such great strides, but we see universal advancement. The profits on their capitals are necessarily lower, and their growth consequently less rapid; but in the last forty or fifty years they, too, have made considerable progress. Whilst they have exchanged the work of the hands for that of the head, they have exchanged also the round frock of the ploughman for garments more suitable to their improved condition. Their houses are more commodious and better furnished; carpets, China-plates, and glasses, are to be seen instead of stone floors, trenchers, and drinking horns. Their wives and daughters, upon whom the refinement of society mainly depends, are generally better educated, and are able to attract their husbands and brothers from the fairs and the markets at an earlier hour, and with less frequent breaches of the rules of sobriety than were practised in the last generation. The country inn is no longer superior in neatness or comfort to the farmer's own house. This was otherwise formerly: we can remember in a town little more than a hundred miles from London, when the first carpet and the first umbrella were seen in it, and that not more than forty-five years ago. In a visit to the same place last summer we had means of ascertaining that few houses, even of the smaller tradesmen, were without the first comfort, and few individuals unprovided with the latter. In respectable dwellings, stone or brick floors were at that time general in the best houses in our country villages, and a large settle with a high back to protect the family from the wind, which penetrated through numberless cracks and crevices, was the most valuable piece of furniture in the common apartment. The kitchens were adorned with pewter plates for the family and with trenchers for the servants, and horn or tin cups were used for drinking. They were scantily supplied with spoons, knives, and forks; and in some of the farmers' houses, each guest was expected to bring his own knife, while a lock of wool was placed by the plate or trencher to serve as a substitute for a fork.

If we look at that respectable portion of the community in part occupying and in part letting their own estates, the country gentlemen,

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tlemen, we shall find them rising in their style of living and in all the comforts of refined life. By the effects of extended commerce and manufactures on the produce of their land their rents have been more than doubled within the last forty years; the liberal professions, presenting a more extensive field, afford greater facilities for placing out their well educated younger sons; whilst the great decline in the interest of money enables them to charge their estates, when they have occasion to do so, with suitable provision for the females of their family, on very easy terms.

Among the manufacturers we see some with princely yet well merited fortunes. But there is a numerous class inferior to them, who have amassed and are amassing considerable wealth and dispensing employment to thousands of their poorer neighbours. We have had occasion before to notice the increased population of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and several other places which have been the scenes of their operations. Forty years ago we were well acquainted with those places, with the fortunes which were then enjoyed, and the habits then prevailing. On recent visits, after a long absence, we felt a degree of astonishment which we cannot describe, at the changes which have taken place; we do not speak of the numerous individuals, whose fathers or grandfathers had almost within recollection, hardly emerged from the condition of day-labourers, and whom we now found the owners of magnificent establishments; for single instances prove little in a case like this; but we allude to the immense addition to the buildings, the improvement in their construction, and the general advance which their owners had made in all the liberal tastes and enjoyments of life.

As long as the primæval curse shall remain on the soil, labour must be the forerunner of enjoyment; the land must be tilled, and its fruits be brought forth by the sweat of the brow of those who subsist upon its produce. There must be, in the most polished as well as in the rudest state of society, some, whose lot it is to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; who must be destined to such employments as require strength and industry more than knowledge or talent. Knowledge and talent will, however, have a constant and necessary tendency to draw from the lowest classes of labourers some of their numbers, and raise them to a situation in comfort and ease superior to that of their fellows. As these advance in property and increase in enjoyments, others in turn occupy their station, and are a little elevated above their former equals; this process continues step by step, each rank advancing a little, and each constantly drawing recruits from those but a slight remove below them.

If we look, however, to our own country, we may mark, with a little

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little retrospection and with due reflection, the gradual improvement in the condition even of the lowest of all the classes of which society is composed. They have partaken of those advantages which have been universally diffused, in an eminent degree. Increased cleanliness and health, and consequent longevity, are among the most characteristic blessings of the present day—in all these the poor have shared perhaps in more than equal proportion with the rich. Their food also has gradually become of a better kind than formerly. Without entering on the question of the healthiness of different kinds of aliment, it is sufficient for our present purpose to show that the food now used by the labouring ranks in this country is of a more expensive description than could be afforded by them in past periods. Wheaten bread, which is now almost universally eaten, and even fastidiously selected by the labouring poor, has been gradually introduced with the gradual accumulation of the general wealth of the community.

At the commencement of the reign of the late king, barley, rye, or oaten bread, was the universal food of the working population. As late as the year 1764, the quantity of barley grown in England was equal to that of wheat; it is now not more than one-third of it, though the proportion converted into malt has been increased. Sir Frederick Morton Eden says, 'about fifty years ago so little was the quantity of wheat used in the county of Cumberland, that it was only a rich family that used a peck of wheat in the course of the year, and that was used at Christmas.' Not much more than fifty years ago barley-bread was the universal food in the western counties, not merely of the labourers in husbandry, but of those small farmers, then more numerous than at the present time, who tilled with their own hands the scanty portions of land which they occupied. In the counties nearer to the metropolis the use of wheaten bread spread at an earlier period, and as wealth circulated from that central point to the extremities, the use of it gradually extended. At present, we believe, even in Lancashire, in Wales, and in Cornwall, the use of wheat has become almost universal.

The increased consumption of butchers'-meat beyond the rate of increase of population is a clear indication that the use of it must have descended lower in the ranks of society than formerly. It appeared, in 1793, from the first report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to take into consideration the means of improving the waste lands of the kingdom, that the beasts sold in London were of the following average weights:

In 1732 . . cattle, 370 lbs. . . . sheep, 28 lbs.
In 1794 . . cattle, 462 lbs. . . . sheep, 35 lbs.

At the present period, as far as can be collected from various

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sources of information, the average weight of cattle is 800 lbs. and of sheep 80; but the increase in the numbers annually slaughtered has been greater than the increase of weight. It appears that, whilst the population, from 1764 to 1824, has been augmented at the rate of seventy-eight per cent. the consumption of butchers'-meat has increased at the rate of 115 per cent. Besides this, there has been a correspondent increase in the consumption of bacon and salt pork, butter and cheese. The introduction and the general diffusion of tea and sugar, those admirable substitutes for fermented liquors, have assisted in improving the condition of the poor by supplying a beverage, the adoption of which has tended to diminish intoxication, one of the chief causes of the indolence, wastefulness, and rudeness, which once disgraced the lower ranks of this country. Whilst the numbers of our people have increased, the consumption of these wholesome articles has increased still more. That of both has been more than doubled, in a space of time in which the number of consumers has only increased one half.

The dwellings of the poor have been no less improved than their food. It is not necessary to go back to those early periods of our history when the great mass of the people lived in wooden booths, without glass windows or chimnies. We speak of a period within our own recollection. It is not many years ago that the cottages in the country had no flooring but that which nature furnished, and that a composition of lime and sand was beheld by the neighbours of him who enjoyed such a refinement, as a luxury to be envied. The mud walls were rarely covered with any coat of plastering; there was no ceiling under the straw roof, and when any chamber was in the house, it was accessible only by a ladder or by a post with notches indented to receive the foot in climbing to it. The doors and windows did not close sufficiently to exclude the rain or the snow, and in wet weather puddles were scattered over the inequalities in the mud floor. It is now rare in the country to see a cottage without a brick or stone or wood floor, without stairs to its chambers, without plastering on the walls, and without doors and windows tolerably weather-tight. The furniture and domestic utensils are increased and improved with the houses. The paucity and the homeliness which appeared forty or fifty years ago present to the recollection of those who can remember the state of that day, a striking contrast with the comparative abundance and convenience which are now exhibited. Instead of straw beds, and a single rug for a covering, are substituted feather or flock beds, several blankets, sheets, and often a cotton quilt. Chairs and tables occupy the place of benches and joint stools. Wooden trenchers have given way to earthenware plates

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plates and dishes, and to the iron pot is now commonly added the gridiron, frying-pan, and saucepans. The enumeration of these articles may seem trifling—but let any one, who smiles at it, follow an English traveller through less advanced countries, he will find how true it is that these little things are great to little men.

The clothing of our poor has advanced with the progress of their other enjoyments. The linsey-woolsey garments which formerly served as a harbour for dirt, both to males and females, have been thrown aside, and their place occupied by others more flexible and oftener renewed. This may be the cause in part of the immense increase in the quantity of soap for which the duty is paid. Within the last forty years it has gradually increased from thirty-five to ninety-five million pounds.

The most important and, we may add, the most pleasing part of the duty imposed on us in this division of our extensive subject is to show—not that poverty does not exist—not that it is no evil—not that it is a condition to which neither sympathy nor aid is to be extended; but, that in this country the evil has been gradually diminishing, both in the number of the persons who are the objects of it and in the degree of privation to which they are subjected.

In Mr. Chalmers's Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, we find some facts and calculations which elucidate the relative numbers of the poor and the rest of the community in the reign of King William. It appears that the number of families, of all descriptions, from that of the king down to those of the gipsies and beggars, then a numerous class, was 1,949,586, and those of the labourers, out-servants, cottagers, and paupers, was 764,000, or somewhat more than one-half. According to an estimate of what would be the produce of a tax on windows in 1696, when the hearth-tax was to be abolished and one on windows substituted, it appears that of the houses calculated, but perhaps erroneously, at 1,300,000; those inhabited by persons receiving alms amounted to 330,000; those by persons not paying to church and poor to 380,000; and those by defaulters from distress or fraud to 40,000, leaving only 550,000 capable of paying the tax. By an account made up at the tax-office in 1708, the number of houses actually paying the tax was 508,516, whilst that of those inhabited by the poor and incapable of paying it, was estimated at 710,000. We do not place implicit confidence in these early estimates or statements, nor adduce them as precise data to be relied on. We give them merely to show what, in the apprehension of the best-informed persons at those periods, and according to the best calculations, was the proportion borne by those whom poverty rendered untaxable, to those who were capable of contributing to the public exigencies.

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There can be no doubt but that at each of those periods the numbers who escaped taxation were more than those who actually contributed; and that the same state of things continued to a later day, though, from the want of exact data, we find it impossible to trace the precise period at which it ceased. The houses charged to the window tax in 1801 were 924,164, and those not charged 651,759, thus showing the payers of the tax to be nearly as three to two of those beneath its reach. But it is not to be inferred that all houses with less than seven windows are occupied by those who have no other property than the labour of their hands. The contrary is notoriously the fact; and if of the persons living in houses of less than seven windows, one fourth should be found to be possessed of some property besides their labour, the proportion of the rich and intermediate classes to the absolute poor, would appear as two to one, a proportion that never existed in this country in any former age, and to which none of the other countries of Europe nearly approach.

The attention of scientific men at the present period is actively alive to the discovery of new powers, or new means for increasing the utility of those already known, and applying them to mechanical purposes, to lessen the expenditure of the strength of men and animals. Though many of the projects afloat may utterly fail, there is reason to hope that the spirit abroad may in its effects diminish yet farther the necessity for the more degrading and disgusting occupations of mankind, and thus continue gradually to elevate every class of the community. In this view, also, we cannot too highly applaud the general disposition now manifested for the education of the poor. Its tendency, especially under the direction of the National Institution, the most comprehensive plan of the whole, is to further the progress of society, by qualifying the poorest to rise in the scale, and by impressing upon their minds at an early period the importance of order, the taste for as well as the faculty of reading, and the value of the civil and religious institutions of their country.

Although we have not alluded, in this review of our progressive condition, to the opinions of our abstract politicians, we have not been unmindful of their theories, nor neglected to inquire what part of our present condition has been owing to the great discoveries in political science which they affirm to have been made. We cannot discover that those great reforms, which they have advocated and represented as indispensable pre-requisites, have had any share in guiding us to our national prosperity. Our monarch enjoys still the prerogatives of his high dignity, and retains all the power requisite to put the laws in force. The peerage still continues hereditary, and still executes judicial as well as legislative

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tive functions. The House of Commons has never been purified according to the new inventions, nor have any of the electors been deprived of their ancient franchises, except in two or three instances, where they notoriously abused them. The estates of the larger proprietors have not been divided; nor have the tithe-holders been made to relinquish the property which they possess by indisputable titles. Our courts of law are still regulated by those ancient, and as philosophers affirm, barbarous rules, which form the common law; and an unpaid body of magistrates continues to execute the subordinate duties of justices of the peace without the assistance of any system of codification, according to the new pattern, either compendious or expanded. Our universities are still devoted to the education of youth, their revenues are not seized, nor are the colleges converted into receptacles for invalided soldiers and sailors. The pulpits and the reading desks in our churches are filled by well educated and full grown men, and not yet appropriated to the biggest boys of the parish charity-schools under the direction of the churchwardens. Neither the creed nor the catechisms, which are said to be only means of teaching mendacity, have yet been banished from our numerous schools. Our distant possessions have not been abandoned—nor any part of the funds confiscated.

If the state to which we have arrived without the aid of the reformers be such as to satisfy the public that theirs was not the kind of reform which we needed, it may possibly induce the reformers themselves to agree to suspend the practical adoption of their schemes till a century or two more shall have given time for a further trial of the constitution under which we have proceeded so far in our auspicious course.

ART. VIII.—*Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland.* pp. 363.

POPULAR Tales recommend themselves to the antiquary by illustrating the origin or connection of different races of men; to the philosopher, as being usually the vehicle of some physical or moral truth, sometimes of some mystery; and to the general reader, as exhibiting specimens of national manners, and affording innocent and not irrational entertainment. On all these grounds, and more especially upon the two last, the little work which is under our review has claims upon our attention. It is indeed a good sample of Irish humour, which is not suffered to evaporate in the telling, though the compiler has cleansed it from what is gross in the process of filtration. This particular commendation we give, because we happen to be acquainted with

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a very filthy version of one of his *Legends*. The mode of telling these stories is indeed a happy exhibition of the species of style which has been judiciously adopted by the author. Never indelicate, it is easy, and yet is precise enough for its purposes—colloquial without being coarse, and pleasing from the coherence of its parts and the natural transition of its colours. Add to this a provinciality of idiom, which, without obscuring the meaning, seems to stamp a certain authenticity upon the narrative. It is like the peat-taste of whiskey, which vouches the Irish origin of the liquor, and is soon liked and appreciated for its own particular flavour. We think, in conclusion, that we pay this storier the highest possible compliment in expressing our belief that if Ariosto had written in prose and intermixt a little of his own Ferrarese dialect with his Italian, he would have told his humorous tales like the author of the *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*. This may be thought strong praise of the author's felicity of language; but, after having been long wearied and disgusted with silly caricatures of Irish diction in song and in farce, where the worst species of English vulgarity is passed off upon us as genuine Irish, by the mere help of some slang about *Pat and Shilelagh*, it is exceedingly pleasant to meet with something which we *can believe to be Irish*. We believe it to be so, as we often feel assured that a portrait is a likeness, although we are unacquainted with the person whom it was designed to represent. Such, in both cases, is the effect of individuality and consistence of features.

The species of style in which this work is written (which should rather be designated as *easy reading* than as *easy writing*) is often considered as a small qualification. If things, however, are valuable from their rarity, excellence of this kind is indeed valuable; the more so as the author must be guided rather by his own tact than by any fixed rules; must steer by the light of his own star rather than by the assistance of a compass.

Such are the merits of the pilot with whom we are about to embark. But illustration is always better than description, and we proceed to our proofs; the difficulty lies in selection. We will, however, begin with the Legend of Bottle-hill, though its length will compel us to make some breaches in it, and our analysis must take off much from the ease and spirit with which it is told.

"In the good days when the little people, most impudently called fairies, were more frequently seen than they are in these unbelieving times, a farmer, named Mick Purcell, rented a few acres of barren ground in the neighbourhood of the once celebrated preceptory of Mourne, situated about three miles from Mallow, and thirteen from "the

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"the beautiful city called Cork." Mick had a wife and family; they all did what they could, and that was but little, for the poor man had no child grown up big enough to help him in his work; and all the poor woman could do was to mind the children, and to milk the one cow, and to boil the potatoes, and carry the eggs to market to Mallow; but with all they could do, 'twas hard enough on them to pay the rent. Well, they did manage it for a good while; but at last came a bad year, and the little grain of oats was all spoiled, and the chickens died of the pip, and the pig got the measles—*she* was sold in Mallow and brought almost nothing; and poor Mick found that he had'nt enough to half pay his rent, and two gales were due.

'"Why, then, Molly," says he, "what'll we do?"

'"Wisha, then, mavourneene, what would you do but take the cow to the fair of Cork and sell her," says she; "and Monday is fair day, and so you must go to-morrow, that the poor beast may be rested *again* the fair."

'"And what'll we do when she's gone?" says Mick, sorrowfully.

'"Never a know I know, Mick; but sure God won't leave us without him, Mick; and you know how good he was to us when poor little Billy was sick, and we had nothing at all for him to take, that good doctor gentleman at Ballydahin come riding and asking for a drink of milk; and how he gave us two shillings; and how he sent the things and the bottles for the child, and gave me my breakfast when I went over to ask a question, so he did; and how he came to see Billy, and never left off his goodness till he was quite well."

'"Oh! you are always that way, Molly, and I believe you are right after all, so I won't be sorry for selling the cow; but I'll go to-morrow, and you must put a needle and thread through my coat, for you know 'tis ripped under the arm."

Accordingly, on the morrow, Mick departs with his cow;—

'Twas a fine day, and the sun shone brightly on the walls of the old abbey as he passed under them; he then crossed an extensive mountain tract, and after six long miles he came to the top of that hill—Bottle-hill 'tis called now, but that was not the name of it then, and just there a man overtook him. "Good morrow," says he. "Good Morrow, kindly," says Mick, looking at the stranger, who was a little man, you'd almost call him a dwarf, only he was'nt quite so little neither: he had a bit of an old, wrinkled, yellow face, for all the world like a dried cauliflower, only he had a sharp little nose, and red eyes, and white hair, and his lips were not red, but all his face was one colour, and his eyes never were quiet, but looking at every thing, and although they were red, they made Mick feel quite cold when he looked at them. In truth he did not much like the little man's company; and he couldn't see one bit of his legs nor his body, for though the day was warm, he was all wrapped up in a big great coat. Mick drove his cow something faster, but the little man kept up with him. Mick didn't know how he walked, for he was almost afraid to look at him, and to cross himself, for fear the old man would be angry. Yet he thought his fellow-traveller did not seem to walk like other men, nor to put one foot before the other, but to glide

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over the rough road, and rough enough it was, like a shadow, without noise and without effort. Mick's heart trembled within him, and he said a prayer to himself, wishing he hadn't come out that day, or that he was on Fair-hill, or that he hadn't the cow to mind, that he might run away from the bad thing—when, in the midst of his fears, he was again addressed by his companion.'

The stranger, finding that he is going to sell his cow, offers to become the purchaser, and to give an empty bottle, which he produces, in exchange; this proposition is of course received at first with scorn, but after some admirable dialogue Mick finally consents, and the little man leaves him with the following directions.

'"When you go home, never mind if your wife is angry, but be quiet yourself, and make her sweep the room clean, set the table out right, and spread a clean cloth over it; then put the bottle on the ground, saying these words: "Bottle, do your duty," and you will see the end of it."

Mick accordingly goes home, muttering prayers, and holding fast the bottle.

'"And what would I do if it broke," thought he. "Oh! but I'll take care of that." So he put it into his bosom, and went on anxious to prove his bottle, and doubting of the reception he should meet from his wife; balancing his anxieties with his expectation, his fears with his hopes, he reached home in the evening, and surprised his wife, sitting over the turf fire in the big chimney.

'"Oh! Mick, are you come back? Sure you were'nt at Cork all the way! What has happened to you? Where is the cow? Did you sell her? How much money did you get for her? What news have you? Tell us every thing about it."

'"Why, then, Molly, if you'll give me time, I'll tell you all about it. If you want to know where the cow is, 'tisn't Mick can tell you, for the never a know does he know where she is now."

'"Oh! then, you sold her; and where's the money?"

'"Arrah! stop awhile, Molly, and I'll tell you all about it."

'"But what bottle is that under your waistcoat?" said Molly, spying its neck sticking out.

'"Why, then, be easy now, can't you," says Mick, "till I tell it to you;" and putting the bottle on the table, "That's all I got for the cow."

'His poor wife was thunderstruck. "All you got! and what good is that, Mick? Oh! I never thought you were such a fool; and what'll we do for the rent, and what————"

'"Now, Molly," says Mick, "can't you hearken to reason? Didn't I tell you how the old man, or whatsoever he was, met me—no, he did not meet me neither, but he was there with me—on the big hill, and how he made me sell him him the cow, and told me the bottle was the only thing for me?"

'"Yes, indeed, the only thing for you, you fool!" said Molly, seizing the bottle to hurl it at her poor husband's head; but Mick caught it, and

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and quietly (for he minded the old man's advice) loosened his wife's grasp, and placed the bottle again in his bosom. Poor Molly sat down crying, while Mick told her his story, with many a crossing and blessing between him and harm. His wife could not help believing him, particularly as she had as much faith in fairies as she had in the priest, who indeed never discouraged her belief in the fairies; may be, he did'nt know she believed in them, and may be he believed them himself. She got up, however, without saying one word, and began to sweep the earthen floor with a bunch of heath; then she tidied up every thing, and put out the long table, and spread the clean cloth, for she had only one, upon it, and Mick, placing the bottle on the ground, looked at it and said, "Bottle, do your duty."

'"Look there! look there, mammy!" said his chubby eldest son, a boy about five years old—"look there! look there!" and he sprung to his mother's side, as two tiny little fellows rose like light from the bottle, and in an instant covered the table with dishes and plates of gold and silver, full of the finest victuals that ever were seen, and when all was done went into the bottle again. Mick and his wife looked at every thing with astonishment; they had never seen such plates and dishes before, and didn't think they could ever admire them enough, the very sight almost took away their appetites: but at length Molly said, "Come and sit down, Mick, and try and eat a bit: sure you ought to be hungry after such a good day's work."

'"Why, then, the man told no lie about the bottle."

'Mick sat down, after putting the children to the table, and they made a hearty meal, though they couldn't taste half the dishes.

'"Now," says Molly, "I wonder will those two good little gentlemen carry away these fine things again?" They waited, but no one came; so Molly put up the dishes and plates very carefully, saying, "Why, then, Mick, that was no lie sure enough: but you'll be a rich man yet, Mick Purcell."

'Mick and his wife and children went to their bed, not to sleep, but to settle about selling the fine things they did not want, and to take more land. Mick went to Cork and sold his plate, and bought a horse and cart, and began to show that he was making money; and they did all they could to keep the bottle a secret; but for all that, their landlord found it out, for he came to Mick one day and asked him where he got all his money—sure it was not by the farm; and he bothered him so much, that at last Mick told him of the bottle. His landlord offered him a deal of money for it, but Mick would not give it, till at last he offered to give him all his farm for ever: so Mick, who was very rich, thought he'd never want any more money, and gave him the bottle: but Mick was mistaken—he and his family spent money as if there was no end of it; and to make the story short, they became poorer and poorer, till at last they had nothing left but one cow; and Mick once more drove his cow before him to sell her at Cork fair, hoping to meet the old man and get another bottle. It was hardly daybreak when he left home, and he walked on at a good pace till he reached the big hill: the mists were sleeping in the valleys and curling like smoke wreaths upon

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upon the brown heath around him. The sun rose on his left, and just at his feet a lark sprang from its grassy couch and poured forth its joyous matin song, ascending into the clear blue sky,

"'Till its form like a speck in the airiness blending,
And thrilling with music, was melting in light."

'Mick crossed himself, listening as he advanced to the sweet song of the lark, but thinking, notwithstanding, all the time of the little old man; when, just as he reached the summit of the hill, and cast his eyes over the extensive prospect before and around him, he was startled and rejoiced by the same well-known voice: "Well, Mick Purcell, I told you, you would be a rich man."

'"Indeed, then, sure enough I was, that's no lie for you, sir. Good morning to you, but it is not rich I am now—but have you another bottle, for I want it now as much as I did long ago; so if you have it, sir, here is the cow for it."

'"And here is the bottle," said the old man, smiling; "you know what to do with it."

'"Oh! then, sure I do, as good right I have."

'"Well, farewell for ever, Mick Purcell: I told you, you would be a rich man."

'"And good bye to you, sir," said Mick, as he turned back; "and good luck to you, and good luck to the big hill—it wants a name—Bottle-hill.—Good bye, sir, good bye:" so Mick walked back as fast as he could, never looking after the white-faced little gentleman and the cow, so anxious was he to bring home the bottle.—Well, he arrived with it safely enough, and called out as soon as he saw Molly—"Oh! sure I've another bottle!"

'"Arrah! then, have you? why, then, you're a lucky man, Mick Purcell, that's what you are."

'In an instant she put every thing right; and Mick looking at his bottle, exultingly cried out, "Bottle, do your duty." In a twinkling, two great stout men with big cudgels issued from the bottle (I do not know how they got room in it), and belaboured poor Mick and his wife and all his family, till they lay on the floor, when in they went again. Mick, as soon as he recovered, got up and looked about him; he thought and thought, and at last he took up his wife and his children; and, leaving them to recover as well as they could, he took the bottle under his coat and went to his landlord, who had a great company: he got a servant to tell him he wanted to speak to him, and at last he came out to Mick.

'"Well, what do you want now?"

'"Nothing, sir, only I have another bottle."

'"Oh! ho! is it as good as the first?"

'"Yes, sir, and better; if you like, I will show it to you before all the ladies and gentlemen."

'"Come along, then." So saying, Mick was brought into the great hall, where he saw his old bottle standing high up on a shelf: "Ah! ha!" says he to himself, "may be I won't have you by and by."

'"Now," says his landlord, "show us your bottle." Mick set it on the floor, and uttered the words: in a moment the landlord was tumbled on

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on the floor; ladies and gentlemen, servants and all, were running, and roaring, and sprawling, and kicking, and shrieking. Wine cups and salvers were knocked about in every direction, until the landlord called out "Stop those two devils, Mick Purcell, or I'll have you hanged."

'"They never shall stop," said Mick, "till I get my own bottle that I see up there at top of that shelf."

'"Give it down to him, give it down to him, before we are all killed!" says the landlord.

'Mick put his bottle in his bosom: in jumped the two men into the new bottle, and he carried them home. I need not lengthen my story by telling how he got richer than ever, how his son married his landlord's only daughter, how he and his wife died when they were very old, and how some of the servants, fighting at their wake, broke the bottles; but still the hill has the name upon it; ay, and so 'twill be always Bottle-hill to the end of the world, and so it ought, for it is a strange story!'—pp. 85—102.

Every one will be struck by the general likeness this tale bears to that of the Bottle-Imp; and we may recognize also in it some traits of the Arabian Nights. In the first part, the slaves of the bottle play the part of the slave of the lamp in the story of Aladdin, one of the first acts of whose ministry, it will be recollected, is to cover a table with provisions. In the second, we see them exercising that odd system of rewards and punishments enacted by the supernatural dervises in another tale, who, as the case appeared to them to require it, turned themselves into aspers for the benefit of the invoker, or beat him within an inch of his life. Two such odd coincidences could hardly arise but out of one common cause, and we must ascribe the *Legend of the Bottle* to an oriental origin: to which, indeed, almost all stories must be referred. For, read one in *Athenæus*, or read one in *Joe Miller*, and afterwards turn to the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of Herbelot, *the Tales of a Parrot*, *Arabian Nights*, or *Persian Tales*, and, in one or other of these, will be found the parent of the plant, preserved in these two *horti sicci* of European anecdote and fable.

As well for the purpose of illustrating the nature of the tales and style of the narrator, as for that of proving the identity of fables in general, and therefore the necessity of attributing them to one common origin, we will extract parts of another, called the Legend of *Knockgrafton*; which, with the former, is to be considered as an average specimen of the collection.

'There was once a poor man who lived in the fertile glen of Aherlow, at the foot of the gloomy Galtee mountains, and he had a great hump on his back: he looked just as if his body had been rolled up and placed upon his shoulders; and his head was pressed down with the weight so much that his chin when he was sitting used to rest upon his knees for support

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support. The country people were rather shy of meeting him in any lonesome place, for though, poor creature, he was as harmless and as inoffensive as a new-born infant, yet his deformity was so great, that he scarcely appeared to be a human creature, and some ill-minded persons had set strange stories about him afloat. He was said to have a great knowledge of herbs and charms; but certain it was that he had a mighty skilful hand in plaiting straw and rushes into hats and baskets, which was the way he made his livelihood.'

This poor little fellow, who bore the nickname of Lusmore, from a sprig of fairy cap or lusmore which he always wore in his straw hat, was belated one evening, in returning from Cahir to Cappagh, by the old moat of Knockgrafton. As he sate down disconsolate enough—

'Presently there rose a wild strain of unearthly melody upon the ear of little Lusmore; he listened, and he thought that he had never heard such ravishing music before. It was like the sound of many voices, each mingling and blending with the other so strangely, that they seemed to be one, though all singing different strains, and the words of the song were these:

'*Da Luan, Da Mort, Da Luan, Da Mort, Da Luan, Da Mort,* when there would be a moment's pause, and then the round of melody went on again.*

'Lusmore listened attentively, scarcely drawing his breath lest he might lose the slightest note. He now plainly perceived that the singing was within the moat, and though at first it had charmed him so much, he began to get tired of hearing the same round sung over and over so often without any change; so availing himself of the pause when the *Da Luan, Da Mort,* had been sung three times, he took up the tune and raised it with the words *augus Da Cadine,* and then went on singing with the voices inside of the moat, *Da Luan, Da Mort,* finishing the melody, when the pause again came, with *augus Da Cadine.*

'The fairies within Knockgrafton, for the song was a fairy melody, when they heard this addition to their tune, were so much delighted, that with instant resolve it was determined to bring the mortal among them, whose musical skill so far exceeded theirs, and little Lusmore was conveyed into their company with the eddying speed of a whirlwind.

'Glorious to behold was the sight that burst upon him as he came

* The author, among other observations illustrative of this legend, adds the following explanatory note:—

'To render the words of the fairy song (signifying Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday) suitable to the English reader, they are given according to their sound in preference to the correct spelling, which would be "Dia Luain, Dia Mairt, agus Dia Ceadaoine."

'In Irish the word dia', dié, or de, is prefixed before the proper names of the week days, agreeably to the Latin, but contrary to the custom of the languages of modern Europe, in which the common name, day, is subjoined to the proper name of the week day: thus, as in the Latin, Dies Solis, Dies Lunæ, Dies Martis, so in the Irish, Dia Sul, Dia Luain, Dia Mairt: the ancient name of Sunday has in modern times been changed into Dia Domhna (pronounced Dona), according to the Christian Latin, most probably introduced by the clergy.'—p. 33.

down

down through the moat, twirling round and round and round with the lightness of a straw, to the sweetest music that kept time to his motion. The greatest honour was then paid him, for he was put up above all the musicians, and he had servants 'tending upon him, and every thing to his heart's content, and a hearty welcome to all; and in short he was made as much of as if he had been the first man in the land.

'Presently Lusmore saw a great consultation going forward among the fairies, and, notwithstanding all their civility, he felt very much frightened, until one stepping out from the rest came up to him and said,—

"Lusmore! Lusmore!
Doubt not, nor deplore,
For the hump which you bore
On your back is no more;
Look down on the floor,
And view it, Lusmore!"

'When these words were said, poor little Lusmore felt himself so light, and so happy, that he thought he could have bounded at one jump over the moon, like the cow in the history of the cat and the fiddle; and he saw, with inexpressible pleasure, his hump tumble down upon the ground from his shoulders. He then tried to lift up his head, and he did so with becoming caution, fearing that he might knock it against the ceiling of the grand hall, where he was; he looked round and round again with the greatest wonder and delight upon every thing, which appeared more and more beautiful; and overpowered at beholding such a resplendent scene, his head grew dizzy, and his eyesight became dim. At last he fell into a sound sleep, and when he awoke, he found that it was broad daylight, the sun shining brightly, and the birds singing sweetly; and that he was lying just at the foot of the moat of Knockgrafton, with the cows and sheep grazing peaceably round about him. The first thing Lusmore did, after saying his prayers, was to put his hand behind to feel for his hump, but no sign of one was there on his back, and he looked at himself with great pride, for he had now become a well-shaped dapper little fellow; and more than that found himself in a full suit of new clothes, which he concluded the fairies had made for him.'

Of course Lusmore's story circulates far and wide, and an old woman, 'out of Decie's country, in the county Waterford,' brings a peevish little hump-backed man, her son, all the way to the moat of Knockgrafton, in hopes of relieving him from his hump, and getting a new suit of clothes, as had befallen little Lusmore.

'Jack Madden, for that was the humpy man's name, had not been sitting there long when he heard the tune going on within the moat much sweeter than before; for the fairies were singing it the way Lusmore had settled their music for them, and the song was going on: *Da Luan, Da Mort, Da Luan, Da Mort, Da Luan, Da Mort, augus Da Cadine*, without ever stopping. Jack Madden, who was in a great hurry to

to get quit of his hump, never thought of waiting until the fairies had done, or watching for a fitting opportunity to raise the tune higher again than Lusmore had: so having heard them sing it over seven times without stopping, out he bawls, never minding the time, or the humour of the tune, or how he could bring his words in properly, *augus Dá Dardine, augus Da Hena,* thinking that if one day was good, two were better; and that if Lusmore had one new suit of clothes given him, he should have two.

'No sooner had the words passed his lips than he was taken up and whisked into the moat with prodigious force; and the fairies came crowding round about him with great anger, screeching, and screaming, and roaring out, "who spoiled our tune? who spoiled our tune?" and one stepped up to him above all the rest, and said—

"Jack Madden! Jack Madden!
Your words came so bad in
The tune we feel glad in;—
This castle you're had in,
That your life we may sadden:
Here's two humps for Jack Madden."

And twenty of the strongest fairies brought Lusmore's hump and put it down upon poor Jack's back, over his own, where it became fixed as firmly as if it was nailed on with twelvepenny nails, by the best carpenter that ever drove one. Out of their castle they then kicked him, and in the morning when Jack Madden's mother and her gossip came to look after their little man, they found him half dead, lying at the foot of the moat, with the other hump upon his back.'—pp. 23—32.

This story, the imitation of which by Parnell must be familiar to our readers, is to be found in so many countries that we can only account for its frequency by supposing it to have been dropt by the way by our eastern ancestors in their long over-land migrations. It is told in Spain very nearly as it is in Ireland. A hump-backed man hears some small voices singing '*Lunes y Martes y Miercoles tres,*' and completes their song by the addition of '*Jueves y Viernes y Sabado seis.*' The fairies, who were the songsters, are so pleased at this, that they immediately relieve him from his hump, and dismiss him with honour. A stupid fellow, afflicted with the same deformity, having got wind of this story, intrudes upon them, and offers a new addition to their song in '*Y Domingo siete.*' Indignant at the breach of rhythm, or at the mention of the Lord's day, which is a *tender subject* with fairies, they seize the intruder, and, according to received genie-practice, overwhelm him with a shower of blows, and send him off with his neighbour's hump, in addition to his own. Hence '*y domingo siete*' is a common Spanish comment upon any thing which is said or done *mal-à-propos.* There is a German and also an Italian version of this anecdote, with some variations, in which last there is one additional circumstance deserving notice. The fairies take

off

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off their favourite's hump with a saw of butter, *senza verun suo dolore*, without any pain to him; a mode of operation, which we earnestly recommend to the consideration of our *mortal* practitioners at Surgeon's Hall. In the same letter of Redi, which preserves the Italian version, is also another tale, which we cannot help citing, both because it appears to be the origin of one which we are apt to consider as of domestic production, and because it seems to prove the position, with which we set out, that such original narratives usually contain some *esoteric* doctrine; which, however, in many instances, will not bear carriage. A youth, like Whittington, sends a he, and she, cat, as a venture, in a merchantship; and these fall into the possession of a king whose dominion is overrun with rats. Accordingly, he rewards the owner with immense riches; and requites another, who, in the hope of receiving yet greater wealth, had remitted to him precious goods, with two kittens, the children of the Italian Whittington's cats. This fable, again, is of eastern origin. An Asiatic prince, if we recollect rightly, receives a present of a cabbage from one, and rewards the donor with money: he has a gift of money from another, and sends him an offset of the cabbage in return.

Our extracts have already been unreasonably long, and yet we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of adding one more to them. It shall be Daniel O'Rourke—a fine Dutch picture of nightmare, rivalling in its way the sublimer vision of Burns. Daniel had been to a feast at 'the master's,' on the return of the 'young master' from foreign parts; and thus he tells his story.

'Well, we had every thing of the best, and plenty of it; and we ate, and we drank, and we danced, and the young master by the same token danced with Peggy Barry, from the Bohereen—a lovely young couple they were, though they are both low enough now. To make a long story short, I got, as a body may say, the same thing as tipsy almost, for I can't remember ever at all, no ways, how it was that I left the place: only I did leave it, that's certain. Well, I thought, for all that, in myself, I'd just step to Molly Cronahan's, the fairy woman, to speak a word about the bracket heifer what was bewitched; and so as I was crossing the stepping-stones of the ford of Ballyashenogh, and was looking up at the stars and blessing myself—for why? it was Lady-day—I missed my foot, and souse I fell into the water. "Death alive!" thought I, "I'll be drowned now!" However, I began swimming, swimming, swimming away for the dear life, till at last I got ashore, somehow or other, but never the one of me can tell how, upon a *dissolute* island.

'I wandered and wandered about there, without knowing where I wandered, until at last I got into a big bog. The moon was shining as bright as day, or your fair lady's eyes, sir, (with your pardon for mentioning her,) and I looked east and west, and north and south, and every way, and nothing did I see but bog, bog, bog;—I could never find out how I got

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got into it; and my heart grew cold with fear, for sure and certain I was that it would be my *berrin* place. So I sat down upon a stone which, as good luck would have it, was close by me, and I began to scratch my head, and sing the *Ullagone*—when all of a sudden the moon grew black, and I looked up, and saw something for all the world as if it was moving down between me and it, and I could not tell what it was. Down it came with a pounce, and looked at me full in the face; and what was it but an eagle? as fine a one as ever flew from the kingdom of Kerry. So he looked at me in the face, and says he to me, "Daniel O'Rourke," says he, "how do you do?" "Very well, I thank you, sir," says I: "I hope you're well;" wondering out of my senses all the time how an eagle came to speak like a Christian. "What brings you here, Dan?" says he. "Nothing at all, sir," says I; "only I wish I was safe home again." "Is it out of the island you want to go, Dan?" says he. "'Tis, sir," says I: so I up and told him how I had taken a drop too much, and fell into the water; how I swam to the island; and how I got into the bog, and did not know my way out of it. "Dan," says he, after a minute's thought, "though it was very improper for you to get drunk on Lady-day, yet as you are a decent, sober man, who 'tends mass well, and never flings stones at me or mine, nor cries out after us in the fields—my life for yours," says he; "so get up on my back, and grip me well for fear you'd fall off, and I'll fly you out of the bog." "I am afraid," says I, "your honour's making game of me; for who ever heard of riding a horseback on an eagle before?" "'Pon the honour of a gentleman," says he, putting his right foot on his breast, "I am quite in earnest; and so now either take my offer or starve in the bog—besides, I see that your weight is sinking the stone."

'It was true enough as he said, for I found the stone every minute going from under me. I had no choice; so thinks I to myself, faint heart never won fair lady, and this is fair persuadance:—"I thank your honour," says I, "for the loan of your civility; and I'll take your kind offer." I therefore mounted upon the back of the eagle, and held him tight enough by the throat, and up he flew in the air like a lark. Little I knew the trick he was going to serve me. Up—up—up—God knows how far up he flew. "Why, then," said I to him—thinking he did not know the right road home—very civilly, because why?—I was in his power entirely;—"sir," says I, "please your honour's glory, and with humble submission to your better judgment, if you'd fly down a bit, you're now just over my cabin, and I could be put down there, and many thanks to your worship."

'"*Arrah*, Dan," said he, "do you think me a fool? Look down in the next field, and don't you see two men and a gun? By my word it would be no joke to be shot this way, to oblige a drunken blackguard that I picked up off of a *could* stone in a bog." "Bother you," said I to myself, but I did not speak out, for where was the use? Well, sir, up he kept, flying, flying, and I asking him every minute to fly down, and all to no use. "Where in the world are you going, sir?" says I to him. "Hold your tongue, Dan," says he: "mind your own business, and don't be interfering with the business of other people." "Faith, this is my

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my business, I think," says I. "Be quiet, Dan," says he: so I said no more.

'At last where should we come to, but to the moon itself. Now you can't see it from this, but there is, or there was in my time a reaping-hook sticking out of the side of the moon, this way (drawing the figure thus on the ground with the end of his stick).

'"Dan," said the eagle, "I'm tired with this long fly; I had no notion 'twas so far." "And my lord, sir," said I, "who in the world *axed* you to fly so far—was it I? did not I beg, and pray, and beseech you to stop half an hour ago?" "There's no use talking, Dan," said he; "I'm tired bad enough, so you must get off, and sit down on the moon until I rest myself." "Is it sit down on the moon?" said I; "is it upon that little round thing, then? why, then, sure I'd fall off in a minute, and be *kilt* and spilt, and smashed all to bits: you are a vile deceiver—so you are." "Not at all, Dan," said he: "you can catch fast hold of the reaping-hook that's sticking out of the side of the moon, and 'twill keep you up." "I won't, then," said I. "May be not," said he, quite quiet. "If you don't, my man, I shall just give you a shake, and one slap of my wing, and send you down to the ground, where every bone in your body will be smashed as small as a drop of dew on a cabbage-leaf in the morning." "Why, then, I'm in a fine way," said I to myself, "ever to have come along with the likes of you;" and so giving him a hearty curse in Irish, for fear he'd know what I said, I got off of his back with a heavy heart, took a hold of the reaping-hook, and sat down upon the moon, and a mighty cold seat it was, I can tell you that.

'When he had me there fairly landed, he turned about on me, and said, "Good morning to you, Daniel O'Rourke," said he: "I think I've nicked you fairly now. You robbed my nest last year," ('twas true enough for him, but how he found it out is hard to say,) "and in return you are freely welcome to cool your heels dangling upon the moon like a cockthrow."'

In spite of all his remonstrances the unconscionable eagle flies away with a loud laugh, leaving poor Dan 'roaring out for the bare grief,' in which condition he is speedily visited by the man in the moon. This gentleman's hospitality does not much mend his case.

'"Dan," said the man in the moon, taking a pinch of snuff when I was done, "you must not stay here." "Indeed, sir," says I, "'tis much against my will I'm here at all; but how am I to go back?" "That's your business," said he, "Dan: mine is to tell you that here you must not stay, so be off in less than no time." "I'm doing no harm," says I, "only holding on hard by the reaping-hook, lest I fall off." "That's what you must not do, Dan," says he. "Pray, sir, says I, "may I ask how many you are in family, that you would not give a poor traveller lodging? I'm sure 'tis not so often you're troubled with strangers coming to see you, for 'tis a long way." "I'm by myself, Dan," says he; "but you'd better let go the reaping-hook."

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"Faith, and with your leave," says I, "I'll not let go the grip." "You had better, Dan," says he again. "Why, then, my little fellow," says I, taking the whole weight of him with my eye from head to foot, "there are two words to that bargain; and I'll not budge, but you may if you like." "We'll see how that is to be," says he; and back he went, giving the door such a great bang after him (for it was plain he was huffed), that I thought the moon and all would fall down with it.

'"Well, I was preparing myself to try strength with him, when back again he comes, with the kitchen cleaver in his hand, and without saying a word, he gave two bangs to the handle of the reaping-hook that was keeping me up, and *whap!* it came in two." "Good morning to you, Dan," says the spiteful little old blackguard, when he saw me cleanly falling down with a bit of the handle in my hand: "I thank you for your visit, and fair weather after you, Daniel." I had not time to make any answer to him, for I was tumbling over and over, and rolling at the rate of a fox-hunt. "God help me," says I, "but this is a pretty pickle for a decent man to be seen in at this time of night: I am now sold fairly." The word was not out of my mouth, when whiz! what should fly by close to my ear but a flock of wild geese; and the *ould* gander, who was their general, turning about his head, cried out to me, "Is that you, Dan?" I was not a bit daunted now at what he said, for I was by this time used to all kinds of *bedevilment*, and, besides, I knew him of *ould*. "Good morrow to you," says he, "Daniel O'Rourke: how are you in health this morning?" "Very well, sir," says I, "I thank you kindly," drawing my breath, for I was mightily in want of some. "I hope your honour's the same." "I think 'tis falling you are, Daniel," says he. "You may say that, sir," says I. "And where are you going all the way so fast?" said the gander. So I told him how I had taken the drop, and how I came on the island, and how I lost my way in the bog, and how the thief of an eagle flew me up to the moon, and how the man in the moon turned me out. "Dan," said he, "I'll save you: put out your hand and catch me by the leg, and I'll fly you home." "Sweet is your hand in a pitcher of honey, my jewel," says I, though all the time I thought in myself that I don't much trust you; but there was no help, so I caught the gander by the leg, and away I and the other geese flew after him as fast as hops.'

The 'ould gander's' leg serves poor Dan's turn hardly better than the eagle's wing; and the trip ends with his being dropped 'plump into the very bottom of the salt sea! Down to the very bottom I went, and I gave myself up then for ever, when a whale walked up to me, scratching himself after his night's sleep, and looked me full in the face, and never the word did he say, but lifting up his tail, he splashed me all over again with the cold salt water, till there wasn't a dry stitch upon my whole carcass; and I heard somebody saying—'twas a voice I knew too—"Get up, you drunken brute, off of that:" and with that I woke up, and there was Judy with a tub full of water, which she was splashing all over me;—for, rest her soul! though she was a good wife, she never could bear to see me in drink, and had a bitter hand of her own.'

Our

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Our readers will perceive that we are much pleased with this little work; we confess that, like the *miser*, 'we must touch something real,' for real that may be called

——————— 'which daring to depart
From sober truth, is still to nature true'—

and we prefer one of the homeliest of these stories, exhibiting something of nature and truth, to all the mist and moonshine which glimmer through the rhapsodies of Ossian. Some one, it is to be hoped, with equal qualifications, will now give us a collection of Scottish Highland Tales. At the risk of being twitted with the evil name of story-tellers, we will give one as a specimen of what the collection might be. It is the counterpart of Homer's Ουτις, and will tend to establish our position of the universal identity of fable. A Highland miller was much vexed by his mill being set at work nightly, when there was nothing to grind, to the sore damage of the machinery. One of his men volunteered sitting up to watch for the delinquent; but, having made himself a good turf fire, at last fell asleep. He awoke in the middle of the night, and found a sort of lubber fiend, seated opposite to him, hairy like him of L' Allegro, and boldly demanded his name. The demon said he was called 'Urisk,' (Gaëlic for a goblin), and, in return, asked the name of his interrogator, who answered 'Myself.' The fiend, being satisfied as to this particular, fell asleep again, when the watcher tossed a pan-full of hot ashes into his hairy lap, and the goblin was instantly in flames. He ran, screaming with agony, to the door, and was answered by the yells of a host of mountain-spirits.—'What has befallen thee?' exclaimed his brother goblins.—'He has set me on fire.'—'Who?' demand the fiends.—'Myself,' cries Urisk.—'Then you may put it out yourself,' reply the spirits.

ART. IX.—*The Star in the East; with other Poems.* By Josiah Conder. London. Taylor and Hessey. 1824. 12mo. pp. 195.

THERE are many circumstances about this little volume, which tend powerfully to disarm criticism. In the first place, it is, for the most part, of a *sacred* character: taken up with those subjects, which least of all admit, with propriety, either in the author or critic, the exercise of intellectual subtlety. For the *practical* tendency, indeed, of such compositions, both are most deeply responsible; the author who publishes, and the critic who undertakes to recommend or to censure them. But if they appear to be written with any degree of sincerity and earnestness, we naturally shrink from treating them merely as literary efforts. To interupt the current of a reader's sympathy in such a case, by

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critical objections, is not merely to deprive him of a little harmless pleasure, it is to disturb him almost in a devotional exercise. The most considerate reviewer, therefore, of a volume of sacred poetry, will think it a subject on which it is easier to say too much than too little.

In the present instance, this consideration is enforced by the unpretending tone of the volume, which bears internal evidence, for the most part, of not having been written to meet the eye of the world. It is in vain to say, that this claim on the critic's favour is nullified by publication. The author may give it up, and yet the work may retain it. We may still feel that we have no right to judge severely of what was not, at first, intended to come before our judgment at all. This of course applies only to those compositions, which indicate, by something within themselves, this freedom from the pretension of authorship. And such are most of those, to which we are now bespeaking our readers' attention.

Most of them, we say, because the first poem in the volume, 'The Star in the East,' is of a more ambitious and less pleasing character. Although in blank verse, it is, in fact, a lyrical effusion; an ode on the rapid progress and final triumph of the Gospel. It looks like the composition of a young man: harsh and turgid in parts, but interspersed with some rather beautiful touches. The opening lines are a fair specimen.

'O to have heard th' unearthly symphonies,
Which o'er the starlight peace of Syrian skies
Came floating like a dream, that blessed night
When angel songs were heard by sinful men,
Hymning Messiah's advent! O to have watch'd
The night with those poor shepherds, whom, when first
The glory of the Lord shed sudden day—
Day without dawn, starting from midnight, day
Brighter than morning—on those lonely hills
Strange fear surpris'd—fear lost in wondering joy,
When from th' angelic multitude swell'd forth
The many voiced consonance of praise:—
Glory in th' highest to God, and upon earth
Peace, towards men good will. But once before,
In such glad strains of joyous fellowship,
The silent earth was greeted by the heavens,
When at its first foundation they looked down
From their bright orbs, those heavenly ministries,
Hailing the new-born world with bursts of joy.'

Notwithstanding beauties scattered here and there, there is an effort and constrained stateliness in the poem, very different from the rapidity and simplicity of many of the shorter lyrics, which follow under the titles of Sacred and Domestic Poems. Such, for instance, as the Poor Man's Hymn.

'As

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'As much have I of worldly good
As e'er my master had:
I diet on as dainty food,
And am as richly clad,
Tho' plain my garb, though scant my board,
As Mary's Son and Nature's Lord.

'The manger was his infant bed,
His home, the mountain-cave,
He had not where to lay his head,
He borrow'd even his grave.
Earth yielded him no resting spot,—
Her Maker, but she knew him not.

'As much the world's good will I bear,
Its favours and applause,
As He, whose blessed name I bear,—
Hated without a cause,
Despis'd, rejected, mock'd by pride,
Betray'd, forsaken, crucified.

'Why should I court my Master's foe?
Why should I fear its frown?
Why should I seek for rest below,
Or sigh for brief renown?
A pilgrim to a better land,
An heir of joys at GOD'S right hand.'

Or the following sweet lines on Home, which occur among the Domestic poems.

'That is not home, where day by day
I wear the busy hours away.
That is not home, where lonely night
Prepares me for the toils of light—
'Tis hope, and joy, and memory, give
A home in which the heart can live—
These walls no lingering hopes endear,
No fond remembrance chains me here.
Cheerless I heave the lonely sigh—
Eliza, canst thou tell me why?
'Tis where thou art is home to me,
And home without thee cannot be.

'There are who strangely love to roam,
And find in wildest haunts their home;
And some in halls of lordly state,
Who yet are homeless, desolate.
*The sailor's home is on the main,
The warrior's, on the tented plain,

* We have taken the liberty of slightly altering this couplet, in order to avoid a grammatical incorrectness in the first line of it.
'The warrior's home is tented plain.'—*Rev.*

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The maiden's, in her bower of rest,
The infant's, on his mother's breast—
But where thou art, is home to me,
And home without thee cannot be.

'There is no home in halls of pride,
They are too high, and cold, and wide.
No home is by the wanderer found:
'Tis not in place: it hath no bound.
It is a circling atmosphere
Investing all the heart holds dear;—
A law of strange attractive force,
That holds the feelings in their course;

'It is a presence undefin'd,
O'er-shadowing the conscious mind,
Where love and duty sweetly blend
To consecrate the name of friend;—
Where'er thou art, is home to me,
And home without thee cannot be.

'My love, forgive the anxious sigh—
I hear the moments rushing by,
And think that life is fleeting fast,
That youth with us will soon be past.
Oh! when will time, consenting, give
The home in which my heart can live?
There shall the past and future meet,
And o'er our couch, in union sweet,
Extend their cherub wings, and shower
Bright influence on the present hour.
Oh! when shall Israel's mystic guide,
The pillar'd cloud, our steps decide,
Then, resting, spread its guardian shade,
To bless the home which love hath made?
Daily, my love, shall thence arise
Our hearts' united sacrifice;
And home indeed a home will be,
Thus consecrate and shar'd with thee.'

We will add one more specimen of the same kind, which forms a natural and pleasing appendix to the preceding lines.

'Louise! you wept, that morn of gladness
Which made your Brother blest;
And tears of half-reproachful sadness
Fell on the Bridegroom's vest:
Yet, pearly tears were those, to gem
A Sister's bridal diadem.

'No words could half so well have spoken,
What thus was deeply shewn
By Nature's simplest, dearest token,
How much was then my own;

Endearing

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Endearing her for whom they fell,
And Thee, for having loved so well.

'But now no more—nor let a Brother,
Louise, regretful see,
That still 'tis sorrow to another,
That he should happy be.
Those were, I trust, the only tears
That day shall cost through coming years.

'Smile with us. Happy and light-hearted,
We three the time will while.
And when sometimes a season parted,
Still think of us, and smile.
But come to us in gloomy weather;
We'll weep, when we must weep, together.'

pp. 128—130.

Now, what is the reason of the great difference between these extracts and that from the Star in the East? a difference which the earlier date of the latter, so far from accounting for, only makes the more extraordinary. In some instances, the interval of time is very short, but at all events more effort and turgidness might have been expected in the earlier poems, more simplicity and care and a more subdued tone in the later. We suspect a reason, which both poets and poetical readers are too apt to leave out of sight. There is a want of *Truth* in the Star in the East —not that the author is otherwise than quite in earnest—but his earnestness seems rather an artificial glow, to which he has been worked up by reading and conversation of a particular cast, than the overflowing warmth of his own natural feelings, kindled by circumstances in which he was himself placed. In a word, when he writes of the success of the Bible Society, and the supposed amelioration of the world in consequence, he writes from report and fancy only: but when he speaks of a happy home, of kindly affections, of the comforts which piety can administer in disappointment and sorrow; either we are greatly mistaken, or he speaks from real and present experience. The poetical result is what the reader has seen:

—'mens onus reponit, et peregrino
Labore fessi venimus Larem ad nostrum.'—

We turn gladly from our fairy voyage round the world to refresh ourselves with a picture, which we feel to be drawn from the life, of a happy and innocent fireside. Nor is it, in the slightest degree, derogatory to an author's talent, to say, that he has failed, comparatively, on that subject, of which he must have known comparatively little.

Let us here pause a moment to explain what is meant when

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we speak of such prospects as are above alluded to, being shadowy and unreal in respect of what is matter of experience. It is not that we doubt the tenor of the Scripture, regarding the final conversion of the whole world, or that we close our eyes to the wonderful arrangements, if the expression may be used, which divine providence seems every where making, with a view to that great consummation. One circumstance, in particular, arrests our attention, as pervading the whole of modern history, but gradually standing out in a stronger light as the view draws nearer our own times: we mean the rapid increase of colonization, *from Christian nations only*. So that the larger half of the globe, and what in the nature of things will soon become the more populous, is already, in profession, Christian. The event, therefore, is unquestionable: but experience, we fear, will hardly warrant the exulting anticipations, which our author, in common with many of whose sincerity there is no reason to doubt, has raised upon it. It is but too conceivable, that the whole world may become nominally Christian, yet the face of things may be very little changed for the better. And any view of the progress of the gospel, whether in verse or in prose, which leaves out this possibility, is so far wanting in truth, and in that depth of thought, which is as necessary to the higher kinds of poetical beauty, as to philosophy or theology itself.

This, however, is too solemn and comprehensive a subject to be lightly or hastily spoken of. It is enough to have glanced at it, as accounting, in some measure, for the general failure of modern poets in their attempts to describe the predicted triumph of the gospel in the latter days.

To return to the sacred and domestic poems; thus advantageously distinguished from that which gives name to the volume. Affection, whether heavenly or earthly, is the simplest idea that can be; and in the graceful and harmonious expression of it lies the principal beauty of these poems. In the descriptive parts, and in the developement of abstract sentiment, there is more of effort, and occasionally something very like affectation: approaching, in one instance, (the Nightingale,) far nearer than we could wish, to the most vicious of all styles, the style of Mr. Leigh Hunt and his miserable followers.

Now, these are just the sort of merit and the sort of defect, which one might naturally expect to find united: the very simplicity of attachment, which qualifies the mind for sacred or domestic poetry, making its movements awkward and constrained, when scenes are to be described, or thoughts unravelled, of more complication and less immediate interest. This is the rather to be observed, as many other sacred poets have become less generally pleasing

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pleasing and useful, than they otherwise would have been, from this very circumstance. The simple and touching devoutness of many of Bishop Kenn's lyrical effusions has been unregarded, because of the ungraceful contrivances, and heavy movement of his narrative. The same may be said, in our own times, of some parts of Montgomery's writings. His bursts of sacred poetry, compared with his Greenland, remind us of a person singing enchantingly by ear, but becoming languid and powerless the moment he sits down to a note-book.

Such writers, it is obvious, do not sufficiently trust to the command which the simple expression of their feelings would obtain over their readers. They think it must be relieved with something of more variety and imagery, to which they work themselves up with laborious, and therefore necessarily unsuccessful efforts. The model for correcting their error is to be found in the inspired volume. We can, in general, be but incompetent judges of this, because we have been used to it from our boyhood. But let us suppose a person, whose ideas of poetry were entirely gathered from modern compositions, taking up the Psalms for the first time. Among many other remarkable differences, he would surely be impressed with the sacred writer's total carelessness about originality, and what is technically called *effect*. He would say, 'This is something better than merely attractive poetry; it is absolute and divine truth.' The same remark ought to be suggested by all sacred hymns; and it is, indeed, greatly to be lamented, that such writers as we have just mentioned should have ever lost sight of it—should have had so little confidence in the power of simplicity, and have condescended so largely to the laborious refinements of the profane muse.

To put the same truth in a light somewhat different; it is required, we apprehend, in all poets, but particularly in sacred poets, that they should seem to write with a view of unburthening their minds, and not for the sake of writing; for love of the subject, not of the employment. The distinction is very striking in descriptive poetry. Compare the landscapes of Cowper with those of Burns. There is, if we mistake not, the same sort of difference between them, as in the conversation of two persons on scenery, the one originally an enthusiast in his love of the works of nature, the other driven, by disappointment or weariness, to solace himself with them as he might. It is a contrast which every one must have observed, when such topics come under discussion in society; and those who think it worth while, may find abundant illustration of it in the writings of this unfortunate but illustrious pair. The one all overflowing with the love of nature, and indicating, at every turn, that whatever his lot in life, he could not

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not have been happy without her. The other visibly and wisely soothing himself, but not without effort, by attending to rural objects, in default of some more congenial happiness, of which he had almost come to despair. The latter, in consequence, laboriously sketching every object that came in his way: the other, in one or two rapid lines, which operate, as it were, like a magician's spell, presenting to the fancy just that picture, which was wanted to put the reader's mind in unison with the writer's. We would quote, as an instance, the description of Evening in the Fourth Book of the Task:—

'Come, Ev'ning, once again, season of peace;
Return, sweet Ev'ning, and continue long!
Methinks I see thee in the streaking west
With matron-step slow-moving, while the night
Treads on thy sweeping train; one hand employ'd
In letting fall the curtain of repose
On bird and beast, the other charg'd for man
With sweet oblivion of the cares of day:
Not sumptuously adorn'd, nor needing aid,
Like homely featur'd night, of clust'ring gems;
A star or two, just twinkling on thy brow,
Suffices thee; save that the moon is thine
No less than her's, not worn indeed on high
With ostentatious pageantry, but set
With modest grandeur in thy purple zone,
Resplendent less, but of an ampler round.
Come then, and thou shalt find thy vot'ry calm,
Or make me so. Composure is thy gift.'

And we would set over against it that purely pastoral chant—

'Now rosy May comes in wi' flowers
To deck her gay, green spreading bowers;
And now comes in my happy hours,
To wander wi' my Davie.
Meet me on the warlock knowe
Dainty Davie, dainty Davie,
There I'll spend the day wi' you
My ain dear dainty Davie.

'The crystal waters round us fa,'
The merry birds are lovers a',
The scented breezes round us blaw,
A wandering wi' my Davie.
Meet me, &c.

'When purple morning starts the hare,
To steal upon her early fare,
Then thro' the dews I will repair,
To meet my faithfu' Davie.
Meet me, &c.

'When

'When day, expiring in the west,
The curtain draws o' nature's rest,
I flee to his arms I loe best,
And that's my ain dear Davie.
Meet me, &c.'

There is surely no need to explain how this instinctive attachment to his subject is especially requisite in the sacred poet. If even the description of material objects is found to languish without it, much more will it be looked for when the best and highest of all affections is to be expressed and communicated to others. The nobler and worthier the object, the greater our disappointment to find it approached with any thing like languor or constraint.

We must just mention one more quality, which may seem, upon consideration, essential to perfection in this kind: viz.—that the feelings the writer expresses should appear to be specimens of his general tone of thought, not sudden bursts and mere flashes of goodness. Wordsworth's beautiful description of the Stock-dove might not unaptly be applied to him.

'He should sing "of love with silence blending,
Slow to begin, yet never ending,
Of serious faith and inward glee."'

Some may, perhaps, object to this, as a dull and languid strain of sentiment. But before we yield to their censures we would inquire of them what style they consider, themselves, as most appropriate to similar subjects in a kindred art. If grave, simple, sustained melodies—if tones of deep but subdued emotion are what our minds naturally suggest to us upon the mention of sacred *music*—why should there not be something analogous, a kind of plain chant, in sacred *poetry* also? fervent, yet sober; aweful, but engaging; neither wild and passionate, nor light and airy; but such as we may with submission presume to be the most acceptable offering in its kind, as being indeed the truest expression of the best state of the affections. To many, perhaps to most, men, a tone of more violent emotion may sound at first more attractive. But before we *indulge* such a preference, we should do well to consider, whether it is quite agreeable to that spirit, which alone can make us worthy readers of sacred poetry. 'Ἔνθεον ἡ ποιήσις,' it is true: there must be rapture and inspiration, but these will naturally differ in their character as the powers do from whom they proceed. The worshippers of Baal may be rude and frantic in their cries and gestures; but the true Prophet, speaking to or of the true GOD, is all dignity and calmness.

If then, in addition to the ordinary difficulties of poetry, all these things are essential to the success of the Christian lyrist—if what he sets before us must be true in substance, and in manner marked

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marked by a noble simplicity and confidence in that truth, by a sincere attachment to it, and entire familiarity with it—then we need not wonder that so few should have become eminent in this branch of their art, nor need we have recourse to the disheartening and unsatisfactory solutions which are sometimes given of that circumstance.

'Contemplative piety,' says Dr. Johnson, 'or the intercourse between God and the human soul, cannot be poetical. Man, admitted to implore the mercy of his Creator, and plead the merits of his Redeemer, is already in a higher state than poetry can confer.'*

The sentiment is not uncommon among serious, but somewhat fearful, believers; and though we believe it erroneous, we desire to treat it not only with tenderness, but with reverence. They start at the very mention of sacred poetry, as though poetry were in its essence a profane amusement. It is, unquestionably, by far the safer extreme to be too much afraid of venturing with the imagination upon sacred ground. Yet, if it be an error, and a practical error, it may be worth while cautiously to examine the grounds of it. In the generality, perhaps, it is not so much a deliberate opinion, as a prejudice against the use of the art, arising out of its abuse. But the great writer just referred to has endeavoured to establish it by direct reasoning. He argues the point, first, from the nature of poetry, and afterwards from that of devotion.

'The essence of poetry is invention; such invention as, by producing something unexpected, surprises and delights. The topics of devotion are few.'

It is to be hoped that many men's experience will refute the latter part of this statement. How can the topics of devotion be few, when we are taught to make every part of life, every scene in nature, an occasion—in other words, a topic—of devotion? It might as well be said that connubial love is an unfit subject for poetry, as being incapable of novelty, because, after all, it is only ringing the changes upon one simple affection, which every one understands. The novelty there consists, not in the original topic, but in continually bringing ordinary things, by happy strokes of natural ingenuity, into new associations with the ruling passion.

'There's not a bonnie flower that springs
By fountain, shaw, or green;
There's not a bonnie bird that sings
But minds me of my Jean.'

Why need we fear to extend this most beautiful and natural sentiment to 'the intercourse between the human soul and its

* Life of Waller.

Maker'!

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Maker'! possessing, as we do, the very highest warrant for the analogy which subsists between conjugal and divine love.

Novelty, therefore, sufficient for all the purposes of poetry, we may have on sacred subjects. Let us pass to the next objection.

'Poetry pleases by exhibiting an idea more grateful to the mind than things themselves afford. This effect proceeds from the display of those parts of nature which attract, and the concealment of those which repel, the imagination: but religion must be shown as it is; suppression and addition equally corrupt it; and, such as it is, it is known already.'

A fallacy may be apprehended in both parts of this statement. There are, surely, real landscapes which delight the mind as sincerely and intensely as the most perfect description could; and there are family groups which give a more exquisite sensation of domestic happiness than any thing in Milton, or even Shakspeare. It is partly by association with these, the treasures of the memory, and not altogether by mere excitement of the imagination, that Poetry does her work. By the same rule sacred pictures and sacred songs cannot fail to gratify the mind which is at all exercised in devotion: recalling, as they will, whatever of highest perfection in that way she can remember in herself, or has learned of others.

Then again, it is not the religious doctrine itself, so much as the effect of it upon the human mind and heart, which the sacred poet has to describe. What is said of suppression and addition may be true enough with regard to the former, but is evidently incorrect when applied to the latter: it being an acknowledged difficulty in all devotional writings, and not in devotional verse only, to keep clear of the extremes of languor on the one hand, and debasing rapture on the other. This requires a delicacy in the perception and enunciation of truth, of which the most earnest believer may be altogether destitute. And since, probably, no man's condition, in regard to eternal things, is exactly like that of any other man, and yet it is the business of the sacred poet to sympathise with all, his store of subjects is clearly inexhaustible, and his powers of discrimination—in other words, of suppression and addition—are kept in continual exercise.

Nor is he, by any means, so straitly limited in the other and more difficult branch of his art, the exhibition of religious doctrine itself, as is supposed in the following statement:—

'Whatever is great, desirable, or tremendous, is comprised in the name of the Supreme Being. Omnipotence cannot be exalted; infinity cannot be amplified; perfection cannot be improved.'

True: all perfection is implied in the name of GOD; and so all the beauties and luxuries of spring are comprised in that one word. But is it not the very office of poetry to develope and display

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play the particulars of such complex ideas? in such a way, for example, as the idea of GOD's omnipresence is developed in the 139th Psalm? and thus detaining the mind for a while, to force or help her to think steadily on truths which she would hurry unprofitably over, how strictly soever they may be implied in the language which she uses. It is really surprizing that this great and acute critic did not perceive that the objection applies as strongly against any kind of composition of which the Divine Nature is the subject, as against devotional poems.

We forbear to press the consideration, that even if the objection were allowed in respect of natural religion, it would not hold against the devotional compositions of a Christian; the object of whose worship has condescended also to become the object of description, affection and sympathy, in the literal sense of these words. But this is, perhaps, too solemn and awful an argument for this place; and therefore we pass on to the concluding statement of the passage under consideration, in which the writer turns his view downwards, and argues against sacred poetry from the nature of man, as he had before from the nature of GOD.

'The employments of pious meditation are faith, thanksgiving, repentance and supplication. Faith, invariably uniform, cannot be invested by Fancy with decorations. Thanksgiving, the most joyful of all holy effusions, yet addressed to a Being without passions, is confined to a few modes, and is to be felt rather than expressed.'

What we have said of the variation of the devout affections, as they exist in various persons, is sufficient, we apprehend, to answer this.' But the rest of the paragraph requires some additional reflection.

'Repentance, trembling in the presence of the Judge, is not at leisure for cadences and epithets.'

This is rather invidiously put, and looks as if the author had not entire confidence in the truth of what he was saying. Indeed, it may very well be questioned; since many of the more refined passions, it is certain, naturally express themselves in poetical language. But repentance is not merely a passion, nor is its only office to tremble in the presence of the Judge. So far from it, that one great business of sacred poetry, as of sacred music, is to quiet and sober the feelings of the penitent—to make his compunction as much of 'a reasonable service' as possible.

To proceed:

'Supplication of man to man may diffuse itself through many topics of persuasion: but supplication to God can only cry for mercy.'

Certainly, this would be true, if the abstract nature of the Deity were alone considered. But if we turn to the sacred volume, which

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which corrects so many of our erring anticipations, we there find that, whether in condescension to our infirmities, or for other wise purposes, we are furnished with inspired precedents for addressing ourselves to God in all the various tones, and by all the various topics, which we should use to a good and wise man standing in the highest and nearest relation to us. This is so palpably the case throughout the scriptures, that it is quite surprizing how a person of so much serious thought as Dr. Johnson could have failed to recollect it when arguing on the subject of prayer. In fact, there is a simple test, by which, perhaps, the whole of his reasoning on Sacred Poetry might be fairly and decisively tried. Let the reader, as he goes over it, bear in mind the Psalms of David, and consider whether every one of his statements and arguments is not there practically refuted.

It is not, then, because sacred subjects are peculiarly unapt for poetry, that so few sacred poets are popular. We have already glanced at some of the causes to which we attribute it—we ought to add another, which strikes us as important. Let us consider how the case stands with regard to books of devotion in *prose*.

We may own it reluctantly, but must it not be owned? that if two new publications meet the eye at once, of which no more is known, than that the one is what is familiarly called *a good book*, the other a work of mere literature, nine readers out of ten will take up the second rather than the first? If this be allowed, whatever accounts for it will contribute to account also for the comparative failure of devotional poetry. For this sort of coldness and languor in the reader must act upon the author in more ways than one. The large class, who write for money or applause, will of course be carried, by the tide of popularity, towards some other subject. Men of more sincere minds, either from true or false delicacy, will have little heart to expose their retired thoughts to the risk of mockery or neglect; and if they do venture, will be checked every moment, like an eager but bashful musician before a strange audience, not knowing how far the reader's feelings will harmonize with their own. This leaves the field open, in a great measure, to harder or more enthusiastic spirits; who offending continually, in their several ways, against delicacy, the one by wildness, the other by coarseness, aggravate the evil which they wished to cure; till the sacred subject itself comes at last to bear the blame, due to the indifference of the reader and the indiscretion of the writer.

Such, we apprehend, would be a probable account of the condition of sacred poetry, in a country where religion was coldly acknowledged, and literature earnestly pursued. How far the description

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description may apply to England and English literature, in their various changes since the Reformation—how far it may hold true of our own times—is an inquiry which would lead us too far at present; but it is surely worth considering. It goes deeper than any question of mere literary curiosity. It is a sort of test of the genuineness of those pretensions, which many of us are, perhaps, too forward to advance, to a higher state of morality and piety, as well as knowledge and refinement, than has been known elsewhere or in other times.

Those who, in spite of such difficulties, desire in earnest to do good by the poetical talent which they may happen to possess, have only, as it should seem, the following alternative. Either they must veil, as it were, the sacredness of the subject—not necessarily by allegory, for it may be done in a thousand other ways—and so deceive the world of taste into devotional reading—

'Succhi amari intanto ei beve,
E dall' inganno sua vita riceve—'

or else, directly avowing that their subject as well as purpose is devotion, they must be content with a smaller number of readers; a disadvantage, however, compensated by the fairer chance of doing good to each.

It may be worth while to endeavour to trace this distinction, as exemplified in the most renowned of the sacred poets of England; and to glean from such a survey the best instruction we can, in the happy art of turning the most fascinating part of literature to the highest purposes of religion.

We must premise, that we limit the title of 'sacred poet' by excluding those, who only devoted a small portion of their time and talent now and then, to sacred subjects. In all ages of our literary history it seems to have been considered almost as an essential part of a poet's duty to give up some pages to scriptural story, or to the praise of his Maker, how remote soever from any thing like religion the general strain of his writings might be. Witness the Lamentation of Mary Magdalene in the works of Chaucer, and the beautiful legend of Hew of Lincoln, which he has inserted in his Canterbury Tales; witness also the hymns of Ben Jonson. But these fragments alone will not entitle their authors to be enrolled among sacred poets. They indicate the taste of their age, rather than their own; a fact which may be thought to stand rather in painful contrast with the literary history of later days.

There is another class likewise, of whom little need be said in this place; we mean those who composed, strictly and only, for the sake of unburthening their own minds, without any thought of

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of publication. But as Chaucer's sacred effusions indicate chiefly the character of the times, so poems such as those, we now allude to, mark only the turn of mind of the individual writers; and our present business is rather with that sort of poetry which combines both sorts of instruction; that, namely, which bears internal evidence of having been written by sincere men, with an intention of doing good, and with consideration of the taste of the age in which they lived.

Recurring then to the distinction above laid down, between the direct and indirect modes of sacred poetry; at the head of the two classes, as the reader may perhaps have anticipated, we set the glorious names of Spenser and of Milton. The claim of Spenser to be considered as a sacred poet does by no means rest upon his hymns alone: although even these would be enough alone to embalm and consecrate the whole volume which contains them; as a splinter of the true cross is supposed by catholic sailors to ensure the safety of the vessel. But whoever will attentively consider the Fairy Queen itself, will find that it is, almost throughout, such as might have been expected from the author of those truly sacred hymns. It is a continual, deliberate endeavour to enlist the restless intellect and chivalrous feeling, of an inquiring and romantic age, on the side of goodness and faith, of purity and justice.

This position is to be made good, not solely or perhaps chiefly, yet with no small force, from the allegorical structure of the poem. Most of us, perhaps, are rather disposed to undervalue this contrivance; and even among the genuine admirers of Spenser, there are not a few who on purpose leave it out of their thoughts; finding, as they say, that it only embarrasses their enjoyment of the poetry. This is certainly far from reasonable: it is a relic of childish feeling, and mere love of amusement, which ill becomes any one who is old enough to appreciate the real beauties of Spenser. Yet it is so natural, so obviously to be expected, that we must suppose a scholar and philosopher (for such Spenser was, as well as a poet) to have been aware of it, and to have made up his mind to it, with all its disadvantages, for some strong reason or other. And what reason so likely as the hope of being seriously useful, both to himself and his readers?

To *himself*, because the constant recurrence to his allegory would serve as a check upon a fancy otherwise too luxuriant, and would prevent him from indulging in such liberties as the Italian poets, in other respects his worthy masters, were too apt to take. The consequence is, that even in his freest passages, and those which one would most wish unwritten, Spenser is by no means a *seductive* poet. Vice in him, however truly described, is always

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made contemptible or odious. The same may be said of Milton and Shakspeare; but Milton was of a cast of mind originally austere and rigorous. He looked on vice as a judge, Shakspeare as a satirist. Spenser was far more indulgent than either, and acted therefore the more wisely in setting himself a rule, which should make it essential to the plan of his poem to be always recommending some virtue; and remind him, like a voice from heaven, that the place on which he was standing was holy ground.

Then as to the benefit which the *readers* of the Fairy Queen may derive from its allegorical form; a good deal surely is to be gained from the mere habit of looking at things with a view to something beyond their qualities merely sensible; to their sacred and moral meaning, and to the high associations they were intended to create in us. Neither the works nor the word of God; neither poetry nor theology; can be duly comprehended without constant mental exercise of this kind. The comparison of the Old Testament with the New is nothing else from beginning to end. And without something of this sort, poetry, and all the other arts, would indeed be relaxing to the tone of the mind. The allegory obviates this ill effect, by serving as a frequent remembrancer of this higher application. Not that it is necessary to bend and strain every thing into conformity with it; a little leaven, of the genuine kind, will go a good way towards leavening the whole lump. And so it is in the Fairy Queen; for one stanza of direct allegory there are perhaps fifty of poetical embellishment; and it is in these last, after all, that the chief moral excellency of the poem lies; as we are now about to show.

But to be understood rightly, we would premise, that there is a disposition,—the very reverse of that which leads to parody and caricature,—which is common indeed to all generous minds, but is perhaps unrivalled in Spenser. As parody and caricature debase what is truly noble, by connecting it with low and ludicrous associations; so a mind, such as we are now speaking of, ennobles what of itself might seem trivial; its thoughts and language, on all occasions, taking a uniform and almost involuntary direction towards the best and highest things.

This, however, is a subject which can be hardly comprehended without examples. The first which occurs to us is the passage which relates the origin of Belphæbe.

> 'Her birth was of the womb of morning dew,
> And her conception of the joyous prime,
> And all her whole creation did her shew
> Pure and unspotted from all loathly crime
> That is ingenerate in fleshly slime.

So

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So was this Virgin born, so was she bred,
So was she trained up from time to time,
In all chaste virtue and true bounti-hed,
Till to her due perfection she was ripened.'

It is evident how high and sacred a subject was present to the poet's mind in composing this stanza; and any person who is well read in the Bible, with a clue like this may satisfy himself that all Spenser's writings are replete with similar tacit allusions to the language and the doctrines of sacred writ; allusions breathed, if we may so speak, rather than uttered, and much fitter to be silently considered, than to be dragged forward for quotation or minute criticism. Of course, the more numerous and natural such allusions are, the more entirely are we justified in the denomination we have ventured to bestow on their author, of a truly 'sacred' poet.

It may be felt, as some derogation from this high character, what he has himself avowed—that much of his allegory has a turn designedly given it in honour of Queen Elizabeth; a turn which will be called courtly or adulatory according to the humour of the critic. But in the first place, such was the custom of the times; it was adopted even in sermons by men whose sincerity it would be almost sacrilege to question. Then, the merits of Queen Elizabeth in respect of the Protestant cause were of that dazzling order, which might excuse a little poetical exuberance in her praise. And what is very deserving of consideration, it is certain that the most gentle and generous spirits are commonly found laying themselves open to this charge of excessive compliment in addressing princes and patrons. Witness the high style adopted by the venerable Hooker, in speaking of this very Queen Elizabeth: 'Whose sacred power, matched with incomparable goodness of nature, hath hitherto been GOD's most happy instrument, by him miraculously kept for works of so miraculous preservation and safety unto others,' &c. Another instance of the same kind may be seen in Jeremy Taylor's dedication of his Worthy Communicant to the Princess of Orange. Nor is it any wonder it should be so, since such men feel most ardently the blessing and benefit as well as the difficulty of whatever is right in persons of such exalted station; and are also most strongly tempted to bear their testimony against the illiberal and envious censures of the vulgar. All these things, duly weighed, may seem to leave little, if any thing, in the panegyrical strains of this greatest of laureates, to be excused by the common infirmity of human nature; little to detract from our deliberate conviction, that he was seriously guided, in the exercise of his art, by a sense of duty, and zeal for what is durably important.

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Spenser then was essentially a *sacred* poet; but the delicacy and insinuating gentleness of his disposition were better fitted to the veiled than the direct mode of instruction. His was a mind which would have shrunk more from the chance of debasing a sacred subject by unhandsome treatment, than of incurring ridicule by what would be called unseasonable attempts to hallow things merely secular. It was natural therefore for him to choose not a scriptural story, but a tale of chivalry and romance; and the popular literature, and, in no small measure the pageantry and manners of his time, would join to attract his efforts that way. In this way too he was enabled, with more propriety and grace, to introduce allusions, political or courtly, to subjects with which his readers were familiar; thus agreeably diversifying his allegory, and gratifying his affection for his friends and patrons, without the coarseness of direct compliment.

In Milton, most evidently, a great difference was to be expected: both from his own character and from that of the times in which he lived. Religion was in those days the favourite topic of discussion; and it is indeed painful to reflect, how sadly it was polluted by intermixture with earthly passions: the most awful turns and most surprizing miracles of the Jewish history being made to serve the base purposes of persons, of whom it is hard to say whether they were more successful in misleading others, or in deceiving themselves. It was an effort worthy of a manly and devout spirit to rescue religion from such degradation, by chusing a subject, which, being scriptural, would suit the habit of the times, yet, from its universal and eternal importance, would give least opportunity for debasing temporary application. Then it was the temper of the man always to speak out. He carried it to a faulty excess, as his prose works too amply demonstrate. The more unfashionable his moral was, the more he would have disdained to veil it: neither had he the shrinking delicacy of Spenser to keep him back, through fear of profaning things hallowed by an unworthy touch.

Thus the great epic poem of our language came to be, avowedly, a sacred poem. One hardly dares to wish any thing other than it is in such a composition; yet it may be useful to point out, in what respects the moral infirmity of the times, or of the author, has affected the work; so that we are occasionally tempted to regret even Milton's choice. But as the leading error of his mind appears to have been *intellectual* pride, and as the leading fault of the generation with which he acted was unquestionably *spiritual* pride, so the main defects of his poetry may probably be attributed to the same causes.

There is a studious undervaluing of the female character, which may

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may be most distinctly perceived by comparing the character of Eve with that of the Lady in Comus: the latter conceived, as we imagine, before the mind of the poet had become so deeply tainted with the fault here imputed to him. A remarkable instance of it is his describing Eve as unwilling, or unworthy, to discourse herself with the angel.

'Such pleasure she reserved,
Adam relating, she sole auditress.'—

The sentiment may be natural enough, since the primæval curse upon women: but does it not argue rather too strong a sense of her original inferiority, to put it into her mind before the fall?

What again can be said for the reproachful and insulting tone, in which, more than once, the good angels are made to address the bad ones? or of the too attractive colours, in which, perhaps unconsciously, the poet has clothed the Author of Evil himself? It is a well-known complaint among many of the readers of Paradise Lost, that they can hardly keep themselves from sympathizing, in some sort, with Satan, as the hero of the poem. The most probable account of which surely is, that the author himself partook largely of the haughty and vindictive republican spirit, which he has assigned to the character, and consequently, though perhaps unconsciously, drew the portrait with a peculiar zest.

These blemishes are in part attributable to the times in which he lived: but there is another now to be mentioned, which cannot be so accounted for: we mean a want of purity and spirituality in his conceptions of Heaven and heavenly joys. His Paradise is a vision not to be surpassed; but his attempts to soar higher are embarrassed with too much of earth still clinging as it were to his wings. Remarks of this kind are in general best understood by comparison, and we invite our readers to compare Milton with Dante, in their descriptions of Heaven. The one as simple as possible in his imagery, producing intense effect by little more than various combinations of *three* leading ideas—light, motion, and music—as if he feared to introduce any thing more gross and earthly, and would rather be censured, as doubtless he often is, for coldness and poverty of invention. Whereas Milton, with very little selection or refinement, transfers to the immediate neighbourhood of God's throne, the imagery of Paradise and Earth. Indeed he seems himself to have been aware of something unsatisfactory in this, and has inserted into the mouth of an angel, a kind of apology for it.

'Though what if earth
Be but the shadow of heav'n, and things therein
Each to 'other like, more than on earth is thought?'

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These are blemishes, and sometimes almost tempt us to wish, that even Milton had taken some subject not so immediately and avowedly connected with religion. But they do not affect his claim to be considered as the very lodestar and pattern of that class of sacred poets in England. As such we have here considered him next to Spenser; not that there were wanting others of the same order before him. In fact, most of the distinguished names in the poetical annals of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I., might be included in the list. It may be enough just to recollect Drayton and Cowley, Herbert, Crashaw and Quarles.

The mention of these latter names suggests the remark, how very desirable it is to encourage as indulgent and, if we may so term it, *catholic* a spirit as may be, in poetical criticism. From having been over-praised in their own days, they are come now to be as much undervalued; yet their quaintness of manner and constrained imagery, adopted perhaps in compliance with the taste of their age, should hardly suffice to overbalance their sterling merits. We speak especially of Crashaw and Quarles: for Herbert is a name too venerable to be more than mentioned in our present discussion.

After Milton, sacred poetry seems to have greatly declined, both in the number and merit of those who cultivated it. No other could be expected from the conflicting evils of those times: in which one party was used to brand every thing sacred with the name of Puritanism, and the other to suspect every thing poetical of being contrary to morality and religion.

Yet most of the great names of that age, especially among the Romanists, as Dryden, Pope, and before them Habington, continued to dedicate some of their poetry to religion. By their faith they were remote from the controversies which agitated the established church, and their devotion might indulge itself without incurring the suspicion of a fanatical spirit. Then the solemnity of their worship is fitted to inspire splendid and gorgeous strains, such as Dryden's paraphrase of the Veni Creator; and their own fallen fortunes in England, no less naturally, would fill them with a sense of decay very favourable to the plaintive tenderness of Habington and Crashaw.

A feeling of this kind, joined to the effect of distressing languor and sickness, may be discerned occasionally, in the writings of Bishop Kenn; though he was far indeed from being a Romanist. We shall hardly find, in all ecclesiastical history, a greener spot than the later years of this courageous and affectionate pastor; persecuted alternately by both parties, and driven from his station in his declining age; yet singing on, with unabated cheerfulness, to the last. His poems are not popular, nor, probably, ever will be, for

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for reasons already touched upon; but whoever in earnest loves his three well-known hymns, and knows how to value such unaffected strains of poetical devotion, will find his account, in turning over his four volumes, half narrative and half lyric, and all avowedly on sacred subjects; the narrative often cumbrous, and the lyric verse not seldom languid and redundant: yet all breathing such an angelic spirit, interspersed with such pure and bright touches of poetry, that such a reader as we have supposed will scarcely find it in his heart to criticise them.

Between that time and ours, the form of sacred poetry which has succeeded best in attracting public attention, is the didactic: of which Davies in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Richard Blackmore in King William's, Young in the middle, and Cowper in the close of the last century, may fairly be taken as specimens, differing from each other according to the differences of their respective literary eras. Davies, with his Lucretian majesty, (although he wants the moral pathos of the Roman poet,) representing aptly enough the age of Elizabeth; Blackmore, with his easy paragraphs, the careless style of King Charles's days; Young, with his pointed sentences, transferring to graver subjects a good deal of the manner of Pope; and Cowper, with his agreeable but too unsparing descriptions, coming nearer to the present day, which appears, both in manners and in scenery, to delight in Dutch painting, rather than in what is more delicately classical.

With regard to the indirect, and, perhaps, more effective, species of sacred poetry, we fear it must be acknowledged, to the shame of the last century, that there is hardly a single specimen of it (excepting, perhaps, Gray's Elegy, and possibly some of the most perfect of Collins's poems) which has obtained any celebrity. We except the writers of our own times, who do not fall within the scope of this inquiry.

To Spenser therefore, upon the whole, the English reader must revert, as being, pre-eminently, the sacred poet of his country: as most likely, in every way, to answer the purposes of his art; especially in an age of excitation and refinement, in which the gentler and more homely beauties, both of character and of scenery, are too apt to be despised: with passion and interest enough to attract the most ardent, and grace enough to win the most polished; yet by a silent preference every where inculcating the love of better and more enduring things; and so most exactly fulfilling what he has himself declared to be 'the general end of all his book'—'to fashion a gentleman, or noble person, in virtuous and gentle discipline': and going the straight way to the accomplishment of his own high-minded prayer:—

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'That with the glory of so goodly sight,
The harts of men, which fondly here admire
Fair-seeming shews, and feede on vain delight,
Transported with celestial desire
Of those fair forms, may lift themselves up higher,
And learn to love, with zealous humble duty,
Th' eternal fountain of that heavenly beauty.'

ART. X.—*The History of Ancient and Modern Wines.* By A. Henderson, M.D. 4to. 1825.

IN noticing Dr. Henderson's volume, we have little inclination to follow him through his historical account of the mere process of wine-making in different ages, or even to accompany him in his inquiries into the chemical theory of the subject. Not that we are by any means disposed to undervalue the importance of these researches; for as long as man is a wine-drinking animal, it behoves him to be grateful to those whose labours are directed to improve the quality of his potations. But on such voluntary guardians of the public weal, scientific and practical, must the lieges in general, however bibacious, be contented to repose themselves for the conservance of their health and the delectation of their palates. To as little purpose might the man of ordinary avocations seek to controul his destiny, as trouble himself to inquire in what proportion Catalonian is mingled in his claret, or how much brandy he is doomed to swallow in his port. In such matters, ignorance *is* bliss; and we have reason to envy the octogenarian consumer, who is gathered to his fathers, profoundly unconscious to his latest hour, that he has been through all his long life under the active operation of the most deleterious poisons.

There is one point of view, however, in which the history of wines will possess a pleasant interest for the man of literary taste, though he be careless of chemical affinities, or but indifferently versed in the gastronomy of flavours. There is, of course, an intimate connection between the drinking habits and the general manners of nations: in their private society and convivial meetings, in the festival and the sacrifice, the banquet and the minstrelsy. The history of wines and inquiries into manners are therefore fraught with reciprocal illustration; if, indeed, the use of wine afford not itself a prominent chapter in the history of manners, and, we may add, of literature. Poets of all ages and climes have sung with common consent the joys of 'love and wine;' many passages of glowing inspiration must appear tame, many

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many allusions remain buried in obscurity, for lack of some acquaintance with the convivial usages and tastes of the bye-gone times. Every gentleman will learn sufficient—it may chance he will learn too much—of the joyous observances of his own day; but it is absolutely indispensable that every liberal scholar should apply himself to learn something of those of other days. It is chiefly as Dr. Henderson's labours bear upon these questions of manners and literature, that we shall think it worth while to offer our readers a running commentary upon his text: but without altogether restricting ourselves from noticing a few of the other points in the volume, which have most curiosity for the general inquirer.

Before we go farther, however, it is due to him to record our opinion of the average merits of his work; and we gladly afford our testimony that it is very respectably executed. Some few faults of management, indeed, may be readily exposed. Thus, for example, the first, with the twelfth and two following chapters of the second part, on the modes of keeping and mellowing wines, the practices of adulterating them, and on their dietetic and medical qualities, might assuredly have found a more appropriate place in the general introduction to the subject; as well as three notes, which are clumsily appended to the volume, (pp. 359, 361, and 365,) on the theory of fermentation, the quantity of spirit contained in different wines, and the escape of alcohol and aroma during fermentation. These defects of arrangement might have been easily avoided, and may be as readily corrected, if the work should reach a second impression. But in other respects, he is entitled to a more favourable judgment; and the merit of great industry, and, generally, of precision and accuracy, may fairly be conceded to him. He appears to have devoted several years to his undertaking, and has very laboriously gleaned from various sources, whatever was of importance to his object. The designs of the embellishments, both vignettes and initial letters, have been selected, principally from the antique, with very elegant taste, and are exquisitely beautiful. Every thing, too, which was possible on wood, has been accomplished for them by the artist (Mr. W. Harvey) with astonishing minuteness. But this laborious excellence is scarcely compatible with the free execution which should form the appropriate quality of a wood-cut. In justice to the antique, the designs ought to have been engraved on copper, in the first manner.

Having thus delivered our general opinion of Dr. Henderson's book, we proceed. On the Introduction, we shall make but one remark, suggested to us more strongly than before, in the perusal of

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of the author's essay on the vinous fermentation; that, even in the present advanced state of chemical science, we are still in the infancy of knowledge on the principles of this important natural process. The meritorious researches of the French chemists had only served to prove the depth of this mystery; Dr. Mac Culloch's remarks, in his admirable little treatise on the art of making wine, confess, that fermentation can only be examined in its effects and phenomena; and our author's inquiries have led him but to echo the same acknowledgment of the difficulties of the subject. These are particularly shown with respect to the secondary or insensible fermentation, which wine undergoes long after the original work of decomposition has purified the must or grape-juice of its grosser constituents. In the stronger wines, this secondary fermentation will continue through a long term of years, in the course of which they become much ameliorated, probably in consequence of the more intimate union of the alcohol with the acid and mucilaginous principles. A portion of the colouring matter and tartar is precipitated, the liquor loses its harshness, and the aroma and flavour peculiar to it become more apparent. If the constituents of wine have been originally present in well-balanced proportions, the wine may then be preserved for any period; but when the fermentation has been imperfect, or the quantities of leaven and sugar disproportioned, the mixture will run from the vinous into the acetic fermentation. This transition, however, is so capricious, (if we may be allowed to use that unphilosophical term,) as sometimes entirely to baffle all the common theories respecting it. Thus, notwithstanding Dr. Henderson's assertion, (p. 21,) that if wine contains a larger proportion of sugar than the leaven in it is capable of decomposing, it will keep an indefinite length of time without experiencing any injurious change; we know that sweet wine, though containing sugar in excess, will turn partially acid, and yet remain for years, without being converted into universal vinegar. Sour liquors, partially changed, but which have not yet wholly lost their vinous qualities are but too familiar; of the real philosophy, however, of the process, we know nothing; and it is not difficult to predict, that the discovery of its true principles, whenever made, will be followed by a total revolution in the art of manufacturing wines.

In observing the usages of the ancients, we shall be surprised how small is the variation which the lapse of ages has introduced in the culture of the vine. No branch of agricultural industry has remained so stationary: in a great part of Europe the plant is still grafted, pruned and managed as in the days of Varro and Columella; and it is only in those countries, where commerce has produced

produced the more rapid diffusion of useful inventions, that any changes have found their way into vineyards. The knowledge of the ancients, indeed, in this department of rural economy, was far from contemptible. They were aware that rich unctuous lands were not favourable to the production of good wine; they knew that light porous soils, when not too thin—such as chalky or marly loam with a due admixture of mould and gravel—were more suitable; and they justly gave the chief preference to substrata of flinty or rocky debris, and volcanic surfaces of decomposed tufa. The superior flavour of wines raised on dry undulating grounds, compared with the growth of the plains, was universally admitted. But their opinions were divided on a point of equal importance:—the height to which the plant should be permitted to luxuriate; and this division produced that marriage of the vine with the lofty elm and poplar, which gave many a beautiful image to their poetry, at the expense of their wine. Some of these arbusta, as trees so appropriated are termed by the Latin writers, supported the slender plant to the height of thirty or forty feet; and modern experience has shown that this practice, while it yields more abundant crops, materially impoverishes the flavour of the produce. There are few young travellers, we suspect, whose classical associations of the picturesque have not been miserably disturbed in the endeavour to realize early visions of exuberant and graceful foliage, among the cropped and stunted shrubberies of Champagne and Gascony.

But in the treatment of the produce of the grape, there is much to distinguish the moderns from the ancients. Indeed in the management of wines, there are so many essential and curious points of opposition, that, notwithstanding all Dr. Henderson's arguments, we cannot be brought to conceive that the potations of antiquity could be endurable to our tastes. Accident is said to have led to one of, what we should call, the most villainous practices of the ancients. A slave among the Greeks, who had stolen part of the contents of a cask, supplied the deficiency with sea-water, which, on examination, was thought to have improved the flavour of the liquor! But, whatever was the origin of the opinion, a proportion of salt-water was certainly held to be an indispensable component of good wine. Columella praises the mixture in the proportion of about one pint of salt-water, evaporated to a third part, for six gallons of wine; and adds, that he should not hesitate to recommend the common practice of doubling, or even trebling, the saline prescription, if the wine should be strong enough to bear it without betraying a salt taste;—of which, we readily agree with Dr. Henderson, it must be acknowledged there was no small

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small risk.' What course of feeding could have reconciled the human palate to such a compound, it would now be in vain to inquire.

But we have practical evidence of the tendency of another favourite quackery of the old Greeks. They were fond of largely impregnating their wines with rosin:—the preservation of which practice has had the effect of making many of the modern Greek wines absolutely undrinkable, by any but the natives. It was not unusual to sprinkle a quantity of powdered rosin or pitch on the must during the first fermentation; and after this was completed, to infuse the flowers of the vine, cypress leaves, bruised myrtle-berries, the shavings of cedar and southernwood, bitter almonds, and numberless other articles of an aromatic nature. But a more common mode of proceeding seems to have been to mix all these ingredients, in the first instance, with *defrutum* or inspissated must, to boil the whole to a thick consistence, and then to add the confection to the new wine. It is almost incredible in what quantities (according to the receipts of Columella) this vile admixture of rosin and pitch (or liquid tar) was used; but we must refer the reader to Dr. Henderson (p. 45) for the details. Of the aromatic substances, however, which we have enumerated, some are still used with advantage in the perfuming of wines.

Of the purity of ancient taste in these matters, Dr. Henderson seems greatly disposed to undertake the defence. But, that the qualities of these wines, so medicated, were praised in song, proves only—what the continuance of the manufacture itself proves—that the liquor was drunk and relished in its day. He is however at least ingenious in his apology for the ancients; and here we shall allow him to say a few words for himself:

'At first sight, indeed, it seems difficult to explain, on any principles consistent with a fine taste, how a predilection should come to be entertained for wines to which a quantity of sea-water had been added, or which were highly impregnated with pitch, rosin, turpentine, and a multitude of powerful aromatic ingredients; nor can we well imagine, that their strong wines, even when mellowed by age, could be rendered very exquisite by being exposed in smoky garrets, until reduced to a syrup, and rendered so muddy and thick, that it was necessary to strain them through a cloth in order to free them from impurities, or to scrape them from the sides of the vessels, and dissolve them in hot water, before they were fit to be drunk. But, when we consider the effects of habit, which soon reconciles the palate to the most offensive substances, and the influence of fashion and luxury, which leads us to prefer every thing that is rare and costly, to articles of more intrinsic excellence and moderate price, we may readily conceive, that the Greeks and Romans might have excused their fondness for pitched and pickled wines, on the same plea by

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by which we justify our attachment to tea, coffee, and tobacco. It was long ago observed by Plutarch, that certain dishes and liquors, which at first appeared intolerable, came, in the course of time, to be reckoned the most agreeable; and surely the charge of indulging a perverted taste in wine, would proceed with an ill grace from the people of this country, where a notorious partiality exists in favour of a liquor, of which the harshness, bitterness, acidity, and other repulsive qualities, are only disguised by a large admixture of ardent spirit, but which long use has rendered so palatable to its admirers, that they fancy it the best of all possible wines.'—pp. 60, 61.

We cannot afford much space for Dr. Henderson's account of the varieties of ancient wines. We agree with him, on the evidence of Homer, and from that of the unvarying influence of the same southern soil and climate, that a large proportion of the ancient Greek and Asiatic wines may, like the modern produce of those countries, be pronounced to have been (naturally) of the sweet and strong sorts. Dr. Henderson supposes the sweet wines of the Greeks (the produce of the various islands in the Egean and Ionian seas) to have been principally of the luscious kind, like the modern Cyprus and Constantia; while, however, several of the dry wines, such as the Pramnian and Corinthian, were certainly distinguished by an extraordinary degree of roughness and astringency, and only became drinkable after they had been kept a great number of years. Whether these were ever fairly drinkable indeed, may admit of doubt: for on the authority of Aristophanes, (no bad authority,) we learn that the first shrivelled the features and obstructed the digestive organs; and to drink the second, was absolute torture! We are not convinced by Dr. Henderson's reasoning, that the ancients were 'familiar with sparkling and frothing wines,' like modern Champagne; nor, in support of his opinion, is the allusion to the prowess of old Bitias—he who 'impiger hausit spumantem pateram'—by any means happy. The poet often applies the same epithet to the vessel which overflows with milk or honey.

Of the principal Roman wines, the names, at least, are familiar with every reader. The Campania Felix boasted the most celebrated growths; and however minute questions of locality may be determined, the Falernian, Massican, Cæcuban, Setine and Surrentine wines, were all the produce of that beauteous region. The three first of these have been immortalized by Horace, who has expatiated on their generous qualities with the fervour of an amateur. There seems reason for concluding that they were all strong durable wines, apt to affect the head; the poet, therefore, was no *flincher*, in such combats at least. The Cæcuban is described by Galen as a generous wine, ripening only after a long term

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term of years. The Massican closely resembled the Falernian, if indeed it were not a kind of the same stock. Of 'mighty Falernian' itself, little more is known than that it was highly prized, was kept for twenty, thirty, or even forty years, and was naturally so strong and rough, that it could only be drunk when thus mellowed by age. The Setine was a light delicate wine; the favourite (according to Pliny) of Augustus, who gave the preference to it as being of all kinds the least apt to injure the stomach. We may therefore marvel that its name is never even mentioned by Horace; who perhaps, as Dr. Henderson suggests, exercised his freedom in differing from the imperial taste in this particular. It is, however, celebrated both by Martial and Juvenal. As for the Surrentine, the fiat of Tiberius has dismissed it for 'generous vinegar.' These are the only wines of ancient Italy which deserve to be remembered; unless the poetic eulogies of Horace and Juvenal be thought of weight enough to rescue the Albanum from the degradation which Pliny has assigned to it among third-rate wines.

Dr. Henderson has entered into some amusing speculations to determine in which of our present growths the greatest resemblance may be traced to the most famous wines of antiquity. Thus the Pramnian was certainly a strong hard astringent liquor; and it is here farther declared (on what authority, by the way, is not stated) to have been a red wine. Therefore the Doctor, who we have seen is no favourer of Port, condemns that much vituperated potation to an eternal fellowship of infamy with the harsh Pramnian, the shriveller of physiognomies. 'Perhaps,' says he, 'we shall not err much if we compare it (the Pramnian) to our common Port wine. It is neither sweet nor thick, but austere and remarkably potent and durable; in all which particulars it perfectly resembled the modern growth to which I have ventured to assimilate it. Like Port, too, it was much commended for its medicinal uses.' But his most earnest attempt is to fasten the similarity of Falernian upon some modern variety of wine. Here he sets out determined to be convincing. In the first place, he proposes that all writers agree in describing the Falernian as very strong and durable, and so rough and fiery when new, as not to have been drinkable. Then it mellowed with age, and was in best condition from the tenth to the twentieth year. It was also apt to acquire a bitter taste; and the dry Falernian (for there were two sorts, according to Athenæus, dry and sweetish) was of yellowish colour. Hence, altogether, Dr. Henderson decrees 'immortal Falernian,' to be resident among us in the state either of MADEIRA or SHERRY. If it were the ancestor of either, (we care not which,) and not villainously poisoned with pitch and rosin—and, moreover, if

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if it were 'expers maris,' guiltless of salt-water in one sense, though not in all—certes it deserved right well all that Horace himself hath sung of it, and we shall henceforth think the better of ancient taste. But let Dr. Henderson speak the speech touching it.

'Among our present wines, I have no hesitation in fixing upon those of Xeres and Madeira as the two to which the Falernian offers the most distinct features of resemblance. Both are straw-coloured wines, assuming a deeper tint from age, or from particular circumstances in the quality, or management of the vintage. Both of them present the several varieties of dry, sweet, and light. Both of them are exceedingly strong and durable wines; being, when new, very rough, harsh, and fiery, and requiring to be kept about the same length of time as the Falernian, before they attain a due degree of mellowness. Of the two, however, the more palpable dryness and bitter-sweet flavour of the Sherry might incline us to decide, that it approached most nearly to the wine under consideration: and it is worthy of remark, that the same difference in the produce of the fermentation is observable in the Xeres vintages, as that which Galen has noticed with respect to the Falernian: it being impossible always to predict, with certainty, whether the result will be a dry wine, or a sweetish wine, resembling Paxarete. But, on the other hand, the soil of Madeira is more analogous to that of the Campagna Felice, and thence we may conclude, that the flavour and aroma of its wines are similar. Sicily, which is also a volcanic country, supplies several growths, which an inexperienced judge would very readily mistake for those of the former island, and which would, in all probability, come still nearer to them in quality, if more pains were bestowed on the manufacture. Another point of coincidence is deserving notice. Both Xeres and Madeira are, as is well known, infinitely improved by being transported to a hot climate; and latterly it has become a common practice, among the dealers in the island, to force the Madeira wines by a process which is absolutely identical with the operation of the *fumarium*. It may, perhaps, be objected, that the influence of heat and age upon these liquors, far from producing any disagreeable bitterness, only renders them sweeter and milder, however long they may be kept; but, then, in contrasting them with the superannuated wines of the Romans, we must make allowance for the previous preparations, and the effect of the different sort of vessels in which they are preserved. If Madeira or Sherry, but particularly the latter, were kept in earthen jars until it was reduced to the consistence of honey, there can be little doubt, I conceive, that the taste would become so intensely bitter, that, to use the expression of Cicero, we should condemn it as intolerable.'—pp. 91, 92.

All this is very plausible and very agreeable; and, moreover, we should be sorry to disturb the complacency with which Madeira may henceforth be lauded in common rooms to the Horatian measure. But, if Dr. Henderson identifies the qualities of ancient and modern Greek wines, from their community of soil, climate,

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climate, &c. is he consistent in his present hypothesis? If the modern wines of the Campagna Felice are legitimately descended from the Falernian family, where will he find among them anything akin to Madeira? There is less room for scepticism in the Doctor's suggestion that the 'generous vinegar' of the Surrentine mountains may be compared to some of the secondary growths of the Rhine, which, though liable at first to the imputation of acidity, will keep long and improve by age. The Normantine, on the other hand, was certainly a delicate Claret wine; and the Gallic wines themselves were known for several of their modern qualities: such as the violet scent of the Vienne grape, and the rich muscat of Languedoc. But most of the French growths fell into disrepute at Rome from the numerous adulterations of dealers.

Many of the usages of the ancients in their drinking deserve notice. One of these would appear at first sight strange: the excessive dilution of their wines. To drink them unmixed, says, Dr. Henderson, was held to be disreputable, and those among the Greeks who were guilty of such excess were declared to act like Scythians. But, in truth, before we feel surprise at this prevailing taste for thin potations, it should be recollected what their wines really were. Rendered thick by the continued action of heat and smoke from the *fumarium* or drying kiln over which they were kept for years; sometimes even boiled down to a concrete mass; and often inspissated with foreign matter; they were, in many cases, reduced to a state of syrup or extract, and so strongly seasoned with harsh aromatic bitterness, or even less tolerable flavours, that it was perhaps scarcely possible to drink them without dilution. This is the only mode in which we can reconcile their large proportions of water with any purposes of festive enjoyment. Thus, the Maronean wine of the Homeric times was mixed with twenty measures of water; and when this wine, like man, had degenerated from the strength of the heroic age, Pliny declares that it still required eight waters. The common proportion in the more polished days of Greece was three or four parts of water to one of wine. These mixtures, one would imagine, could be only mild diluent drinks with little property of exhilaration, and with nothing but very indifferent flavours to recommend them. But we must still suspect that Greece, like Rome, had many a Menenius who loved 'a cup of hot wine with not a drop of allaying Tyber in't.' We remember the condition in which Alcibiades is ushered into the Platonic banquet; with his chaplet disordered, very vociferous, and scarcely able to stand. Came this of wine-and-water? And the subsequent draught in which he is temperately

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rately pledged by Socrates to the measure of seven pints of *wine!* Is this water-drinking? and yet the Symposium was a picture of living manners.

There was an elegance in the Grecian mind, however, which seldom sank into the grovelling debauchery that sullied the grosser manners of Rome, especially under the emperors. The use of wine at the entertainments of the Greeks was graced by many elegant appurtenances. When they adopted the eastern custom of reclining at their meals, tasteful invention was exhausted in the fashion of their couches. These, with their tables and sideboards, were inlaid with ivory, tortoise shells, and the precious metals, and carved into all the fanciful varieties of decoration. Of their artists it may with truth be affirmed, that they embellished every thing which they touched. To the commonest utensils they gave the stamp of beauty; and it is from their paterae, cups, and vases, that the moderns have borrowed the happiest models for the furniture of their dinner tables. The same refinement of taste which formed their drinking vessels, crowned the overflowing cup with wreaths of flowers: and it was the same elegance of sentiment which bound their brows with the myrtle, the inspirer of elegant fancies, and mingled in that mystic chaplet the gayer colours of the rose with the perfume of the violet. Some of these customs might have been derived from the Asiatics, and were communicated to the Romans; but their true accord was with the Grecian mind.

Both the Grecian and Roman banquet was ushered in by a collation of various light foods, such as oysters, eggs, asparagus, lettuce, olives, figs, &c. like the *intróits* of modern France. Then came the first cup—the *mulsum*, or draught of mingled wine and honey. During the subsequent repast, the more ordinary wines were drunk, while the richer were reserved for the dessert. The kinds most mentioned in use as dessert wines among the Greeks were the Thasian and Lesbian; among the Romans the Alban, Cæcuban, and Falernian; and, when they had become acquainted with the produce of foreign countries, the Chian and Lesbian. The profusion and rapidity with which these wines were poured into Rome after the first introduction of the fashion, may illustrate the strides of luxury through the corrupt republic more curiously perhaps than almost any other circumstance. Thus it is stated by Varro, that 'Lucullus, when a boy, never saw Greek wine presented the guests oftener than once at the great entertainments given by his father: but when he returned from his Asiatic expedition, he himself distributed to the populace upwards of 100,000 gallon casks!' So, also, we find, that in the lapse of a single generation,

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it was remembered as a rare cordial and drunk by hogsheads. 'C. Sentius, late prætor, used to say that Chian wine was first introduced into his house as a cordial, prescribed by his physician: Hortensius left upward of 10,000 casks to his heir.' The triumphal supper of Cæsar, in his dictatorship, (as we are told by Pliny,) flowed with Falernian by hogsheads, and Chian by gallons. Hitherto the Romans, like the Greeks of the earlier ages, had been contented with the alternative of two kinds of wine. But, in the triumphal banquets of his third consulate, Cæsar, in addition to Falernian and Chian, allowed the swinish multitude to revel in Lesbian and Mammertine. Afterwards, at private parties, a considerable choice seems to have been afforded to the guests. For instance, at the Horatian supper of Nasidienus—which probably exhibits a picture, as true as it is lively, of a Roman feast, given by a person of bad taste affecting the manners of people of superior rank—after Cæcuban and indifferent Chian wine had been ostentatiously handed about, the landlord is represented as observing to Mæcenas, that Alban and Falernian were at hand, if he preferred them. The reader of Juvenal and Martial need not be told of the common complaint of clients and parasites who frequented the tables of the haughty patricians, that the master of the house was wont to keep to himself and his friends of rank the better wines, and to drink them out of costly cups, while they were obliged to be content with harsh and ropy liquors, served out to them in coarse and half-broken vessels. This mixture of insolence and meanness, which the honourable pride and refinement of modern manners would spurn, is noticed by the younger Pliny, who confirms the report of the satirist, and evinces the good feeling to be disgusted with the fact. He speaks in the spirit of an English gentleman when he declares, that he sets every man whom he invites to his table upon a level with himself.

The extravagances of fashion are confined to no age or clime. In Rome, as in London, it was the rage to place the highest value on whatever was rarest; and enormous sums were often given for wines which were literally not drinkable from age. Such seems to have been the case with the famous vintage of the year U. C. 633, when L. Opimius Nepos was consul, and in which, from the great warmth of summer, all the productions of the earth attained an uncommon degree of perfection. Velleius Paterculus, who flourished about a hundred and fifty years afterwards, denies that any OPIMIAN wine was to be had in his time; but both Pliny and Martial, who were considerably posterior to the historian, describe it as still to be procured at the period

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at which they wrote. The former, indeed, admits that it was then reduced to the consistence of honey, and could only be used in small quantities for flavouring other wines, or mixing with water.

The convivial ceremonies of the ancients are interesting, because many modern observances may be traced up to them. In the arrangement of their banquets, in the succession and composition of their courses, &c., this coincidence, especially with French manners, is very striking. The finer wines, which were circulated between the removes, are preserved in the vins d'entremets; and the coup de milieu—'quod fluentem nauseam coerceat'—is but a substitution of liqueur for the sweet wine which, for the same object, the female cup-bearer of the Grecian banquet handed round, in massive silver, in the middle of the repast. After dinner, the overflowing of the first cup was poured upon the ground or table, as an oblation to all the gods, or to some one deity in particular. Sometimes successive cups were dedicated to different divinities; and the entertainment concluded with the cup of Mercury, invoked as the patron of the night and the dispenser of sleep and airy dreams. This was always a bumper, as it was held disrespectful to offer anything in sacrifice but what was full and perfect. Hence the goblet was said to be 'crowned with wine.' The wine used was of the red sweet class, probably because it was the richest and strongest, or was the customary dessert wine. 'It may be remarked,' says Dr. Henderson, 'that the same kind of wine is still used for sacramental purposes; and the appellation of vino santo, which is given by the Italians to their most luscious growths, is probably allusive to this circumstance.'

It was, doubtless, this usage of dedicating cups to divinities in succession, which led the ancients, by an easy transition, to the custom of pledging each other:—the origin of modern 'healths five fathoms deep.' The master of the feast began the round by pledging his principal guests: that is, he tasted the wine and saluted the company, or the guest on his right hand, if a person of distinction; to whom the cup was then passed and who was expected to finish its contents. To drink in this manner was considered a proof of friendship, and the cup so presented was in fact the *bumper* glass, the glass of good companionship:—for bumper, notwithstanding that the word has sorely puzzled etymologists, is but the easy corruption of the old French *bon per*, or boon companion. It was also frequent at the feasts both of Greece and Rome, to drink to the health of absent individuals; an thus the lover 'sighed like furnace' over his mistress' name. Respect and attachment for those whose names were toasted were evinced

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by the greater or less number of cups which the proposer filled to their honour. Thus, as Dr. Henderson reminds us, one of the interlocutors in a comedy of Aristophanes, boasts that he has emptied six hundred glasses in honour of the gods and goddesses. A favourite mode of drinking healths was by taking off as many cups as there were letters in the name proposed. The health of Cæsar, for instance, was celebrated with six glasses, that of Germanicus with ten, and so forth. Something analogous to this are the 'four times four' of modern loyalty and affection to the fourth George.

But it is time to pass from the wines and convivial usages of the Greeks and Romans, in order to say something on those of the intermediate ages which separate our times from classical antiquity. And here we cannot but express our surprize that, as Dr. Henderson's work is professedly historical, he has not endeavoured to carry the chain of his inquiries regularly through the middle ages. Such an attempt was necessary to the completion of his plan; and many notices might have been collected for the purpose, of a highly interesting character, as illustrating the manners and romantic literature of the middle ages. There are, indeed, many disjointed remarks of this kind to be found in the second part of his volume on modern wines: particularly in his account of those 'used in England.' But these remarks appear to us misplaced, and in general imperfect; and the long transition from ancient to modern wines, and manners, certainly demanded a distinct and intermediate chapter, for which there are abundant materials.

As might be supposed, the northern conquerors of Europe readily adopted the festal customs of the more civilized people whom they dispossessed; and besides those convivial observances of the ancients which have descended to our days, many others are discoverable in the manners of the middle ages which have now vanished or are melting away 'into thin air' before the capricious breath of fashion. The pledging of a round of healths at the modern dinner after the cloth is removed, is already beginning to grow obsolete, and this custom, goodly and heartful as it is, will in all probability be utterly forgotten in the polite circles of the next generation. Our discarded manners pass like cast clothes to inferiors. The ceremony among our ancestors of decorating the wine cup with flowers was clearly not born in 'the dark forests of Germany;' the elegance of the fancy sufficiently betrayed its Grecian origin. We may learn from the old Fabliaux how the gentle knight crowned with flowers the vassail bowl which he pledged to his ladye-love; and the generation which is passing away may almost remember, when this bye-gone usage of the noble

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noble and the chivalrous was yet retained to grace the rustic feast at harvest-home. But if we would now seek for a lingering trace of this early refinement, we must descend yet lower in the scale of society, to discover it only in those wreaths of ivy or flowers, which in some places still serve as the tavern sign where wine is to be sold.

The use of hot drinks continued to prevail very generally among all classes of people so late as the sixteenth century. This taste, too, was derived from the ancients, with whom, and especially the Romans, it had been quite a passion. At Rome, indeed, the very name of the houses of public entertainment had its origin in the sale of hot drinks; to obtain which all citizens who had no regular establishments used to resort to the *thermopolia*, as the moderns frequent their coffee-houses.

The taste of the Romans for mixed potations, such as wine flavoured with honey or aromatic substances, was transmitted to the conquerors of their descendants. It became later a favourite practice also to correct the harshness and acidity common to the wines of the period by spicing them. When thus compounded, the liquor passed under the general name of *piment*; probably, says Dr. Henderson, because prepared by the pigmentarii or apothecaries, or rather, we should opine, because the spices were sold by those persons; for it was customary to serve the wine and spices separately, that the guests might themselves mix them at will;—a practice which our author has failed to observe, though Froissart, Olivier de la March, and other authors of the middle ages, perpetually notice it. One knight could not do another knight more honour than to hold his spice-plate.

'Of these spiced wines,' says Le Grand in his Vie privée des François, our poets of the thirteenth century never speak without rapture, and as an exquisite luxury. They considered it the master-piece of art to be able to combine in one liquor the strength and flavour of wine, with the sweetness of honey and the perfume of the most costly aromatics. A banquet at which no piment was served would have been thought wanting in the most essential article. It was even allowed to the monks in the monasteries on particular days of the year. But it was so voluptuous a beverage, and was deemed so unsuitable to the members of a profession which had forsworn all the pleasures of life, that the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 817.) forbade the use of it to the regular clergy except on days of solemn festivals.'

The varieties of piment in most use were the Hyppocras and Clarry: the former, which took its name from a particular sort of bag called Hippocrates' sleeve, through which it was strained, appears to have been indifferently either red or white wine and aromatics; the latter a claret or mixed wine with honey, similarly seasoned.

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soned. Dr. Pegge has quoted a curious receipt preserved by Mr. Astle, which gives directions how 'to make Ypocrasse *for lords* with gynger, synamon, and graynes, sugour, and turesoll: and *for comyn pepull*, gynger canell, longe peper, and claryffyed honey.' It was drunk at all great entertainments between the courses, or at the conclusion of the repast. Clarry, on the other hand, was drunk either fasting, or as a composing draught (a *night-cap*) before retiring to rest. Of these medicated liquors, the only kind still in use which deserves mention, is that insidious infusion of toasted Seville oranges and sugar in light wine, which is known by the name of *bishop*. The precise titles, however, of this delightful tipple are marshalled with admirable respect for dignities by a German amateur. He lays it down that, when made with Burgundy or Bourdeaux wine, it is *bishop;* when old Rhine wine is used, it receives the name of *cardinal;* but when Tokay is present, why then it is worthy of being called after the *pope* himself.

The varieties of genuine wines used in the middle ages may next engage our attention. Our own old romantic and narrative poetry is full of allusions to them; but Dr. Henderson is correct in his caution, that the notice of their names does not always imply that they were all imported into England. Much of our rude literature of that period consisted of translation; and, in copying circumstances connected with the manners of other nations, mention would be introduced of articles not in English use. Our early poets, too, were fond of making an ostentatious display of their knowledge by giving long catalogues of the natural and artificial products of various countries. To the present point, however,—these enumerations may at least satisfy our curiosity what wines were in use in one part or other of Europe, if not in England itself, or in any named country.

From the Bataille des Vins, one of the fabliaux of the thirteenth century, we may gather an idea of the wines most in repute in France: many of the modern growths may be discovered in the list; and, among them, those of Epernay, Hautvilliers, Chablais, &c. are particularly specified. The Rhine wines are as old at least as the twelfth century; for in that age the Johannisberger, still the best of them, was made by the monks of the abbey of Johannisberg. The banks of the Moselle were fringed with vineyards several centuries earlier. Dr. Henderson remarks that the choicest wines in the middle ages were raised on lands belonging to the church: for the rich chapters and monasteries were always more studious of the quality than the quantity of their vintages; and hence the praise of *vinum theologicum*. But he has omitted a material explanation of the fact. The monks were not only, as depositaries of all the learning of the times, themselves most

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most skilled in the culture of the vine and the manufacture of its juice; but they were also in every respect the best landlords, and maintained the happiest dependants. Respect for the church generally saved their lands from devastation in feudal broils; there was more security in their cultivation; and they would naturally communicate some of the results of study and experience in rural economy to their vassals. To return from this little digression, the Burgundian wines were also early in high repute; and it was doubtless not without good reason that the dukes of Burgundy were designated as 'les princes des bons vins.' The 'Gascoigne' wines were likewise highly prized; and here it may be said of France generally, that her wines have been celebrated for their flavour in all ages, classical, romantic, and modern: while those of Spain have been equally distinguished for strength and severity in all these epochs. Dr. Henderson should have told his readers from Froissart, that the knights of England, in that noon-tide of chivalry, the reign of our third Edward, disliked warring in Spain, because of her fiery wines, which they complained burnt up their livers, and aggravated the heat of the climate and the weight of their armour. But they greatly commended the genial sun and mellow wines of fair France.

The wines of Italy would appear, notwithstanding Dr. Henderson's opinion (p. 280.) to have been at this epoch in little foreign use; perhaps they were seldom exported from a country whose commercial wealth increased its home consumption. But the crusades had, as he correctly states, introduced a general taste over Europe for the Greek luscious wines; a predilection which long continued like that for sweet compounds. Cyprus and Candia, under the sceptre of Venice, supplied the whole of Europe with the finest dessert wines. In the former island the knights of St. John had a domain or *commandery* upon which the choicest sweet wine was made; and hence that growth of Cyprus acquired the name of Commendaria.

But the wines most in repute in the fourteenth century may be learnt from an enumeration in the metrical romance of the Squire of Low Degree.

'Ye shall have rumney, and malmesyne,
Both ypocrasse and vernage wine,
Mount Rose and wine of Greke,
Both algrade and respice eke;
Antioche and bastarde,
Pyment also, and garnarde;
Wine of Greke, and muscadell,
Both claré, pyment, and Rochell,
The reed your stomake to defye,
And pottes of osey set you bye.'

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Of these wines, Rumney was probably an Andalusian growth; Malmesyne, a Greek wine, named from Malvagia, in the Morea, from whence the *malmsey* grape originally came; Vernage, a Tuscan wine of bright golden colour; Monte Rose, Greek Muscadel, Antioch, as also pyment, ypocrasse, and clarè, speak for themselves; Algrade was of the Algarves, and Garnarde of Granada; Rochelle was the port from which the wines of Guienne and Poitou were brought to England; Osey, or Osoye, (a corruption of Auxois,) was of Alsace,—Alsatian wine; Respice (vin rapé) was wine made of unbruised grapes; and Bastard, about which Dr. Henderson is puzzled, was certainly a Spanish wine.

With respect to the early use of foreign wines in this country, the intercourse with the northern provinces of France after the Norman conquest, and more especially the acquisition of Guienne by our Henry II., naturally facilitated the introduction of French wines into England; and an active trade with Bourdeaux commenced at the latter period. After this our statute books abound with enactments regarding the importation of French wines; which, barbarously conceived as they were, still mark the extent and activity of the commerce. It reached its height under Edward III. when, Froissart relates that, upon one occasion, a fleet of above two hundred merchantmen came for wines from England to Bourdeaux, then the seat of the Black Prince's government. In the same age, the wines of the Rhine and of the Moselle appear to have been largely imported. It was, however, upon Gascony that the English chiefly depended for their favourite supplies:—clarets and other light wines, which seem to have resembled generally the modern growths of the same country. But, in the following reign, the strong wines of Spain had certainly also found their way largely into English use, notwithstanding the knightly abhorrence of the country and its potations; for, as Dr. Henderson has remarked, we find the Pardonere in Chaucer uttering a caution against them:—

> 'Of which riseth soch fumosite,
> That whan a man hath dronk draughts thre,
> And weneth that he be at home in Chepe,
> He is in Spain, right at the toune of Sepe.'

The Spanish wines, however, continued to grow in English favour, until early in the sixteenth century, when they had almost superseded the milder growths of France in general estimation. Perhaps the dissolution of political bonds between England and her dependant French provinces might have diminished the facility of importation, and the consumption of Bourdeaux wine. Be this as it may, the pages of our dramatists are full of evidence that, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. 'SPANISH SACK was the only

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only drink.' What this celebrated class of wines really was, has occasioned extraordinary controversy among annotators and small antiquarians; we agree with Dr. Henderson that the truth lies nearer the surface than has generally been imagined. But we have no leisure to accompany him over the beaten track of inquiry, and must hasten to the conclusions: that the word was originally applied to certain white wines of Spain and was merely a corruption of *seck*, or *sec*, signifying a dry wine; and that it afterwards came to include in its generic term, not only the produce of Xeres —probably the original sack—but of Malaga and the Canaries, with malmseys and other white wines, which, however sweet in themselves, acquired in common a sub-astringent taste from being prepared with gypsum, and were all remarkable for durability and strength. And there is no reason for supposing that these wines had then a different character from that which now distinguishes them.

But if sacks were in such general request, they were very far from being the only varieties of wine in common use among our ancestors in the ages which we have just quoted. Harrison (Hollingshed's Chronicles, vol. i. p. 167.) says, that there were used in England above fifty-six sorts of French and other foreign light wines, besides thirty kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c. on which he sets more account 'because of their strength and valure;' and he loosely reckons the annual consumption of wines of all kinds in England as exceeding twenty or thirty thousand tuns. Indeed the abundant introduction of wine into our island, in the sixteenth century, must appear to us very remarkable; as is also the enormous quantity drunk upon particular occasions. At the enthronization feast of Nevil, Archbishop of York, in the sixth year of Edward VI. one hundred tuns of wine were consumed. His predecessor is reported to have used yearly eighty tuns of claret alone in his house; and the annual consumption of wine in the establishment of the Earl of Shrewsbury under Elizabeth exceeded twenty-four tuns.

Of these varieties of wine, the different sacks however still infinitely surpassed all the rest in general estimation; but among these the public taste varied in its preference. About the end of the sixteenth century, Canary sacks came into vogue, and, before the middle of the following age, appear to have entirely superseded the use of Sherries; and although their name is now almost forgotten among us, the growths themselves are often imposed upon the English markets for Madeira. 'Of this wine,' says Howell, in his Familiar Letters, 'if of any other, may be verified the merry induction, that good wine maketh good blood, good blood causeth good humours, good humours cause good thoughts, good thoughts bring

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bring forth good works, good works carry a man to heaven; *ergo*, good wine carrieth a man to heaven. If this be true, surely more English go to heaven this way than any other, for I think there is more Canary brought to England than to all the world besides.' But towards the close of the century, the taste for Canaries shared the fate of former fashions; and the light wines of France recovered their sway. Champagne, Burgundy, Hermitage, with Hockheimer, or 'Hockamore,' grew into general notice at this epoch; and claret especially became again a favourite potation. But the long wars of Louis XIV. created another and most remarkable revolution in English drinking. All commercial intercourse with France was suspended; and the red wines of Portugal flowed into the empty conduits of the Bourdeaux trade. Then came the reign of Port, and the 'Methuen treaty,' of which we have all heard lately more than enough. We now approach our own times. The introduction of the wines of Madeira into English fashion is of more modern date than the Oporto trade. It is worthy of remark that though Madeira had supplied our colonies since the time of the Protectorate, its wines were not brought into general use in this country until the middle of the last century. 'Our officers,' says Dr. Henderson, 'who served in the West Indies and became acquainted with the excellence of the Madeira wines, are said to have introduced on their return that general taste for them which has since continued to prevail in this country.' It remains to be seen whether the present long peace, the fashionable intercourse with the continent, and the late reduction of duties, will in part expel the strong wines of Spain, Portugal, and Madeira from our markets, and revive among us that taste for the light wines of France and the Rhine which was once so general with our ancestors.

After having thus occupied ourselves with the historical part of Dr. Henderson's treatise, we cannot afford much room for strictures on the remaining part of his book, which is devoted to an account of the wines of the present day, their manufactures, qualities, and other matters. The few readers who may have any desire to enter into these researches will find them treated at length, and with sufficient accuracy, in the volume itself; and we shall merely run over the geographical divisions of this portion of the subject, for the sake of offering a few general remarks. Adopting the same order as Dr. Henderson, we begin with the wines of France, the most favoured country in the universe for the production of the grape, and that wherein the gifts of nature, in this respect, have been best improved by the industry and skill of the natives. The French certainly rank, as Dr. Henderson remarks, as the first wine-makers in the world; but he is correct in his qualification

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qualification of the praise. In many of the departments which ought to yield the finest wine, only inferior kinds are procured; and this proceeds entirely from a faulty mode of cultivation and management. The poverty, ignorance, or prejudice of the wine-farmers prevent them from adopting better methods; and it is only from the cellars of the great capitalists or independent proprietors that the first-rate liquors are supplied. Thus, though, as Chaptal has triumphantly observed, the whole sunny expanse of France, from the banks of the Rhine to the foot of the Pyrenees, presents a succession of fertile and beautiful vineyards, producing the most agreeable wines of Europe in inexhaustible profusion, yet it is only the growths of Champagne, Bergundy, Dauphiny, the Lyonnais, and, above all, the Bordelais, that deserve to be mentioned with entire commendation; while those of Languedoc, Roussillon, Provence, and other southern districts enjoying unrivalled advantages of climate and natural situation, are, notwithstanding, more remarkable for strength than flavour.

The wines of Champagne are distinguished, from the site of the vineyards, into *river* and *mountain* growths: the former being for the most part white, the latter red. The brightest and most sparkling of these wines are seldom the best, though the most captivating to an unformed taste. The effervescing quality, a consequence of imperfect fermentation, is in itself a proof of deficiency in true vinous flavour; and the small portion of alcohol which they contain immediately escapes from the froth as it rises to the surface, carrying with it the aroma, and leaving only a vapid liquor in the glass. Hence the still, the creaming or slightly sparkling Champagne wines, (*crêmans*, or *demi-mousseux*,) are more highly valued by connoisseurs than the full frothing kinds (*grand-mousseux*). The former will keep for years, the latter, as might be expected, spoil immediately. Of the still white wines, the best is that of Sillery, so called because made on the estate of the Marquess of Sillery. It was originally brought into vogue by the peculiar care which the Maréchale d'Estrées bestowed on its manufacture; and hence it was long known as the *Vin de la Maréchale*. Next to the Sillery may rank the white wines of Ay, famous for their delicate pine-apple aroma and flavour, and their sparkling brightness, but best when only slightly creaming, and not full frothing. After these the white vintages of Hautvilliers, Epernay and Pierry, and the red produce of the Clos St. Thierry, near Rheims, may rank in succession. But the red or mountain Champagnes, though of good colour and body, are, on the whole, less esteemed than the white: the pink (Champagne rose) differs only in the manufacture from those that are colourless; it is now out

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out of fashion, and, in fact, never had any thing to entitle it to a preference.

In the beginning of the last century a ridiculous controversy arose in the French schools of medicine on the comparative merits of the wines of Champagne and Burgundy. The angry discussion continued at intervals until the year 1778, when a solemn decree in favour of Champagne was pronounced by the Faculty of Medicine at Paris. With the professional justice of the verdict we pretend not to interfere; we abandon 'the dietetic qualities' of Burgundy to their fate. But, for richness and delicacy of flavour and perfume, we will still hold by the Côte-d'Or, in spite of all the fathers of physic and all the canons of science. Yet he who would regale his senses with Burgundy must not confine himself to this side of the channel. The fact is, that the best red growths of the district—the Romanée Conti, Chambertin, Clos Vougeot, Richebourg and St. George—are all of such exquisite delicacy, that they will not endure exportation. Indeed none of the finer Burgundy wines will bear removal, except in bottle; and even then they are apt to contract a bitter taste, or to turn sour, except treated with the most assiduous care. But even were the choicer growths of hardier constitution, they are produced in too small quantity, and are too urgently in request in France, to answer much more than the home demand. Hence what we call Burgundy in England is only the costly refuse of the red wines of the province. The white wines are much less excellent than the red, but still deserve to be mentioned with respect: particularly those of Montrachet, for their high perfume and agreeable flavour; and the Goutte d'Or (though inferior) for its splendid amber tint.

In passing from Burgundy to Dauphiny and the Lyonnais, we shall have the same remark to repeat of the finer wines of these provinces—that they are seldom drunk in England. The first of them, and among the first in the whole world, are those of the vineyards which, covering the southern aspect of a gravelly hill, overhang the banks of the Rhone, about twelve miles from Valence. It is from the HERMITAGE, which still crowns the granite summits with its ruins, that the vineyards have derived their celebrated name. The red Hermitage is known for its full body, dark purple colour, and exquisite perfume and flavour, resembling, but excelling in poignancy, that of the raspberry. Its white growths are, perhaps, less precious: as, indeed, white growths almost always are than red, where both are the produce of the same district. The colouring matter, which is contained in the rind of the grape, carries with it to the wine both aroma and flavour, which are lost in the manufacture of the paler liquors. Côte-Rôtie,

brune

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brune and *blonde*, may perhaps claim to rival, since they resemble respectively, the growths of the Hermitage: they are, however, inferior. But we are insensibly extending our remarks beyond compass, and must pass with a more rapid glance over the remaining vineyards of France. Of the produce of Languedoc, Roussillon and Provence, we shall say little, except to repeat from Dr. Henderson, that it is far from being what it might be rendered; and that, by injudicious culture and treatment, most of these red wines are made to resemble those of Spain in deep and thick colour, fiery strength and coarseness. Yet our author has not always done them justice; for we have, for instance, tasted in its purity some of the growth of St. George d'Orques, near Montpellier, dismissed by him as only 'a good table wine,' which, for fullness of body, delicacy of flavour, and its velvet repose on the palate, might almost challenge competition with Hermitage. The red strong Roussillons are generally employed for strengthening the lighter growths of the Bordelais, and are good, if not for that, for little else. But the white Muscadines of Languedoc and Roussillon, on the shores of the Mediterranean, are deservedly famous; and we need only mention the well known names of Frontignan, Lunel and Rivesaltes, which are among the very finest luscious wines in the world.

We must be brief in our notice of the Bordelais, though its wines might alone deserve a separate paper. The principal vine tracts of this district are divided into those of Medoc, the Graves, Palus and the Vignes Blanches. The Medoc vineyards, which extend from Bourdeaux northwards over a sandy and calcareous loam, produce the wines which have given immortality to the names of Chateau-Margaux, Lafitte, and Latour. The Graves are the gravelly soils southward of the same city; giving their name to the white wine which they yield: but the Haut Brion, the best, perhaps, of the Bordelais red wines,—though Dr. Henderson will not have it so,—is also the produce of the same region. The Palus, a bed of rich alluvial deposits between the Garogne and Dordogne, affords stronger and more deeply coloured growths than those of Medoc, with which they are sometimes mingled. But being hard and rough when new, and well adapted for sea-carriage, these are the wines which, under the name of *Vins de Cargaison*, are sent to the East Indies, to answer the demand for clarets in that country. The Vignes Blanches, or dry white wine district, is known for its Sauterne, Barsac, &c.

The finer red wines of the Bordelais are the most perfect which France produces: though containing little alcohol, they keep well, and even improve by removal; and as the original fermentation is complete, if the subsequent management be judicious,

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judicious, they are much less subject to disorders and acidity than those of Burgundy. But here again let no man in England, while he sips his CLARET, dream that he is drinking Chateau-Margaux or Haut Brion. The real quantity of the finer growths is so inconsiderable that they could not by any possibility supply a tenth part of that which usurps their name: little *can* be exported, and perhaps none *is*, in its purity. A bottle of the best wine is a rarity, for which, even at Bourdeaux, the bon vivant is content to pay six or seven francs. But for the English market, the secondary growths and 'vins ordinaires' of Medoc are bought up and mingled with the rougher growth of the Palus. And even this compound will not reach the proof for our fire-drinkers; and because our mouths have been seared with brandied ports, there must be in Bourdeaux a particular manufacture called *travail d'Angleterre:* three or four gallons of the inflammable ink of Alicant or Benicarlo, with half a gallon of stum wine and a dash of Hermitage, to every hogshead of Medoc. That the mixture has been suffered to remain guiltless of brandy is a miracle; for the cry among us is still as of yore, in less temperate times, 'claret for boys, port for men, but, if ye would be gods, brandy'! Yet how few even of the best kinds of the mixture imported under the name of claret the wine-dealers will permit us to drink without subsequent adulteration, Dr. Henderson has not informed his readers. We only mention a fact of notoriety which he has omitted, that, before the late reduction of duties, the wholesale importation prices of claret in the London markets varied from six to forty-five pounds the hogshead. The permutations by which these are mingled for the retail purchaser are as various as the hundred qualities of the liquor.

We shall have no temptation to linger among the vineyards of Spain, and little more to say of their produce than to express our detestation of the whole class of their dull heavy red wines. Whether they be known as Tinto, Alicant, Benicarlo, or Catalonian—whether they avow themselves in their own fierce nature—or are latently and murderously present in clarets—or conspire with brandy to impose their liquid fire upon us in the guise of port—they have all our hearty condemnation. Yet Spain has every rich gift of nature for the production of excellent wines. An English traveller in Granada, in 1809, found red wine of the country, in the house of a native gentleman, equal in delicate flavour to Burgundy. But the owner had been compelled to send bottles for it to the vineyard to prevent its being transported to him in sheepskins smeared with tar; and surrounded by whole forests of cork-trees, he was obliged to import his corks, as well as his bottles, from England! The principal vineyards of Xeres are in the hands of

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of French and English settlers; and to this circumstance alone may the improvement of the produce in late years be attributed. In Spain generally, except in the commercial towns and monasteries, casks, and bottles, and wine-cellars, are almost unknown; the wine is carelessly and dirtily made, rarely kept to acquire age; when it is, instead of mellowing, it can only become muddy and nauseously impregnated with the rancid flavour of the sheep-skin. Some of the sweet growths, and those of Malaga particularly, it is the fashion to praise; but we shall laud none of them. Of all the wines of Spain, we shall rescue only one from judgment, and that shall be the dry old white wine of Xeres. Whether it be known for pure Falernian, or 'merry sack,' or simply for your pale modern Sherry, Pasquil's Palinodia saith justly, that

'The life of mirth, and the joy of the earth,
Is a cup of good old Sherry.'

Yet it is monstrous that even this fine wine, so powerful in itself, should be defiled with brandy; and if the quantity do not, as Dr. Henderson asserts, exceed three or four gallons to the butt, it is several years before the wine recovers from its influence and developes its own oppressed flavour. The vitiated taste of the English market is the only excuse for the merchants; for the wine itself cannot require the admixture. Indeed even in its mellowed state, Sherry, containing nearly a fourth part by bulk of alcohol, is too powerful except in moderate quantities for healthful enjoyment; and if we still cling to the national passion for strong liquors, it is only because, in our cold and damp climate, there will always be a majority of days in which the lighter red wines of France will not sit quite pleasantly upon the stomach without a cushion—three or four glasses—of old Sherry or Madeira. Perhaps, to confess the truth, we are old-fashioned enough, of the two *rather* to prefer the latter; though the prejudice, we know, is running against it. But who that has lived in a warm climate does not know that, under an East or West Indian sun for example, a daily modicum of Madeira is the staff of life?—maintaining the fainting stamina of the European constitution; the nerve of manhood, and the milk of old age.

Of the wines of Portugal, we had almost resolved to say not a syllable; lest we should be betrayed into thread-bare discussions on the 'Methuen treaty, and the impolicy of high duties on French wines.' Yet we do think it a serious evil, no matter how produced or how far remediable, that the national taste should have become habituated to the brandied, fiery, deleterious potations which are known as 'common port;' and that, as Dr. Henderson accurately states the case, 'the man of moderate fortune, who purchases for daily use a cask of good ordinary French wine,

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wine, at eightpence a gallon, must submit to a tax of more than 1,600 per cent.' This tax may now be 700 per cent. lighter, but still the main evil exists for the consumer: that the market is not open to the equal competition of French and Portugueze wines; that the genuine supply of good Oporto is notoriously and utterly unequal to the demand which the protection occasions for it; and that every temptation is therefore created to mix it with villainous trash, and to cover the adulteration with excessive quantities of brandy. That the genuine wine—not the manufacture of Oporto or London, but the pure growth of the Douro—is excellent, many a campaigning connoisseur can testify who has drunk it on the spot, and never recognized Port in the full mellow body, exquisite flavour, and seducing mildness of the native liquor. But after the admixtures and adulterations to which the choice wines of the Alto Douro are subjected, to reduce them to the Port standard, it would be just as reasonable to expect the liquor to be good, as to hope to preserve the delicious qualities, and immeasurably to increase the quantity, of true Burgundy—of Romanée Conti and Clos Vougeot—by throwing all the inferior vins-du-pays of the province into one immense vat with them. If the market were thrown open, if the Portugueze grower and merchant were reduced by competition to attend to the improvement of their produce, and to send it uncorrupted to our cellars, we suspect they would find a full sale for all that the banks of the Douro will honestly yield. And however the politician may think, the consumer must regret that the wines of Europe are not fairly set before him for his choice; and that if his pleasures must be taxed, they are not rated according to their value; that, in short, instead of one duty upon all French wines, he may not purchase permission to drink the inferior growths at a price somewhat proportioned to their original cost.

The wines of Germany and Hungary form the next division of Dr. Henderson's work. Of the former, the class of Rhine wines alone deserve mention for their excellence, and very singular nature. It is along the course of that river, between Mentz and Coblentz, that these are chiefly produced. Here the stream is confined on both sides by lofty uplands of strata propitious to the grape, covered with extensive vineyards, supporting a numerous population, and giving an air of richness and animation to the scenery which forms an agreeable contrast to the ruins of feudal magnificence that crown the principal heights. The choicest vintages of this country, however, are confined to a small district called the Rhinegau; and to the vineyards of Hockheim, which, though lying on the river Mayn, are usually classed with them as being of like nature and nearly of the same excellence.

Hence

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Hence all the best sorts of the Rhine wines have long been confounded in this country under the general name of Hock; while Rhenish has become the distinguishing term of disrepute for inferior growths. The qualities peculiar to these growths are well known, and appear to form an exception to all received chemical theories: so sharp in flavour as often to occasion an unfounded suspicion of acidity, yet highly agreeable and abounding in delicate aroma; containing very little alcohol, (usually not above ten per cent. by volume,) yet dry and sound; and so extremely durable, that they will keep and improve for almost an indefinite number of years. It was this durability, probably, that introduced the singular custom of storing the Rhine wines in vessels of enormous magnitude. Every one has heard of the great tun of Heidelberg; it was thirty feet in length by twenty in depth, and was yet almost equalled in capacity by some others, for herein lay a point of rivalry among the great proprietors. This method of preserving the wine had perhaps its advantages for the stronger kinds; but it was essential to keep the vessel always full, either by replacing each quantity drawn off with newer wine of similar growth, or by throwing in washed pebbles to fill up the void. In the last century, for want of such precautions, the residue of a cask at Strasbourg, bearing date anno Dom. 1472, was found to have become thick and sour; which would not perhaps have occurred if it had been bottled. Of the growths of the Rhinegau, the best are the Johannisberger, before referred to, the Rüdesheimer, Grafenberger and Steinberger: the better kinds of the Moselle, of similar species, may rank between these and the inferior Rhine wines. Of Hungary, extensively a wine country, the produce, though it might be excellent, is generally bad from defective culture and management. But fame claims an exception for Tokay, imperial Tokay. Of this peculiar and luscious produot of the half-dried grapes of a district round the town of Tokay, all of us have heard but few tasted; for the wine bears an extravagant price even at Cracow, where the chief deposit is established for the markets of Poland and Silesia. The old wine, or vino vitrawno, is so highly valued, that when the Emperor of Austria wished to make a present of some to the ex-king of Holland, the stock in the imperial cellars was not thought sufficiently aged; and two thousand bottles were obtained from Cracow at *seven ducats the bottle*.

We cannot follow our author through his account of the wines of Italy and Greece.

> 'Could nature's bounty satisfy the breast,
> The sons of Italy were surely blest.'

If it depended only on the conspiring circumstances of a favourable soil and genial climate, the growths of both these countries

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would be, as every one may conceive, most excellent; but, with a very few exceptions, their indifferent quality serves only to place in the strongest light the inefficacy of all natural advantages without the concurrence of industry and good government in man. The wines of Tuscany, where agriculture generally is well conducted, are better than the rest, particularly the Montepulciano; and the Aleatico and other muscadines perhaps deserve a similar commendation. But these, as well as the famous Lacrima Christi, which is made in small quantities and chiefly reserved for the royal cellars at Naples, are better known beyond the Alps by name than in reality. Sicily shares the reproach of the neighbouring continent. What might be made of its produce may be learnt from the specimens of Marsala and Mazzara which are met with in this country. But the Sicilian wines which we import, are generally disguised and poisoned with the execrable brandy of the island; and this attempt to give strength to weak wines must always utterly extinguish their flavour. As long as the practice prevails, it is useless to hope for improvement; even though the hills at the foot of mount Ætna be, as described, one vast vineyard producing great varieties of wine.

We shall pass over the author's chapter on the wines of Madeira, for it contains nothing new; neither shall we find much to detain us in the little which he has to say on those of the Cape of Good Hope and of Persia. Yet the national importance of our South African colony surely demanded more detail as well as greater attention, than Dr. Henderson appears to have given to this part of his subject. He is well qualified to have afforded some profitable instruction to the colonists, but we can only perceive that he has thrown out one useful hint. The Cape wines *might* be good: they *are* (except the sweet growth of Constantia) as bad as possible. And this appears to proceed principally from the vineyards being injudiciously placed on the richer low soils, instead of being confined to the drier and more rocky lands. It is fortunate that the latter abound in the newly-settled districts. The obstinacy and mistaken cupidity of the Dutch farmers have hitherto prevented any improvement in the choice of situation; the abundant crops which they raise upon a subsoil of argillaceous loam, containing rich alluvial clay, offer stronger temptations to their short-sighted avarice than any regard to the quality of the produce can counterbalance; and hence, probably, as much as from a slovenly manufacture, arises the earthy flavour of their wines. Among the English colonists, this evil may be remedied by the more judicious choice of land for vineyards, while the richer lands may be worked more properly and scarcely less profitably for other crops. If fine grapes could secure good wine, both that

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that of the Cape and of Persia would be excellent. No where is the fruit more beautiful than in the former, and the kismish of Ispahan and Shiraz and Casvin has long been renowned. The wine of Shiraz, too, must once have been good, if Chardin were a connoisseur; for we remember that he compares it favourably with the vintages of his own country. But from whatever cause, it will no longer bear the most distant comparison with generous Madeira or delicate Burgundy, to which it has been likened; and it deserves only to rank with the common white and red growths of the Cape.

But if Dr. Henderson has thought it necessary to extend his inquiries into the distant east, merely to notice the wines of Persia, which are little known and less to be valued, why has he utterly omitted to mention any of the growths of the great western continent? We cannot pretend within our limits to supply this deficiency, but America surely merited a chapter in his work. Its northern countries give abundant promise of offering numerous wine-growing districts. The wild vine is found almost everywhere in the forests of the United States, and even of Canada, and it flourishes luxuriantly on the banks of the Mississippi and as far north as the shores of Lake Erie. The plant of the Medoc territory has been introduced into culture at Philadelphia, and is said to yield a wine there which sufficiently resembles the inferior growth of the Bordelais to encourage perseverance in the experiment. Some of the French settlers in the southern back states have also succeeded in making tolerable wine from the wild grape. But in New Mexico the culture of the vine has been eminently successful, and the sweet growths of Passo del Norte in particular, are already celebrated in the new world. In California also, where the missionaries in the last century introduced the European plant, a great quantity of good wine is raised of the Madeira kind. In various regions of Spanish South America, notwithstanding the obstacles which the policy of the mother-country constantly opposed to the culture of the vine in her colonies, wine has long been made in great abundance. Lima is the seat of a considerable commerce in the native growths of Peru, of which those of Lucomba and Pisco are in greatest request. Those also of the valley of Suamba, in the province of Arequipa, are in great estimation. In Chilé the vine grows exuberantly, and the country contains numerous vineyards, of which those of Cuyo rank first in their extent and the quality of the produce. These wines, principally of the red strong class, are carried across the Andes to Buenos Ayres, a distance of a thousand miles, and they afford the principal supply to all Paraguay. We regret that Dr. Henderson has not deemed it worth while to make some inquiries into these

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matters; for the real quality of wines which the new world is capable of producing is a question of increasing interest and importance in many points of view.

Of Dr. Henderson's next chapter on the wines used in England, we have already spoken. But we have purposely omitted to mention one part of it which may stand alone; and we shall now close our remarks with a point of some interest for the English reader:—we mean the ancient culture of the vine in this island. We shall not care to inquire, with Dr. Henderson, whether the vine was planted in Britain while yet a Roman colony. We incline to the opinion that it was; but the question of the precise date of its introduction is unimportant. It is certain, however, on the testimony of Bede, that, as early as the beginning of the eighth century, at least, the country exhibited vineyards on a few spots. They are mentioned in the laws of Alfred and other early documents; and Edgar makes a gift of a vineyard, at Wycet, with the vine-dressers. After the Norman conquest, many new plantations seem to have been made; and among other places, at Chenetone in Middlesex, at Ware in Hertfordshire,—and in the village of Westminster. Even Holburne had its vineyard, which afterwards came into the possession of the Bishops of Ely; and, when the buildings of the city extended in that direction, gave the name to a street which still exists. To all the greater abbeys, in the south of England at least, vineyards appear to have been at later epochs attached. As these monastic edifices were generally placed in fertile and well sheltered vallies, the choicest exposure for the vine might be found in their vicinity; and many of the monks, being foreigners, would naturally be familiar with the best modes of culture and the means of overcoming the disadvantages of the climate. But the account of William of Malmsbury is incontestible that, in the twelfth century, vineyards were general in England. He praises the fertile vale of Gloucestershire in particular, as yielding abundance of excellent wines scarcely inferior in sweetness to the wines of France. It is well known that it has been contended, that we should translate vina cider, and vineæ orchards; but in a subsequent passage the same chronicler distinguishes apple trees and vines as the different growths of the same domain, and describes the vines as either trailed along the ground or trained on high, and supported on poles. One would have thought it impossible to mistake all this, yet it has been mistaken. But a thousand other proofs of the manufacture of wine in England, in the middle ages, might be adduced if necessary. Domesday book gives frequent evidence of the distinction between *pomaria* and *vineæ*. There was a vineyard in the king's little park at 'Windlesore,' where wine was made plentifully so late as the reign of

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of Richard II., and paid in tithe to the abbot of Waltham, then parson of the parish. (*Stowe, Chron.* p. 143.) But the most decisive evidence of all is furnished by the archives of the church of Ely, wherein we have an account of the produce of a vineyard for two or three years: even the number of *bushels of grapes* sold is recorded, as also the value of the wine; and it is noted that in one unfavourable year, no wine but only verjuice was made. It was probably this uncertainty of climate, which checked the culture of the vine, as we have seen; and when foreign wines were imported in great abundance, the home manufacture, of inferior quality raised at greater cost and with much uncertainty, naturally declined and soon ceased altogether as a branch of public industry.

But, in our own times, wine has been and is still raised in England as a matter of amusement and experiment. About thirty or forty years ago, Sir Richard Worsley procured some of the hardier species of vines, planted them at St. Lawrence, in the Isle of Wight, on a rocky soil, with a south-eastern exposure, and engaged a vine-dresser from France to superintend their culture. The result was, that in one or two favourable years, a tolerable crop of grapes was obtained; but eventually, the cold springs and early autumns weakened the plants and blighted the produce, and the scheme was soon entirely abandoned. The spot, however, selected by Sir Richard, was not well adapted for the experiment; for notwithstanding the general mildness of the climate of the Isle of Wight, it was severely exposed to the cold winds which prevail in the Channel just when the vine begins to bud. The endeavours of Mr. Hamilton, at Painshill, were more fortunate; and the account of them, which Dr. Henderson has copied, is very interesting. By good management, that gentleman procured a wine fully equal to the second rates of sparkling and creaming Champagne, which by keeping gained strength, lost its effervescence and sweet flavour, and acquired the dryness of old Rhine wine. Some that Mr. Hamilton kept sixteen years became so like old Hock, that he declares it might have passed for such to any one who was not a perfect connoisseur. This wine, in its Champagne state, was pronounced to be excellent by very good judges, upon whom it passed for the foreign growth. It was then sold to wine merchants at *fifty guineas* the hogshead, and retailed by them for French wine at from four to six guineas a dozen. But Mr. Hamilton makes grievous complaints of fatal May frosts and mouldering wet summers.

That by diligent attention and skilful management, some very respectable imitations of the secondary growths of foreign wines might be raised in this country, will not, therefore, admit of a doubt; though it can never be done successfully from grapes

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ripened on trellises and walls, as is sometimes attempted. Dr. M'Culloch (Art of Making Wine, p. 228) has shown how good wine can be made from the unripe fruit, tendrils, and even from the young leaves of the vine; fermented with a proper addition of sugar and cream of tartar; and he appears to consider this domestic manufacture as worthy of regard in an agricultural point of view, for he speaks of the certainty of raising leaves and green fruit in all years, and of the useful and extensive results to be deduced from the cultivation of the vine for this purpose in Britain. But, on the propriety of forming vineyards generally on English estates, we adopt Dr. Henderson's sensible conclusions: that, as long as foreign wines can be obtained at moderate prices, little advantage can accrue from the attempt to supplant the use of them by the produce of English grapes, as of all crops, that of the vine is the most precarious, and, even in some of the French provinces, does little more than repay the expense of cultivation. Wine countries, it is true, support a numerous population; but the poverty and misery of the peasantry in them are proverbial. If the grape will not always ripen in Champagne, it would be absurd to expect it should do so in a climate so inconstant as that of England; and to think of converting any portion of our corn lands into vineyards, would be the height of folly. In Normandy and Picardy, where the heat of the summer is greater than in England, the culture of the vine has been gradually relinquished; and all the more recent attempts to establish vineyards in this country, though they appeared to succeed for a time, have ultimately failed.

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TO us, as lovers of the good old stock-poetry of England, this is a pleasant sight. Three voluminous editions of Pope within the present century; two of them within the last three years; and the great luminary himself attended by a long scintillating train of controversialists, commentators, annotators, editors, and biographers. There is evidently a confidence felt by all these, that the public taste is beginning to be satiated with the forced meats of modern poetry, and to relish again the wholesome viands, that delighted our fathers, and are destined to be the delight of all future generations. We cannot, we think, be suspected of wanting due sensibility to the merits of our contemporary poets; for there is scarcely a Number of our Journal, which we have not adorned with specimens of their taste, cultivation, or power. But with all this, when we consider the faults, and even the excellencies, of those who rank foremost among them; the defects of their feeble and indiscriminate imitators; and still more the demerits of those who have perverted their talents to serve the purposes of corruption and impiety; we feel convinced that this was a juncture at which an appeal might be made with peculiar propriety to the high name of Pope, and the public be called on to revert to the works of him, who, more than any other poet, united strength of reason with elegance of fancy, and instructed his readers by the moral truth which he taught, while he charmed their attention by the most exquisite pleasures of correct taste. The public seems to have admitted the appeal;

a high

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a high degree of interest has been revived on the often discussed points of Pope's personal character, and the poetical rank to which he is entitled. Much reasoning and ample evidence have been furnished on both; from which however, as might have been expected, the most discordant inferences have been drawn. We shall now endeavour to deduce some conclusions for ourselves, and in so doing to form a judgment on the merits of the different editors, and of those who have favoured or contravened their respective opinions.

The first authentic edition of the whole of the works of Pope, intended by him to be transmitted to posterity, was published by Warburton, on whom that care, and the profits to be derived from it, devolved by the author's last will:* and there is no reason to doubt that he executed it with fidelity; for, whatever were Warburton's faults of temper,† we believe he was quite safe in his characteristic defiance to 'the Dunces,' whom, he says, Pope 'bequeathed to him, together with his works.' Speaking of himself in the third person, he thus concludes his advertisement, 'To his authorship they are heartily welcome. But if any of them have been so far abandoned by truth as to attack his moral character, in any respect whatsoever, to all and every of these, and their abettors, he gives the lie in form; and, in the words of honest father Valerian, "Mentiris impudentissime."' An edition thus sanctioned should, we think, have been the guide of all succeeding editors who wished to do justice either to the poet or the public: if, indeed, subsequent research had discovered any pieces which might have gratified literary curiosity, without injury to the morals of the reader, or the author's reputation, the act of publication even against his recorded judgment would certainly have been excused, and the case of *Augustus* and *Virgil* might have been cited as a sufficient precedent. But when editors gratify their own pruriency, or that of those who buy their books, by reviving pieces written in the levity of youth or

* This edition did not appear till six years after Pope's death, and the delay (for it had been much earlier prepared) was creditable to Warburton, who was unwilling that his edition should interfere with the sale of his friend's works remaining undisposed of at his death, the property in which was otherwise disposed of by his will.

† We are tempted to preserve a trait, which, as belonging to so extraordinary a man, we think should not be lost. A friend of ours, many years ago, on being shown, among the curiosities of Durham Cathedral, the splendid vestments formerly worn by the prebendaries, asked how they had come to be disused; when the verger said, 'It happened in my time. Did you ever hear of one Dr. Warburton, sir? a very hot man he was, sir: we never could please him in putting on his robe. This stiff high collar used to ruffle his great full-bottomed wig: till one day, he threw the robe off in a great passion, and said he never would wear it again; and he never did: and the other gentlemen soon left theirs off too.'

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exuberance of wit, but suppressed in maturer age and by improved judgment; or the productions of an hour of inconsiderate gaiety, never meant for indiscriminate perusal; let the *future* evil and disgrace be on *their* heads. Warburton himself has not been sufficiently scrupulous in this respect; for Pope, among other corrections of his works for a posthumous edition, in which he was engaged nearly till his death, had designed to exclude his juvenile translations, 'on account of the levity of some, the freedom of others, and the little importance of all.' 'But these (says Warburton) being the property of other men, the editor had it not in his power to follow the author's intention.' On a moment's consideration he might have seen that it was his duty to publish his friend's works in the castigated form desired by his friend, and to leave 'other men' to use their own property as they would. Had he done so in the first instance, it is probable that all future editors of respectability would have followed his example, and we should not have had the mortification of seeing the pages of our moral bard sullied with these youthful stains. Dr. Warton, however, and Mr. Bowles, seem to deny the power of repentance to wash away sins, and will allow neither the poet nor the world to benefit by his better judgment, and the improved delicacy of his moral feeling. It was Pope's wish, in the purgation of his works, to defecate, as much as possible, the source, and purify the stream for posterity; but Mr. Bowles, in particular, has industriously sought out the secret depositories of the dregs, and thrown them again into the stream.* Mr. Roscoe's edition is honourably distinguished by a very different spirit.

So much for the materials selected by the different editors. We now return to the editors themselves. Warburton, as an annotator, is more an encomiast than a critic; and yet, perhaps, less desirous to elucidate or even to commend his author than to exhibit his own ingenuity. His running commentary on the more important pieces has all the tediousness of a paraphrase, with the added impertinencies of 'here our author excellently observes;' 'having thus proved, &c., he now proceeds.' Ease, compactness and strength, for which the poet is so distinguished, are lost by laborious diffusion; and points are hammered into flatness. We

* Mr. Bowles has claimed, in his last publication, great merit for having omitted an obscene piece, included in Warton's original edition, (but most properly excluded from that of 1822,) which he admits was never acknowledged by Pope, but, he says, never denied: as if Pope had ever denied a hundredth part of the ribaldry, which Curll and other infamous booksellers published in his name, and which, no doubt, he would have thought himself disgraced by being called upon to deny. Mr. Bowles, instead of complaining that he is not praised for departing from Warton's example, ought, from this instance, to have seen that moral propriety was not to be estimated by individual practice, but referred to general principle.

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will give one short specimen of Warburton's conjectural comments, in which he would rather impute a quibble to his author than omit a fancy which would have entered no head but his own. Pope is censuring some of the faults of Milton, and adds—

'Not that I'd lop the beauties from his book,
Like slashing Bentley with his desperate hook.'

'Alluding,' says Warburton, 'to the several passages of Milton which Bentley has reprobated by including them within *hooks*.' Of his propensity to eulogize whatever style his author writes in, two examples may serve:

'Bear me, some God, oh, quickly bear me hence
To wholesome solitude, the nurse of sense:
Where contemplation prunes her ruffled wings,
And the free soul looks down to pity kings.'

On which Warburton observes, 'these four lines are wonderfully sublime'! vol. iv. p. 281. Again—

'Avidien and his wife (no matter which,
For him you'll call a dog, and her a bitch.)

'Our poet had the art of giving wit and dignity to his Billingsgate;' on which Warton gravely observes, 'I see neither wit nor dignity in these lines.'—vol. iv. 90. We are by no means inclined, however, to join with Warton in saying, that 'his notes on Pope are conceited, futile, and frivolous.' vol. iii. 158. On the contrary we think Dr. Warton has very judiciously enriched his edition with many notes from Warburton, exhibiting a power and range of intellect, with a depth of learning, which we should vainly look for in his own.

If Warburton wrote much to show his ingenuity, Warton has written a great deal to display his reading; which in the principal classics, in Italian, French, and English poetry, and in the lighter kinds of literature, was very extensive; but of which the irrelevant introduction is often so laughable, that it reminds us of our black-letter acquaintance, Thomas Spight, who, in telling us that Chaucer's supposed father was a 'vintener of London,' cannot restrain his etymological learning from overflowing in a marginal note, 'vintener quasi winetunner.' Warton's information, however, is often amusing or interesting, if not to the point in question, at least to literature in general; and the reader always has the satisfaction (which is no slight one) to find that he is perusing the book of 'a full man.' In the appropriation of notes, however, to their authors, both he and Mr. Bowles (the latter probably in consequence of following the former) have been guilty of an important error, which it may be useful to the purchaser of their editions to notice. Throughout the Dunciad the greater part of the notes of Pope himself are erroneously attributed to Warburton—

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'Which deprives Pope of a great share of his own work, and frequently weakens the effect by attributing to the Commentator what ought to be received on the higher authority of the poet.' 'This mistake has, in all probability, been the cause of the *omission* of many remarks on the Dunciad, which were supposed perhaps by the editors to be Warburton's and are therefore discarded, but which are, in fact, the *original notes* of Pope, and are necessary to complete the work as he gave it.'—*Roscoe*, vol. iv. pp. 15 and 16.

Another important fault in Warton's edition is the omission of Warburton's commentary on the Essay on Man and the Essay on Criticism, especially the former: for whatever be our own opinion of that commentary, Pope had so identified it with the Essay, by declaring it to be necessary to the full understanding of what he intended to convey, that no subsequent editor can be justified in rejecting it. The spirit in which Warton annotates is not a kindly one. We do not think that this was prompted by any ill-will towards the man, or any jealousy of his fame; but he had formed to himself a theory in poetical criticism, in support of which it was necessary for him to prove, that Pope ought not to stand so high among poets as the public had placed him. He was interested therefore in detecting or imagining faults, in his writings; and as he warmed with his subject, there appears to have grown upon him a willingness to listen to and report whatever tended to depreciate his character.

The same or a bitterer feeling seems to have actuated Mr. Bowles; every part of his performance is pervaded by a spirit so decidedly hostile, that we know not how to account for its being felt towards a man who has been dead nearly a century, and towards a fame so resplendent, that even the fondest aspirations of Mr. Bowles's youthful muse could never have hoped to eclipse it. We repeat that we cannot account for it. But there the evil spirit is—evinced in the festive delight with which he seizes on every thing that can vilify the man or depreciate his works; in conjecturing what he cannot find, and insinuating what he dares not assert. Where these purposes, however, are not concerned, Mr. Bowles's notes (though sometimes borrowed without acknowledgment from Warton, especially in the illustrations cited from other authors) have added much both of information and judicious criticism; and he has made a good selection, for the same objects, from the annotations of his predecessors.

Mr. Roscoe's selection from *his* predecessors is also copious and judicious—so copious, indeed, that as far as regards Mr. Bowles's book, which may be considered as a rival publication in the market, we know not how these writers adjust their claims; for he has, without ceremony, taken much of what is valuable in

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Mr. Bowles's book to add to the value of his own. His original criticism is not much, but is enlightened and liberal; and the candour with which that and the life are written is quite refreshing after the blighting perversity of the preceding editors, whose misrepresentations and calumnies he has industriously examined and patiently refuted, with a lucid arrangement both of facts and arguments. Great industry too is exhibited in the superior arrangement of his materials, especially of the correspondence of Pope and his friends. He has given an index only to the volume containing the life. We much wish he had imitated Mr. Bowles in giving a general index, which is particularly convenient in so miscellaneous a collection as the works of Pope.

We now proceed to examine the character of Pope, and the aspersions on it that have been so pertinaciously renewed in the two editions immediately preceding Mr. Roscoe's.

'His predominant virtues seem to have been filial piety, and constancy in his friendships; an ardent love of liberty and of his country, and what seemed to be its true interest; a manly detestation of court flatteries and servility; a frugality, and economy, and order in his house and at his table, at the same time that his private charities were many and great.' —*Warton*, vol. i. lvi.

'That he was a most dutiful and affectionate son, a kind master, a sincere friend, and, generally speaking, a benevolent man, is undoubted.' 'Whatever might have been his defects, *he* could not be said to have many bad qualities, who never lost a friend, and whom Arbuthnot, Gay, Bathurst, Lyttleton, Fortescue, and Murray esteemed, and loved through life.'—*Bowles*, vol. i. p. cxx. and cxxxi.

Higher authority cannot be adduced for the existence of such admirable virtues; because the testimony would have been yielded only on the knowledge of numerous facts, which no ingenuity could torture to another inference; and the reader will bear in mind these incontrovertibly established qualities, and judge how far they are compatible with some of the delinquencies which these same editors have endeavoured to impute in detail. Mr. Bowles's list of virtues, it will be observed, is much more scanty than his predecessor Warton's; but he has been even brought to acknowledge his 'forgetfulness' with regard at least to one eminent virtue. If we, in our own language, were to scotch the insidious forgetfulness, *we* might, perhaps, be accused of 'coarse and insulting abuse;' and shall therefore only cite the gentle remonstrance of Lord Byron, whose 'urbanity' 'and good humour,' Mr. Bowles, after receiving it, professes to be so 'gratifying to his feelings.'—(*Letter to Byron*, p. 2.)

'But there is something a little more serious in Mr. Bowles's declaration, that he "*would* have spoken" of his "noble generosity to the

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outcast, Richard Savage," and other instances of a compassionate and generous heart, "*had they* occurred to his recollection when he wrote." What! is it come to this? Does Mr. Bowles sit down to write a minute and laboured life and edition of a great poet? Does he anatomize his character, moral and poetical? Does he present us with his faults and with his foibles? Does he sneer at his feelings, and doubt of his sincerity? Does he unfold his vanity and duplicity? And then omit the good qualities which might in part have "covered such a multitude of sins"? and then plead that "*they did not occur to his recollection*"? Is this the frame of mind and memory with which the illustrious dead are to be approached? If Mr. Bowles, who must have had access to all the means of refreshing his memory, did not recollect these facts, he is unfit for his task; but if he *did* recollect, and omit them, I know not what he is fit for, but I know what would be fit for him.'—*Byron's Letter*, p. 51.

The memory of Mr. Bowles, however, is of a peculiar nature; if it be defective as to one class of ideas, it is remarkably retentive of another; like a sieve, letting the fine slip away, but retaining whatever is coarse and offensive. Of this capricious accomplishment we cannot pretend to exhibit the multitude of proofs with which his book is swarming as a wasp's nest; but shall attend only to the principal charges which he has brought in detail against the man whom, in general terms, he has characterized, as would appear, so liberally. Some of those charges we have already rebutted,* and we will not fatigue our readers by a repetition of our statements; yet so much has been again insisted on in the late discussions, or retained in substance and by implication, though modified in expression, that we hope they will bear with us in the selection of a few particulars, remarkable either for the enormity of the charge, or as specimens of the spirit in which the attack has been conducted.

It is for this latter reason, principally, that we notice again the grand accusation, that Pope accepted from the Duchess of Marlborough a thousand pounds to suppress the character of Atossa, and afterwards published it; of which Mr. Bowles has been made so thoroughly ashamed, that he is quite indignant at being supposed to have ever intended to insinuate its truth; (*Reply*, p. 9.) appealing to a passage in his life of Pope, where he maintains that, '*till there* is other proof than the ipse dixit of an adversary, the story is entitled to no regard.' Now if this passage be the acquittal of Pope, it is the condemnation of Bowles; for if he really considered the story as wholly unworthy of credit, why did he again revive it in his notes on the poem without the accompanying contradiction, and speak of the poet with bitter vituperation on the supposition of that being true which he knew to be an exploded lie?

* Vol. XXIII. p. 400. &c.

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To this he will, no doubt, reply, that he has, in his notes on this very poem, admitted that the story rests on Walpole's authority, and 'that we should read cum grano salis, whatever comes from Walpole's party against Pope.' He certainly has so done—after an interval of thirteen pages, at the very end of the poem, when the impression produced by the story's supposed truth has been allowed to sink deep into the reader's mind. Mr. Bowles is well acquainted, as we shall see, with a cheap mode of contradiction, which substantially leaves the thing contradicted in full force, and yet serves as a retreat for the writer to fall back upon when his charge is confuted.

In the same spirit, and with the same caution, Mr. Bowles has said in a note, 'It should be remembered, that when this epistle was first published, Pope, in an advertisement, declared, "upon his honour," no character was taken from real life': yet we find him (v. iii. p. 251.) adopting, without contradiction, the note of Warton, who first assumes, without proof, that by Philomedé is meant the Duchess of Marlborough; and then most logically adds, 'our author's declaration, *therefore*, that no particular character was aimed it [at] is not true.' We find him also subsequently using the presumed falsity of this declaration of Pope, for the purpose of discrediting his asseveration on another charge: 'If there be truth in the world,' (says Pope, in one of his letters,) 'I declare to you,' &c. 'If there be truth in the world'! 'This is strong language indeed,' (says Mr. Bowles's note,) 'but we remember with pain, that Pope, in his first edition of the Epistle to the Ladies, declared "upon his honour," no one person in particular was intended,' (*Bowles*, viii. 397.) What a relief it must be to this painful recollection of Mr. Bowles, to be informed that 'the characters of Philomedé, Chloe, and Atossa, the only ones which have ever been supposed to apply to particular individuals, and with regard to the first of which Dr. Warton has founded so direct a charge of falsehood against Pope, were not included in the early editions of this epistle, to which the declaratory advertisement was affixed; and that such advertisement was omitted after those characters were inserted?'—*Roscoe*, vol. i. p. 416.

The pain, which Mr. Bowles had previously suffered on this subject, is to be ascribed to the singularly partial nature of his memory, which we have before had occasion to notice. It appears he remembered that the declaration was in the first edition; he forgot that the only personal allusions in the satire were not included in that early edition: he remembered they *were* included in the subsequent editions; but forgot that in *these* editions the declaration was withdrawn. Mr. Bowles's anomalous memory had here the double convenience of enabling him conscientiously

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scientiously to deny the truth of the solemn asseveration alluded to, and also to charge Pope with the accusation which that was intended to rebut. The accusation was, that in the Epistle to the Earl of Burlington he had, under the name of Timon, ridiculed the Duke of Chandos, to whom Pope was said, by the dunces of that time, (for no higher authority has been cited by the wise men of this,) to have owed a debt of gratitude for great pecuniary obligations, and for frequent kindness and hospitality: 'the falsehood of both which,' says Pope, 'is known to his Grace. Mr. Pope never received any present, farther than the subscription for Homer, from him or from *any great man* whatsoever.'—*Bowles*, iv. 61. And Mr. Roscoe (i. 381.) tells us, that in the folio edition of 1735, it is further added, that Pope 'never had the honour to see the Duke of Chandos but twice.' But if this statement had been as true as it is here proved to be false, the inference of ingratitude would still remain to be proved; for Pope, in the letter to Hill, (*Bowles*, viii. 397.) says, 'if there be truth in the world, I declare to you I never imagined the least application of what I said of Timon, could be made to the D: of Ch——s,' whom he then proceeds to eulogize. We have seen how Mr. Bowles gets over this averment, and it is curious to observe how his confidence increases as it goes, till it blazes out in this defiance of Pope's solemn declaration. In vol. iii. p. 342. he only says it was *supposed* the sacred duty of gratitude was violated in this instance: but at p. 354, it becomes positive assertion, 'Pope had been received at Canons, a splendid and ostentatious seat of the Duke of Chandos, with respect and kindness: in return, he held up the house and gardens to ridicule, and descended to throw out personalities against its owner, whom he calls a "puny insect shivering at a breeze." This circumstance excited considerable odium against Pope, *and well it might.*' And then he rises to the superlative degree, and gives the lie in form. Nor does the contradiction of facts avail more with him than that of words. Pope enumerates, in another letter to Hill, (*Bowles*, viii. 376.) many particulars in his character of Timon, and the description of his villa, which are wholly inapplicable to the Duke of Chandos and to Canons. But these things, says Mr. Bowles's note, 'were evidently done as blinds:' so that if Pope describes Timon and his villa like Chandos and Canons, he is impudently ungrateful; and if *unlike*, he must be equally ungrateful and hypocritical besides; a new kind of dilemma from which we know not what innocence can escape.

The next charge is a heavy one, and supported like the former. Pope had cultivated an intimacy, and maintained an epistolary correspondence with Lady M. W. Montague; a woman whose various talents,

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talents, acquirements, and accomplishments were eminently calculated to excite the admiration of a mind so well formed to appreciate them all: and considering the qualities of each, there can be little doubt that the admiration was mutual. An estrangement, however, took place, which there are no facts to explain, but the account of Pope is, that the discontinuance of their acquaintance began on his side; that his 'reason for doing so was, that she had too much wit for him;' and that he 'could not do with his, what she could with hers.' (*Letter to a Noble Lord.*) In the absence of facts, abundance of conjecture has been supplied, and, as in other controversies, the heat is found to be the greatest where the light is least. Mr. Bowles (vii. 216.) says, 'I have little doubt but the lady, disdaining the stiff and formal mode of female manners at that time prevalent, made the lover believe he might proceed a step further than decorum would allow;' and again, (vol. viii. 347.) 'That he *presumed* too far, and was *repulsed*, I think, there is reason to believe.' The *reason*, however, for the *belief*, and for the having little *doubt*, is nowhere assigned. He does indeed (in the first cited passage) say, in general, that 'Pope's pictures of his heart were *so free*, that he must have a strange opinion of her if he could suppose she would not resent it.' But that strange opinion, he was, by Mr. Bowles's own concession, entitled to hold—for this was written to her ladyship, not when at Constantinople, as he asserts, but just when she had left England, (*vide Roscoe*, ix. 11.) and when she returned, after receiving all Pope's too free letters, (of which this was the first on her departure,) she complied with his wish in taking a house, in order to be near him, at Twickenham. We must not, however, too implicitly admit these aspersions of Mr. Bowles's on the lady's character, which of course must be considered as less delicate in proportion as this letter was more gross. He tells us, that Pope 'has *here suppressed* part of the letter, which may be seen in Dallaway's edition. The grossness of it will sufficiently explain Pope's meaning.' By *here* suppressed, Mr. Bowles means in that edition of his letters which Pope himself had superintended. But Mr. Roscoe has given the letter as published in Lady Mary's works by Mr. Dallaway; (*Roscoe*, vol. ix. p. 8.) from which it is apparent that nothing was 'here suppressed.' Mr. Roscoe calls on Mr. Bowles to explain 'what could be his motive for making so unfounded an assertion'—and we join in the call.* Having established, however, that this

* Since writing the above, we have seen the pamphlet which forms the last in the list at the head of this article. Mr. Bowles has answered to the call in the manner so indignantly, on another occasion, noticed by Lord Byron: it was an 'oversight,' a 'mistake,' 'inadvertently' committed, as 'none who know him will doubt.' p. 9. This pamphlet is not without art in its formation; however clumsily exhibited. It supposes a series

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this attack and repulse were the cause of a 'lasting hate' in Pope; (viii. 347.) he concludes, that the character of Sappho, (in the imitation of Horace's Satire, b. ii. sat. 1. v. 83.) which is applicable only to one of the vilest description of women, was intended for Lady Mary. Nor, indeed, can we wonder at *his* drawing the conclusion; for though Pope had, in the most unequivocal manner, declared that he 'had never applied that name to her in any verse, public or private,' Mr. Bowles, as we have seen, had a total distrust of his veracity, and accordingly calls his denial 'half subterfuge, half falsehood.' (vol. iv. p. 96.) It is, however, surprizing that Lady Mary herself should have considered the picture as like enough to have been intended for herself; in the language of Mr. Roscoe, it was 'to justify the author, and voluntarily to accept the chaplet of infamy.' But having done so, she sought the alliance of Lord Hervey, who was indignant at having been characterized as Lord Fanny; and, together, they produced a copy of doggerel verses, in which their politeness was exhibited in ridiculing the poet's personal deformity, and their literary taste in satyrizing his numbers as 'crabbed.'

Pope has suffered much from the mischievous uncertainty of the personal application of general names. One of Mr. Bowles's cumulative arguments for Sappho being Lady Mary was, that Sappho, in another place, is described as wearing diamonds; now Mr. Gilchrist discovered, that in the first folio edition of 1735, it is

'Agrees as ill with Rufa studying Locke,
As *Flavia*'s diamonds with her dirty smock.'

But 'revising this epistle, he found that he had employed the name of Flavia to exemplify a tawdry slattern, and again, in the same satire, to characterize a romantic wit; some change of name was therefore necessary, and chance alone directed the poet to the adoption of Sappho.' (*Second Answer to Bowles*, p. 11.) Another specimen of this finding out a likeness to the man in the moon, is

series of letters from a Rev. Friend (too modest to be named) who is at the trouble, even to 'the fatiguing of his hand,' of making very copious and faithful extracts from Mr. Roscoe's edition; (which Mr. Bowles, however, assures us he examined with his own eyes,) and requests to be gratified with his observations in reply—and Mr. Bowles very kindly furnishes his friend with ample answers. The consequence of this arrangement is, that the friend huddles together a number of Mr. Roscoe's charges against Mr. Bowles, which are afterwards answered in the same order; so that the charge and answer are separated in the mind of indolent readers, (who are generally the largest class,) by a variety of irrelevant matter; instead of appearing 'side by side, as it were,' for judgment:—except when Mr. Bowles considers he has a strong observation in reply to his friend's extract, which he then throws into a note on the spot. Another convenience, too, in this plan is, that Mr. Bowles, 'confining himself to answering those passages from Mr. Roscoe's edition of Pope, which have been thus copiously and faithfully set before him by his friend,' is to be presumed, by the gentle reader, not to have omitted other passages from inability to answer, but merely from his kind friend not having specified them.

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exhibited in Warton's note on the 371st line of the fourth book of the Dunciad. 'I have been lately informed, that by Mummius was meant Dr. Mead, a man too learned and too liberal to be thus satirized.' But *who* informed Dr. Warton? or why did he not, from his own book, (vol. iii. p. 265.) cast in the calumniator's teeth Pope's compliment to the 'learning and humanity' of Mead? and again, Pope's confidence in his medical skill, his obligations to him for the exercise of it, and delight in his society, expressed in a letter to Allen about a month before his death? (vol. iv. p. 110.) And is all this incontrovertible testimony to be set aside, and Pope accused of ridiculing the friend to whom he expresses alike his gratitude and admiration, simply on the faith of an anonymous literary gossip? But on what other faith does Mr. Bowles accuse Pope of having, from disappointed ambition, ridiculed, after his death, under the name of Bufo, the Earl of Halifax, whom he had acknowledged as his first patron, and from whom, Mr. Bowles tells us, he had 'once expected preferment'? (iv. 45. and vii. 305.) He expected it because Halifax had offered it unasked. Nor had he reason to resent the non-fulfilment of a promise, for which he could not have waited long. The first notice of it is in Pope's manly letter to him on the subject, in December, 1714; and his Lordship died in May, 1715; in which same year Mr. Bowles has recorded an elegant compliment paid to his memory by the poet. (vol. ii. 384.) The grateful praise to him shortly after, on publishing the preface to Homer, is also recorded by Mr. Bowles, with a note, 'and this is the nobleman whom Pope satirized under the name of Bufo.' (vol. iv. 441.) And, twenty years after Halifax's death, in the epilogue to the satires, he classes him with his noblest friends; describing him also as 'a peer no less distinguished by his love of letters than his abilities in parliament.' Yet all these uniform testimonies of respect and gratitude expressed in the plainest language, and continued through a period of three-and-twenty years, Mr. Bowles, by one conjectural interpretation of a general name, converts at once into proofs of ingratitude and hypocrisy. The thing, however, is not left to conjecture or comparison. The passage itself proves, as Mr. Roscoe has well observed, that 'to whomsoever the character of Bufo may be supposed to refer, it cannot be to Lord Halifax, who died in 1715, when Pope was a very young man, and before he had published his Homer; whereas the person alluded to, must have been living in Pope's more advanced years, when he had been 'berhymed so long,' and was 'grown sick of fops and poetry and prate.'

The next important charge is, that of the 'grossest licentiousness,' an imputation which Mr. Bowles at first reproached Mr. Gilchrist

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Gilchrist with having unjustifiably asserted to be found in his edition of Pope. The *very words*, it seems, are not there; but that the idea is conveyed, cannot be doubted, when he afterwards avows that these words express his own conviction of the poet's character, (*Observations*, &c. p. 37.) That some of his writings are licentious, we are compelled to admit, and we have seen that his wish was entirely to exclude them from the corrected edition of his works. It is the misfortune of precocious talent to be urged into action during the ebullition of youthful passions; and Pope's youth was passed in an age, which was not yet refined from the vices of the second Charles's court, and of the stage prostituted to the court, and surpassing it in power to debauch the public mind. Under these circumstances, public and personal, that the writer printed some pieces of which he lived to repent, is neither so much to be wondered at nor condemned, as is that uncharitableness which persists in taking such sins, so atoned for, into the estimate of general character; or that pruriency of imagination, which scents out and brings to light again what was buried to prevent offence.

Mr. Bowles, with his usual candour, apologizes for the introduction of some pieces, upon his customary plea of inadvertency; of others for their exquisite wit; at the same time occasionally taking the credit of referring to passages, 'which Warburton had suppressed, and which it did not become him to restore;' yet in the very same page (vol. vii. p. 164.) he collects passages (to enable the reader to form an idea of his character) from letters written by a youth of twenty, to an old debauchee of considerable literary fame. Had Messrs. Warton and Bowles always deferred to the selection of Pope himself, and his representative, Warburton, we should have had little to complain of: but if the wit of one piece could induce one of these gentlemen to admit it, whilst the second, rejecting that, agrees, for the same reason, in the adoption of another—both of which had been proscribed by Pope, and rejected by his friend; with what propriety can they declaim against the licentiousness of the poet? Pope has himself truly said: 'A few loose things sometimes fall from men of wit, by which *censorious fools* judge as ill of them as they possibly can, *for their own comfort.*' (*Letter to Swift*, Feb. 16, 1733.)

But Mr. Bowles is not content with reproaching him with writings, of which he never wrote some, and never wished others to survive him; he charges him not merely with a youthful indulgence of ideal voluptuousness, but of having led a life systematically licentious. The fooling with Lady M. Montague we pass by as equally absurd in her and Pope; whatever were the facts, it was but a transitory weakness—

'Once,

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'Once, and but once, his heedless youth was bit,
And liked that dangerous thing, a female wit.'

But the nature of his connection with the Blounts involves the whole character of his existence; for it began in boyhood, and continued to his death-bed. Of this family there were two sisters, about Pope's own age: handsome, amiable, and (for that period) accomplished women;—with *both of whom* he cultivated an intimacy of the most interesting and affectionate kind; sanctioned by the approbation of the mother and the friendship of their brother, a friendship broken only by his death, which did not occur till Pope was of the age of eight-and-thirty. In such an intercourse it is reasonable to suppose, that his affection for one or other sister would preponderate, as either, for a time, might seem less engaged by other ties, and more attached, or more congenial to him. Accordingly, we find his letters, for several years, addressed sometimes to one, sometimes to the other, and sometimes to both; all in the style of gallantry, which that age considered as absolutely requisite, when a gentleman addressed any female not included in the table of prohibited consanguinity. Indubitably, the most lover-like epistles are those, where both ladies are addressed in one letter; and even Mr. Bowles will hardly venture to suggest the depravity of two sisters jointly carrying on an intrigue with the same man at the same time. Yet when one sister in the name of both, writes thus:

'Sir, my sister and I shall be at home all day. If any company come that you do not like, I'll go up into any room with you. I hope we shall see you. Your's, &c.'

Mr. Bowles's note is, 'this letter, it has been observed, (by whom?) is very short, but very much to the purpose.' And this letter Pope thought so little to any purpose requiring concealment, that it is now in the British Museum, with some lines of his Homer scribbled on the back of it! The sacred name, neither of sister nor brother, can protect a lady from Mr. Bowles's fancy. Mr. Digby thus concludes a letter, 'My brother Ned is wholly your's, so my father desires to be, and every soul here whose name is Digby. My sister will be your's in particular;' and Mr. Bowles remarks, 'I almost suspect Pope of a little *gallantry* again. Elizabeth wrote the letter to him respecting her brother's illness;'—(a fortunate occasion for beginning a commerce of gallantry, as the brother was an excellent medium for carrying it on). We know his propensity to the fair sex. In his first letter after leaving Sherborne, he says himself, 'I wished the young ladies, whom *I almost robbed* of their good *name*, a better name in return;' and Pope adds, (which Mr. Bowles

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Bowles does not,) 'even that very name to each of them, which they shall like best, for the sake of the man that bears it.'—(*Bowles*, viii. 84. and 76.) Can innocent sportiveness be more clearly indicated, or more remote from the sensuality to which the commentator endeavours to wrest it? In this spirit, however, it is, that the correspondence with the Blounts is tracked and hunted through; and to render the criminality of Pope more probable, Martha (who was in the habits of visiting and corresponding with ladies of the first respectability, both before and after the death of the poet) is aspersed whenever an opportunity offers to surmise away her character. He would shelter himself, indeed, under public report: for, on one occasion, where Pope is speaking to Arbuthnot of the malice shown to the good character of some very innocent person, a note tells us, 'probably Martha Blount, respecting whose intimacy with Pope there were some insinuations to her disadvantage.' Where, except as Mr. Roscoe observes, in Mr. Bowles's own volumes?—(*Bowles*, vii. 358.) and (*Roscoe*, x. 158). Again, (*Bowles*, ix. 279.) where Pope says to Swift, 'I am just now told a very curious lady intends to write to you to pump you about some poems said to be yours;' a note tells us, 'probably Martha Blount'—probably—'concerning the offensive verses, The Ladies' Dressing Room, Strephon and Chloe, &c.' These, it seems, of all Swift's verses, are the first to rise in the imagination of the Annotator: but why is he to cast the filth of his own fancy and of Swift's on the character of a lady? that lady Pope could, not only in verse meant for the public eye, but in his private letters, congratulate on a cheerful temper joined with innocence, and call on to unite with him in a frequent contemplation of death, as what will make her happier and easier at all times.'—(*Roscoe*, viii. 501. and 467.) Is this the language of a guilty paramour? and written, too, a year after the death of her brother, when, Mr. Bowles tells us, (as insidiously, and as unsupportedly as usual,) Pope was much more explicit than he had ever been before, respecting the nature of his feelings towards Miss Martha.'—(viii. 49.)

The favourite point of attack, however, on Pope, is his supposed disingenuousness in the transactions connected with the publication of his letters. We cannot enter into all the details; but the general facts are such, as seem quite sufficient to enable an unprejudiced reader to form a fair judgment. In 1727, Curll (the infamous literary pirate, who for obscene publications had been fined and pilloried) bought of Mrs. Thomas the letters which her keeper, Cromwell, had received from Pope, and entrusted to her care. They had been written from the age of twenty to twenty-three; and, of course, contained much, both in style

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style and matter, which the writer, when his judgment was matured, regretted to see in print. He feared a similar fate for the letters which might have been kept by other friends, and which, therefore, he requested them to return to him. Of these, he destroyed many, but preserved some, either as 'serving to revive several past scenes of friendship,' or 'to clear the truth of facts, in which he had been misrepresented by the common scribblers.' The originals of some, and copies of others, made by amanuenses, were collected in two books, with the addition of notes and extracts, and placed for security in the Earl of Oxford's library; 'that in case either of the revival of slanders, or the publication of surreptitious letters during his life or after, a proper use might be made of them.' The utility of this was early seen. In 1728 the works of Wycherley were printed, in a way which, by the publication of his correspondence with Pope, appeared clearly to be contrary to Wycherley's better judgment; upon which Pope printed from these manuscripts some of the letters which had passed between them, accompanied with a few marginal notes. In 1735 Curll wrote to Pope, that he intended publishing a new edition of the Letters to Cromwell, with numerous other letters and papers, to be furnished by one P. T. whom Pope had disobliged —inclosing some sentences in the professed handwriting of P. T. which appeared to be a feigned hand. Pope, determining to have no private correspondence with such a character, answered only by advertisement in the public papers. Curll then published his collection, and Pope found that some of the letters in it 'could only have been procured from his own library, or that of a noble lord, and which gave a pretence to publishing others as his, which were not so, as well as interpolating those which were.' He, therefore, advertised a reward of twenty guineas to any person, who by the direction of another might have communicated these writings to Curll, and of forty guineas for the name of the principal. After this he received documents purporting to be the correspondence of P. T. and his agent R. S. with Curll; who, in his own subsequent publications, admitted their accuracy; by which it appeared, that a very wary bargaining had gone on between these initial personages and Mr. Curll: and that they had at last all quarrelled on the quantum to be paid and received for their mutual villany.

Not being able to disavow the whole of Curll's publication, and yet on his own account, and that of his friends, indignant at parts of it, Pope now found the occasion had occurred for which, eight years before, he had provided: and he determined, by a publication of the genuine letters, to give the only possible contradiction

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to the misrepresentations of this spurious collection. Two years afterwards, his authorised edition appeared.

These are the facts—upon which Mr. Bowles's theory is this—that Pope, already in undisputed possession of the highest eminence in contemporary literature and moral respectability, was yet of such insatiable vanity, that in order to add to his poetic wreath the sprig of epistolary elegance, he determined to risk all, by employing some base agents to publish, what he was ashamed to avow, and did disavow. These, we repeat, are the facts, and this the theory, and we defy Mr. Bowles to prove the falsity of the one, or the verity of the other. Thus we had written before the appearance of the Final Appeal; but we find we had formed a false estimate of his courage, for at p. 45, he says, 'Pope, who, it will be allowed, must know a little more of the matter than either Mr. Roscoe or myself, complains of his letters being "*snatched out of pockets*, or purloined from *cabinets*:" but he never once, to my knowledge, explicitly says, that those letters which had been "*recalled*," transcribed, and deposited, were stolen from the depository, or privately transcribed:' and yet in this same pamphlet, p. 169, he says, quoting from Pope's own account, (which he had given before imperfectly, and now proposes to give entire,) 'Mr. Pope, on hearing of this Smith, and finding, when the book came out, that several of the letters could only have come from the manuscript book before mentioned, published this advertisement.' This in itself includes what Mr. Bowles had denied to exist. But the advertisement itself would have spoken still plainer, had he permitted it to speak at all: but he breaks off here, and adds, within brackets, '(here the pages were cut out from which the extracts in my edition were printed, to save the trouble of transcription.)' Now, we do not find that advertisement in that edition; and that advertisement contains the following words:

'Edmund Curll,' &c. 'have, in combination, printed the private letters of Mr. Pope and his correspondents, (some of which could only be procured from his own library, or that of a noble lord, and which have given a pretence to the publishing others as his which are not so, as well as interpolating those which are,) this is to advertise, &c.

Upon these facts and this declaration of Pope, 'who (we agree with Mr. Bowles) must know a little more of the matter than either Mr. Roscoe or he;' our theory is, that had Pope wished for an apology to publish his correspondence, he had a fair opportunity in 1727, on the appearance of the surreptitious edition of his letters to Cromwell, as well as in 1729, when he only published what was requisite for defending the character of Wycherley; and that when, in 1734, Curll had advertised that any thing

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thing which any body would send as Mr. Pope's or Dr. Swift's, should be printed and inserted as theirs, and, in consequence, there appeared, in 1735, a more multifarious collection, garbled and interpolated, involving more complicated interests; he, after two years, was reluctantly compelled to publish a genuine edition.

Mr. Bowles indeed, by one of such ex-parte inadvertencies as we have already noticed, had represented him as hastening out his own edition in the same year as Curll's, which he now admits to have been 'a mistake of figures.' He determines, however, to conclude with a logical triumph, for which all his strength is collected; and which, though not very clearly stated, we make out to be this: If the letters had been taken from the depository, or privately transcribed, the copies could not have varied from the originals; but they did vary in the spurious edition; and Pope adopted those very variations in his; and yet *in his preface he declares* he would not go about to amend the letters he had recalled from his friends:—'and this circumstance I suspect Mr. Roscoe, whose logic seems to contend with his taste, will still find what logicians calls a dilemma; on either horn of which I leave him, for the present, to struggle.'—(*Final Appeal*, pp. 45, 46.) Mr. Roscoe's struggle will not, we imagine, be very long; for here, as on so many other occasions, Mr. Bowles has fallen into a little 'inadvertency' of fact;—when Pope said he would not 'go about to amend' the letters, *he* added (what *Mr. Bowles* 'inadvertently' has not,) 'except by the omission of some passages, improper, or at least impertinent, to be divulged to the public; or of such entire letters as were not his, or not approved of by him.'—(*Preface to the first genuine Edition.*) And in the 'Narrative' he says of the deposit of letters at Lord Oxford's, 'some were originals, others copies, with a few notes, and extracts here and there added.' Now from this, it is obvious, that Curll's copy, if stolen from this depository, would have notes to explain the cause and manner of the collection having been made, together with the alterations from the originals which Pope had thought proper, for the reasons he has stated, to make? The agreement, therefore, of the spurious and genuine editions is a proof of Curll's villainy, not of Pope's duplicity; who, if he had been guilty of such, was surely not also so foolish as to expose himself by adopting, verbatim, in his own edition, so many of the alterations and notes of Curll's. This is a supposition which it requires all Mr. Bowles's avidity to swallow; and he does swallow it—for he answers this objection by saying, 'with all his genius he might have been as *inadvertent* as some greater blockheads, and particularly the writer of these pages.'—p. 189. Let the reader judge of the congeniality.

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We are tired, and fear our readers may be so too:—but we have now gone through the principal charges brought so perversely against the character of Pope; we say the principal, because Mr. Bowles's is a kind of bush-fighting; and we cannot pretend to hunt him out wherever he lies perdu among the notes; and whence, whenever the mind is soothed with an effusion of affection, or elevated with the expression of noble sentiments, out springs the friendly editor, with a 'could Pope really be sincere in these sentiments?' 'Can this be real or affected?' 'Pope had constantly in his mouth candour and truth, &c.' We may, perhaps, meet with some of these, and notice them, en passant, as we proceed in our observations on the works, genius, and rank of the poet.—To which pleasanter task we can now advance cheerily.

And we think we may advance to it at once; there are, indeed, preliminary questions of general criticism, on the nature of poetry, its proper province, and various kinds, which have called forth disputants of no ordinary reputation; and produced such a display of talent, as might be expected, when the names of Southey, Byron, and Campbell were enrolled among the disputants. Perhaps we may think that much not only of the difficulty, but of the controversy itself, may be traced to a want of due precision in stating the contested propositions, and that we could without much expense of time or paper bring the parties to something like agreement; but it seems hardly necessary to the right understanding of our more immediate subject; and we have already trespassed so long on the patience of our readers, and must necessarily detain them still so much longer, that we will not be diverted by any temptation, or for however short a distance, from the course which lies straight before us.

The poetical works of Pope have been popularly divided into descriptive, translated, moral and satirical, with exceptions allowed for some examples of the lyrical and pathetic. We have no objection to the division, but that we should have included the satirical under the moral; for whether reason, ridicule, or vituperation be employed, the object is the same—the communication of poetical pleasure and the inculcation of moral truth.

The versification common to all these divisions requires a short consideration, and but a short one; for there is scarcely any difference of opinion with respect to it. All allow that the finish, at least, to our national versification was given by Pope; but it has been said to be merely the consummation of what had been in a great measure already effected; and passages are produced from Sandys, Spenser, Hall, Cowley, Denham, Waller, Dryden, to prove that as harmonious verses as any of Pope's had been written long before. So far from disputing this, we would undertake

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take to produce as harmonious from Chaucer, Drayton, nay Donne, the rudest of the rude; but a claim of this kind can never be decided by particular specimens. It was the peculiar merit of Pope, that the correctness of his ear, the delicacy of his taste, and his resolute aspirations after excellence, determined him to leave no example in his writings of those occasional harshnesses, tortuous constructions, and circumlocutory and expletive interpolations, which disfigured the works of his most eminent predecessors, and formed an apology for the slovenly performances of his early contemporaries. Determined, like Manilius,

'Magnaque cum parvis simili percurrere curâ,'

he it was who first gave to the public poems of immaculate composition; of compact strength, united with ease and harmony; and furnished therein a standard, to which all other essays were referred. The popular ear was attuned to his music, and the public taste refined by his example. It must, however, be admitted that, with the zeal of a reformer, he carried his ardour for polish and concentration so far as to make sentences too frequently coincident with couplets, and clauses with lines; approaching sometimes to the 'arena sine calce' of Seneca's prose, by almost entirely denying himself the liberty (which his predecessors had perverted to license) of allowing several lines to flow on together in sentiment and grammatical construction. And in the formation of his single verses he was so partial to the pauses which produced the most melodious line, as to neglect too much that *variety* in their position which elicits the finest harmony on the whole. But the accuracy of rhymes was the part of versification which he left least improved; and with that Swift often taunted him, and appealed to his own practice. Swift had few ideas to convey, or pictures to represent, which did not admit of several modes of expression with nearly equal, or at least sufficient force and clearness: it was therefore easy, and politic, to distinguish himself by correctness of rhyme when that and rhythm constituted so large a part of his pretensions to the character of a poet. But Pope, who had so many purposes of extreme delicacy to execute, probably found it impossible to accomplish all, if he drew any closer the shackles of rhyme. Though, therefore, he never adopts the consonantal discrepancies of his predecessors, he frequently allows himself a partial dissimilarity in the vowel sounds. Such are the faults of his exquisite versification; and they are such as he, and only he, could have taught us to perceive; and those that mend them must acknowledge him for their master.

We now proceed to consider his merits in the different departments of his poetry.

Of the Pastorals it is unnecessary to say much—they are sel-

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dom read for any positive pleasure which they afford; but to the critic they have a relative value for the beautiful specimen of versification which they afforded at a period, when the English ear was not yet brought to that degree of nicety, which it was the successful labour of Pope's whole poetical life to produce. He himself seems to have valued pastoral poetry in general at its true worth, and he had the good sense not only to reject the advice which Walsh gave him, to write a pastoral comedy, but to abandon altogether a field where the most successful cultivation could be comparatively fruitless. He saw that, in a highly civilized state of society, men fix their eyes on pastoral rather to relieve them from painful scenes, than in expectation of pleasure, and that finding persons, sentiments and occupations entirely alien from their sympathies, they end in admiring the art of the poet rather than his poem; and of course turn away to find the same art employed on more congenial subjects.

In the 'Windsor Forest' the poet elevated his strain by combining the descriptions of external nature with feelings accordant to the actual state of society, and with historical characters and events. Warton (in his Essay, p. 344) unites this poem with 'The Rape of the Lock' and 'Epistle of Eloisa,' as Pope's principal claims on the admiration of posterity; 'for wit and satire,' says he, 'are transitory and perishable, but nature and passion are eternal' —as if vicious passions (the most legitimate objects of satire) were not as natural and eternal as torrents and volcanoes. 'Windsor Forest' undoubtedly contains many passages of animated sentiment, and of beautiful description: nevertheless we consider it as a failure, because it does not place the author at the head of the class to which the poem belongs. It is incontestably inferior to the beautiful particularity blended with the delicate sentiment and feeling of Cowper, or the splendid diffusion of Thomson in his 'Seasons,' and still more so to the richness of conception and luxuriance of language in the first canto of 'The Castle of Indolence.' Had 'The Temple of Fame' been entirely an original composition, it would have approached nearer, though not have attained, to an equality with these; but so much of the ingenuity of the allegory, and so many of the images are Chaucer's, that, with all its beauty of versification, brilliancy of expression, and variety of added congenial beauty, it still wears the livery of a master. Pope, accordingly, with his usual candour, premises in the advertisement, that 'whenever any hint is taken from Chaucer, the passage itself shall be set down in the marginal notes': and Mr. Bowles, with *his* wonted candour, observes, 'Pope seems unwilling to confess *all* he owes to Chaucer,' (*Bowles*, vol. ii. p. 107;) but, with his customary deficiency of proof, only specifies in one instance, 'Pope has

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has not quoted the simile taken from Chaucer's second book'—the celebrated simile of the stone dropped into a lake, of which Pope was so fond, that he has applied it here, in the 'Essay on Man,' and in 'The Dunciad': but so far is he from wishing to claim it as original, that in the beginning of the very passage in which the simile is found—only nine lines before—he says in a note, (we cite Mr. Bowles's own edition, vol. ii. p. 103,) 'This thought is transferred hither out of the *third* book of Fame, where it takes up no less than 120 verses, beginning thus:—"Gefferey, thou wottest well this."' Now having so distinctly referred to the beginning of a long passage, it was surely not incumbent on him to cite every particular that was adopted from it. Mr. Bowles will say, there is no such passage in the third book:—but he knew that there was in the *second*, and he knew too, that Pope had, in his advertisement, referred the reader to the 'third book of Fame, the first and second having little to do with the subject'; and that, *therefore*, when he adopts a thought from the second, he notices that 'it is transferred *hither*'—he does indeed add, from the *third* book; which is so obvious a misprint, that, on any other occasion, Mr. Bowles's critical acumen would have assuredly detected it;—so that it is manifest Pope had been especially careful to obviate the suspicion of plagiarism, in the very particular on which Mr. Bowles's charge is rested. But to return to the poem. Its principal fault, though unnoticed by his editors, is such as is commonly incident to protracted allegory, a frequent mixture of the allegorical and direct. Thus, in speaking of names engraven on the Icy Mountain, he says,

> 'Nor was the work impaired by storms alone,
> But felt th' approaches of too warm a sun;
> For Fame, impatient of extremes, decays
> Not more by envy than excess of praise.'

And again, describing the suppliants of Fame, he says,

> 'Their plans were different, their request the same;
> For good and bad alike are fond of Fame.'

This is the mere ὁ μῦδος δηλοῖ for school-boys, and it is singular that in these and such instances, he was not even misled by Chaucer. But this and other imitations from Chaucer, as well as all his minor translations, were done 'as exercises,' in extreme youth; and we cannot, therefore, wonder either at occasional failures in execution, or injudicious selections. Of the latter an example is seen in his choice of Statius's Thebais. It is to be lamented that, as he was employed in translation, and executed so small a part, he had not chosen, instead of that strained, tedious, and cold composition, some of the easy and elegant pieces of the

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Sylvæ, which, being so singularly happy in expression, would have given exercise to his own peculiar powers in the adaptation of language. But yet more is it to be regretted that he did not turn his attention to the Achilleis; which, whatever may have been the more extended design of the author, is, in its present state, sufficiently complete in its action, and forms in its details one of the most interesting of the narrative poems of antiquity: few have so many nice touches of individual feeling, such tenderness and delicacy of sentiment, such beauty of illustration, conveyed in such felicitous phrase.

In his great translation he had scarcely a choice, though we join in the regret which has been often expressed, that our two celebrated translators had not interchanged undertakings. Many of the prime requisites were common to both; but Dryden was distinguished by a dashing boldness in the confidence of strength: Pope, by an exquisite sensitiveness to every refinement of sentiment, every shade of expression, and every nicety of the most melodious versification. Yet such is the fire and majesty of his diction, that we should have thought these the characteristics of his style, had we been shown only the sublime parts in which they are employed. The defect of Pope for the task was his want of critical knowledge in the Greek language; for though Mr. Roscoe has endeavoured to maintain his sufficiency, it is hardly defensible after examining Wakefield's multiplied proofs, and Pope's own confession in his letter given by Johnson. But what his knowledge could not supply, he was indefatigable in seeking, by a minute comparison of former translations, in verse and prose, in our own and foreign languages; and has made, perhaps, fewer absolute misconstructions of his author's meaning than are to be found in any version of a work of equal magnitude.

But it is averred, that if he have not misconstrued, he has misrepresented, in not giving a faithful picture of the manners of the times, as pourtrayed by Homer. And this, in part, is true. But poetic pleasure, not archæological information, was the prime object; and still, therefore, the question remains, whether Homer, in any other form, could have given the English reader so much poetical pleasure, or conveyed so strong an idea of his beauty and sublimity. Dryden has somewhere said, a translator should make his author speak as he would have spoken in the translator's age and country; and Homer was too much a master of eloquence to have thought of winning favour by offending prejudices. To procure him, therefore, a fair opportunity of exhibiting his transcendant excellencies, it was necessary to keep out of sight some of the coarsenesses of ancient manners; of which, indeed, a literal translation would not have conveyed an accurate idea: for it is not merely

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merely that the same *words* do not always convey the same ideas, but even the same *things* do not; so wholly different are they made by adjuncts of association. Thus, if you would translate Ambrosia into English, you certainly must not use the word assa-fœtida; but you could not use a better for a North American Indian, who calls it (as Fourcroy tells us) 'food for the gods.' And, assuredly, if Pope had given heroes, kings, and counsellors in their exact costume, mind and manners, John Bull would have opined that Homer

'Had trusted ministration
To chaps, wha' in a barn or byre
Wad better filled their stations,
Than courts yon day.'

It is probable, therefore, that the mode adopted was that which did the greatest justice to Homer and to the English reader, and made 'the translation of the Iliad that poetical wonder' which Johnson has pronounced it to be—'the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen'; and which (from the unequalled spread of the English language) will give, through future ages, a wider diffusion to the strains that, floating down for three thousand years, have made musical the stream of time.

Connected with this translation Mr. Roscoe opens rather a curious subject of speculation.

'When,' says he, 'from the period of his life at which we are now arrived, we look back for a few years, and perceive the many excellent works of taste and fancy, and original composition, which he had produced at so early an age, it is not without a sentiment bordering on disappointment and regret, that we find *he had devoted himself to a single object*, that the morning prospect which had opened so brightly was over, and that the meridian of his day was to be confined to one long and uniform track, in which the slightest deviation was a fault, and the least delay inadmissible. Accordingly, after this period, we are to look for few if any of those efforts of his genius *to which he is chiefly indebted for the rank* he holds; and if in opening to his countrymen the poetical stores of the great Grecian bard, he has given them a boon, which no other hand could have conferred, they may perhaps have paid too dearly for it in the privation of those productions which he had already formed in his own mind, and which would probably not have been unworthy of those which preceded them. The task was at length successfully completed, but by that time the brilliancy of fancy, the blandishments of youth, and *the warmth of friendship* were over. *From the heights of imagination* the poet had "stooped to truth and moralized his song." Philosophy had in her turn obtained the ascendancy, and Poetry had become her handmaid.'—*Life*, p. 120.

We do not quite agree in the accuracy of all the particulars on which the reasoning of this passage is founded; the most passionate

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sionate of all Pope's productions, the Epistle to Abelard, was written during the time in which he was translating the Iliad; his fame and popularity are founded more on the translation, and the poems published contemporaneously, or subsequently to it, than on any produced before; and so far from 'the warmth of friendship being over,' we need only read Mr. Roscoe's own life of him to be satisfied, that warmth of friendship was a quality in him which peculiarly marked and adorned his character through life; that as old friends died before him, something like a kindly necessity of his nature impelled him to adopt new, and that the feeling ceased only with his existence. But we suspect the whole passage to be more fanciful than sound—it can hardly be said, we imagine, that the employment of translation in itself could be unfavourable to the perfecting of Pope's poetical talent, when the work translated and the principle of the translation are considered. The task was completed in his thirty-second year, a period of life, surely, when the judgment may be matured, but when the powers of fancy and imagination are not ordinarily decayed. In truth, however, we cannot see any reason to infer from the productions which preceded the translation, that the latter course of the poet would have differed essentially, if that had not been undertaken; his earlier poems are all of a nature, which seem to have prepared and to mark him out for a great translator, and a moralist; in his latter productions the same character of mind is evinced under the modifications only of matured age, increasing infirmities, and the various circumstances which surrounded him.

Having mentioned Johnson's liberal praise, we must not pass unnoticed his frequent censure of Pope, by which Mr. Bowles has not failed to profit. The truth, however, is, that there is no authority, either in morals or criticism, of such uncertain estimation: none was higher when he wrote under the unbiassed influence of his understanding and his principles; and none lower when under the not unfrequent ascendancy of morbid feelings: then, even truth, for which his reverence was so profound and habitual, was sacrificed to the petty vanity of a momentary triumph; and even the benevolence with which his mind was so deeply embued, yielded to the dictates of spleen and caprice. Frequent as are the proofs of this unhappy influence in the Lives of the Poets, it is no where more conspicuous than in his estimate of evidence on the moral character of Pope, and of the merit of some of his productions. An example of the latter may be found in the petulant remarks on the Epitaphs. It is not intended minutely to examine these hypercritical observations; to which, however, their author seems to have been uncommonly partial,

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partial, as he published them in 'The Universal Visitor,' 'The Idler,' and 'The Lives of the Poets.' But we shall, on the general subject, notice the difficulty of doing that originally and well, which has been done so often; and of giving appropriateness to what must, in fact, have been common to so many. The 'absurdity of joining in the same inscription Latin and English, or verse and prose,' does not appear to be so obvious as Johnson has considered it. The reason for using Latin at all is to convey to foreigners, or posterity, the meaning, which a vernacular language might fail to do; but it would be strange, indeed, to secure this object without any care for the information of those, who not only form the majority in number, but may be supposed to feel the deepest interest. With regard to the blending of verse and prose, it is only necessary to observe, that verse cannot be more appropriately applied than in an epitaph; where the purpose is to concentrate, in the most impressive form, what we wish to sink into the heart and memory of the reader: and if poetry is to be used, prose must too; for even Johnson's ingenuity could not have given a poetic character to the Anno Domini, which is yet necessary on a tomb-stone.

We now enter on the consideration of those compositions on which are founded Pope's principal claim to poetical celebrity.

The earliest of these was the Essay on Criticism; proving a precocity precisely on that field of intellect where it was least to be expected; for though written at the age of one-and-twenty, it is distinguished by solidity of judgment, a correct and cultivated taste, and a chastened fancy.*

In this poem was first exhibited that marvellous compression of thought into terse language, and melodious versification, so admirably adapted to didactic poetry; but which it had never before attained, and has never since exceeded. The Art Poëtique of Boileau is well entitled '*Art Poëtique en vers:*' for its verse is nearly the only pretension, by which it can aspire to please more than an essay in prose might have done; whilst our countryman's illustrations of wit and beauty are so thickly scattered, yet so judiciously arranged, that his rules of art, and sentences of wisdom, appear always as 'il frutto senil sul giovenil fiore.'

* A remarkable exception to the correctness of writing in this poem exists in a passage, which none of the commentators have objected to:—

'Maro in his boundless mind
A work t'outlast immortal Rome design'd.'

If it be meant as a satire on the Roman epithet for their city, it is obscurely expressed:—if not, it is such a solecism as can be paralleled only in the vaunted correctness of Racine—

'Au-delà des tems et des ages,
Au-delà de l'éternité.'

Warton.

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Warton, who prefers Boileau's poem to Horace's, and all other Arts of Poetry extant, (vol. i. p. 317.) does, however, admit that the Essay on Criticism is 'a *sensible* performance:'—(*Essay*, p. 111.) taking care to put the word *sensible* in capitals, to indicate the want of any higher poetic character. But even the *sensible* character is denied to Pope's praise of Quintilian, whom 'to commend (he says, *Essay*, p. 178.) barely for his method, and to insist merely on this excellence, is below the merit of one of the most rational of Roman writers.' Now who but Dr. Warton and Mr. Bowles, who applauds his remark, could imagine, that this was a comment on a couplet in which Quintilian is eulogized for *gravity*, *copiousness*, the *justest rules*, and *clearest* method?

'In *grave* Quintilian's *copious* work we find
The *justest rules* and *clearest method* joined.'

We must not leave this poem without exhibiting another of Mr. Bowles's ingenious hypotheses and charitable deductions. The author, describing drivelling old poets, who

'Strain out the last dull droppings of their sense,
And rhyme with all the rage of impotence,'

adds—

'Such shameless bards we have.'

And Mr. Bowles says, 'there can be no doubt, I think, respecting the allusion in these lines to old Wycherley: whom else could they suit at that period, when Pope says, "such bards we have."' Whom else? Mr. Bowles might have found an answer four lines before, where it is said, there are 'crowds of these.' But Mr. Bowles knows better—there was only *one* such, and that one Wycherley; and then, with his usual salvo, to be ready for future defence, '*if* Wycherley was intended, what must we think of Pope, who could wound, in this manner, his old friend, for whom he professed so much kindness, and who first introduced him to notice and patronage?'—(vol. i. p. 266.) In the seventh volume, however, knowing he has this *if* in reserve, he boldly says, without any *if*, Wycherley was 'hitched into the Essay on Criticism.'—(p. 57.) Now, the *fact* is, that Pope's persevering affection and gratitude to his early patron and friend were, in spite of that friend's petulance, most beautifully exhibited to the last. In the year 1709, (the same in which the poem was written,) he thus wrote to Cromwell on the subject of Wycherley's alienation from him. 'Be assured, he shall never, by any alteration in me, discover any knowledge of his mistake; the hearty forgiving of which is the only kind of return I can possibly make him for so many favours; and I may derive this pleasure at least from it, that whereas I must otherwise have been a little uneasy to know my incapacity of returning

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turning his obligations, I may now, by bearing his frailty, exercise my gratitude and friendship, more than himself either is, or perhaps ever will be, sensible of.

> Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores
> Abstulit, ille habeat secum, servetque sepulchro.'

And in 1711, the year of the publication, Wycherley expressed his admiration of the very poem, and kindness for the author (*Bowles*, vii. 157.) But the parties, it appears, know nothing of their own feelings; which, therefore, Mr. Bowles interprets, to improve the reader's benevolence, and his own.

The Epistle of Eloisa has been generally admitted as Pope's highest title to poetical eminence—as the strongest proof of his genius. Its tenderness and pathos are exquisite, and the struggles of passion are accurately and powerfully delineated: but genius consists so much more in the first conception, than in the subsequent developement of such feelings; and so much of all was found by the author in the original letters of Eloisa, that we are not disposed to join with Mr. Roscoe in claiming so much on the subject, as even Dr. Warton and Mr. Bowles seem inclined to concede: especially when we consider, that in no piece, where the images were to originate in the poet's own mind, do we find any proofs of his possessing such powers. The Elegy on an Unfortunate Young Lady, indeed, is urged as such proof: but it appears too ingenious and pretty to be pathetic; and Mr. Roscoe's defence of its immoral principles, demanding that 'it should not be judged by the common rules of criticism, because it is evident the author is no longer under the controul of reason,' is such as we should not have expected from a man of Mr. Roscoe's good sense:—who, that can mould his thoughts into verse, and harmonious verse, is beyond the controul of reason? But if the pathos in this latter poem have been too much insisted on, the force, which almost amounts to sublimity in the expression of indignation, appears to have been too little noticed. We return to Eloisa—admirable judgment, and nicety of feeling have been shown as much in what has been rejected, as in what has been chosen from the original; which has a strange mixture of learned jargon, and ingenious observation, very much detracting from the effect of its pathos. The sentiments, too, are more dwelt upon in the English and expanded in beauty and delicacy of expression, which would in vain be sought for in the Latin: as would the delightful description of the scenery, which exhibits Pope's highest powers in that department of poetry. In justice, however, to Eloisa, it should be observed, that if much beauty have been added in her name, much of moral coarseness has also been imputed, for which she is not responsible. The most objectionable,

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able passage in the poem has no parallel in the real letters: for though she laments the unsubdued state of her passions—the too lively suggestions of memory, and of dreams—she never utters an impure wish. Mr. Roscoe's apology, therefore, for the licentiousness of the Epistle, that 'such are not the poet's own sentiments, but those of the person he has undertaken to represent, and are, in general, given nearly in her own words,' is neither consonant with fact nor justice. Yet, in other respects, Mr. Roscoe seems inclined to do even more than justice to Eloisa.

'She was (he says) by an instructor, who had the abilities of a sage, but the feelings of a barbarian, seduced, but not degraded: in the conflict that ensued, the virtues of Eloisa overcame the depravity of Abelard.'—(vol. iii. p. 256.)

In the first place, it is difficult to imagine by what code of morality a woman can be supposed to be seduced without degradation. And how can *she* be said to have conquered the depravity of her seducer, who long and obstinately refused to marry him; and, after being forced to marriage, denied it, and gloried in continuing to be thought his mistress? This is virtue of such reforming power as we do not understand. On the contrary, neither, we believe, was reformed, but by calamity: and in the order of reformation hers was the latest, and admirably aided by the pious resignation, and the affectionate admonitions of Abelard, and his painful solicitude for the purification and salvation of her soul. It is matter of regret, that the genius of Pope had not been employed in exhibiting the antidote as well as the bane—that he, who had so powerfully pourtrayed the morbid state of Eloisa's mind, had not also depicted Abelard's deep contrition; his prostration of heart in recognition of divine justice; his unaffected forgiveness and almost justification of his enemies; and the purified tenderness of his sentiments for her, who was still to him the most beloved of human beings. These feelings may be found in Abelard's letters, expressed in language at once simple and animated; and, combined with congenial matter to be supplied by the poet, would form a subject admirably adapted to the genius and character of Montgomery: to whom we take the liberty of thus suggesting the theme.

The Rape of the Lock exhibits its author in a new light, in which he shines above all competitors, ancient or modern. It may be well described in the elegant language he has himself employed in characterizing with much less justice, the Batrachomyomachia of Homer. 'It is, indeed, a beautiful piece of raillery' . . . . 'the offspring of that amusing and cheerful humour, which generally accompanies the character of a rich imagination; like

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like a vein of mercury running mingled with a mine of gold.' The ancients have no pretensions to rival the moderns in humour and ridicule. Warton ascribes this to the form of our government, differences of rank, and more complicated structure of society. These are, indeed, distinguished by nicer shades of differences, which, of course, will give greater variety and scope for exhibition of incongruities;—but, perhaps, the principal difference is in the *permanency* of our governments: which impresses a more fixed form on society and manners; establishing a standard of propriety on a much greater diversity of subjects—and it is the deviation from such standard, that is the object of ridicule. But it is not over the ancients alone that Pope has completely triumphed; neither the Lutrin, nor the Secchia Rapita of the gross Tassoni, can be compared with the Rape of the Lock. In delicacy of good-humoured satire; in accurate description of actual existences; and, above all, in the elegant creations of a playful fancy, Pope appears to have opened so many more sources of pleasure, and poured them forth so copiously and melodiously, as to put down all competition.

The Dunciad holds a middle rank between the delicate, sprightly, airy style of the Rape of the Lock, and the serious and severe of the professed satires; but it is written with more power and wit than either.

Here, too, the author is unrivalled in the scope of his satire, as well as the brilliant execution of the details: in the grasp of mind to conceive a plan, that should comprise such a crowd of apparently heterogeneous subjects, and in the copiousness of wit, and happiness of illustration on each. And, if merit is to be estimated by success, there is no poem upon record, which so completely accomplished the purpose for which it was planned—the communication of poetic pleasure in the exposure of malevolence and folly. Dr. Warton asks, what are the sensations of a man after reading Gray's Odes and Elegy, and after he has been reading the Dunciad? as well might he ask what are his sensations after the Elegy in a Churchyard and that on a drowned cat? If such were to be the canons of criticism, we must confine our admiration to those poets

'Qui toujours sur *un* ton semblent psalmodier.'

The general fault of the Dunciad is the necessity, which the plan involved, of making each dunce openly declare himself a favourer of dulness, thus obliging him to do what no dunce ever did. And the particular faults are the coarseness, and nastiness, which no wit in conception or elegance in language can compensate; and which was a stain in the mind of Pope; contracted, probably, from a contaminating familiarity with the filth of Swift's.

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Swift's. In the graver 'Satires,' these stains are but seldom seen; and generally redeemed by the moral feeling, which has dictated a strong, though somewhat offensive expression. Much has been said on the legitimate object of satire; and Pope has been accused of having transgressed the proper limits, and deviated into libel and lampoon. The whole question is obviously so much a matter of degree, that the assignment of limits is a difficult task. To confine satire to vice, and let the vicious pass unwhipped, would be making a mere tinkling cymbal of it. But those only of notorious vice, those who obtrude their vices on the public, should be dragged forth to public punishment: for no general benefit, or individual amendment, can compensate for the violation of domestic privacy, which a contrary proceeding involves. Indeed, the individual amendment is so very partial and problematical a good, that public chastisement can only be justified by the hope of deterring the many, and the consideration that it is easier to prevent incipient, than to reform inveterate offenders. But this object of satire is ridiculed by Dr. Warton and Mr. Bowles, who taunt Pope with vanity and presumption, in pretending to reform the age by his writings. There can be no doubt, however, that his shafts of satire, pointed by wit, and winged by verse, have struck on many a heart callous to all but the dread of infamy; and this not merely in the individuals actually exposed, but in all, of every age, who recognize the same character in themselves, or fear the application of it by others. Nor is the effect of satire confined to daunting vice: virtue feels her confidence increased by being armed with such weapons; and her conscious dignity and scorn augmented, in beholding vice so humbled and chastised—Pope, therefore, instead of being justly ridiculed for his manly confidence in the talent that was entrusted to him, and the declaration

> 'That whilst he lived, no rich or noble knave
> Should walk the earth in credit to his grave,'

would have been amply justified in extending the menace to all future generations:—for, throughout all, his bursts of eloquent indignation, and his keen sarcasm, will be in the memory and mouth of every one, ready to brand the felons as they rise,

> 'Or pierce the monsters struggling in the shell.'

The same extensive power may be attributed to his beautiful pictures and eulogies of virtue, his maxims of morality, his terse arguments in vindication of the Deity, and elucidation of the nature of man. Let it not, however, be imagined, that 'when he stooped to truth, and moralized his song,' his province is no longer that of imagination and passion:—(*Bowles's Reply in Pamphleteer*, No. xxxv. p. 239.) On the contrary, in all his moral writings, his province

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province was to recommend reason, and attract attention to moral subjects, by decorating both with the gayest flowers of fancy, and interesting the passions by the most powerful expressions of indignation and admiration, of love, hatred, and contempt, all strengthened by appeals to living examples on the stage of life, or in the page of history. In speaking, as above, of the arguments of the Ethic Epistles, and Essay on Man, the details only of these are intended; for the general argument participates in the confusion and unsatisfactoriness common to the shallowest and profoundest speculations involving the mystery of the origin of evil; which God hath not thought fit to illumine by revelation; and in the depths of which the brightest ray of human intellect is lost; 'The jaws of darkness do devour it up.'*

In engaging in metaphysical discussion, Pope certainly undertook a task to which he was not competent. He was not sufficiently acquainted with the writings of metaphysicians to foresee the inferences which might be drawn from some of his positions; and from which it required all the ingenuity of Warburton to defend them. Of that ingenuity, however, he with avidity availed himself, when he saw that he was in danger of being considered a maintainer of fatalism, and oppugner of Providence and revealed religion. And Mr. Bowles justly observes, (v iii. p. 9.) 'It is but fair that he should have that interpretation by which he deliberately wished to abide.' Yet Warton labours to fix the character of infidelity, not merely on the poem, but the man:—the man whose tenor of life would have done honour to any religion, and who so far preferred that in which he had been brought up, as to expose himself, for its sake, to civil disabilities and various personal inconveniencies, in times of extreme political jealousy and religious rancour. But the misconstructions both of the poet and the poem arose from precisely the same perversity in the critics which he had reprehended in the philosophers, judging from a part, and not from the whole. His object is announced in the outset—'To vindicate the ways of God to man;' and

* On this subject we cannot but notice the strange oversight of Dr. Warton, both as a divine, and a scholar, in complimenting Hume with having advanced 'a new method of accounting for the origin of evil;' namely, by imagining the power of the Deity not to be infinite, but limited, though the greatest in nature: and the note is adopted by Mr. Roscoe without observation, or even acknowledgment of its being derived from Warton. Mr. Bowles, to his credit, has omitted it; but neither has he observed, that the hypothesis is as old as the ξύμφυλος ἀνάγκη of Plato's Matter. Vide Plato, Phileb. and Plutarch, de Anim. procr. And from Seneca de Provident. c. v. it seems to have been the doctrine of some, at least, of the Stoics.

'The infidel has shot his bolts away,
Till his exhausted quiver yielding none,
He gleans the blunted shafts, that have recoil'd,
And aims them at the shield of truth again.'

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however he may, by metaphysical subtlety, be shown to have sometimes mistaken the means of doing so, the intention is as apparent throughout, as in the preliminary problem. But Warton not only considers these means as inadequate to their direct object, but as having a collateral tendency to impugn revelation, and especially the doctrine of a future state: for (vol. iii. p. 8,) he explains the principle 'whatever is, is right,' to mean, that 'we have no occasion to call in the notion of a future life to vindicate the ways of God to man, because they are fully and sufficiently benevolent and just in the present:' in direct contradiction to the observation, which the poet has again and again urged, that this state of existence is *not* the whole in which man is concerned, but that he

> 'Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal;
> 'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole.'

If we did see the whole, both the present state and that to which we are verging, then we should see that 'whatever is, is right,' in the sense in which Dryden had employed the maxim before;

> 'Whatever is, is right, though purblind man
> Sees but part of the chain, the nearest link:
> His eyes not carrying to the equal beam
> That poises all, above.'

Many other passages in the Essay on Man tend to the same purpose; but it may suffice to have pointed out this prime subject of misrepresentation, and to refer, for the fuller statement of that and other misrepresentations, to the clear and able vindication by Mr. Roscoe, (vol. v. p. 8. and vol. x. p. 291, 315. 398.)

The collection of the letters of Pope and his correspondents is too important to be passed over in silence. In this respect the precocity of his talents was particularly unfavourable to him: for it brought him into the acquaintance and correspondence of eminent persons, before it was possible that his judgment could be formed; and yet his genius made his letters so remarkable, that they were preserved, and remain to be brought against him, with all the sins of youth and inexperience on their head. In estimating the whole of his character, however, a candid judge will divide his letters, both with reference to moral and literary merit, into two classes. The early correspondence will show what were the character and taste of the age, which might be supposed to direct him, when he came into public life; and the later what he made and left them. His first epistolary intercourse with men professedly literary, (or wits as they were then called, from the character to which they chiefly aspired,) was with old men, whose taste for letter-writing had been formed on the French, whilst that was moulded on the elaborate foppery of Balzac and Voiture, uncorrected

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corrected by the grace and ease of Madame de Sevigné. He had interchanged letters with Wycherley before he was seventeen, and with Cromwell before he was twenty:—men alike remarkable for wit and debauchery, of which their part of the correspondence gives sufficient intimation. What style they pretended to themselves, and expected in those honoured with their correspondence, may be imagined from Pope's telling Cromwell, 'you must have a sober dish of coffee, and a solitary candle at your side, to write an epistle lucubratory to your friend' (December, 1711); and again, 'I know you sometimes say civil things to me in your *epistolary style*; but those I am to make allowance for.' (August, 1710.) After this, can we wonder that he should tell Spence, 'My letters to Cromwell were written with a design that does not generally appear; they were not written in sober sadness.' (*Anecdotes.*) And how can we *but* wonder, that these circumstances have not been allowed for by those who, like Mr. Bowles and Dr. Warton, have passed a *general* censure on his epistolary style, as artificial in construction, and insincere in sentiment? Why he, who, according to the latter, might boast 'constancy in friendship as a predominant virtue;' and who, according to the former, was a sincere friend, and 'never lost a friend;' why such a man may not express himself with the warmest affection, without suspicion of falsehood or affectation, without being considered as writing from his head, while professing to follow the dictates of his heart, is for Mr. Bowles's logic and philosophy to explain. To us it appears, that when he is not writing to a merely professed wit, nor to a lady-acquaintance, (whom the manners of the times required to be addressed only with wit and gallantry,) his letters are as unstudied and simple as can be expected from a scholar and a man of cultivated imagination. Even in his very boyhood, we may observe the natural style of his letters to the unpretending Sir William Trumbull, compared with the formal compositions addressed, at the same period, to Cromwell and Wycherley; and, in after-life, the examples are few, indeed, where any thing like study can be observed. We have not room to cite, but cannot refrain from referring to some specimens of as simple and ardent affection, as are to be found in any collection of letters whatever. Let the reader turn to his letter to Oxford in the Tower, (*Roscoe*, viii. 298.); that tenderly pathetic one to Martha Blount, on his mother's illness, and on Gay's death, (*Roscoe*, viii. 447.); the equally feeling, generous, and unaffected letter to Gay on his illness, (*Roscoe*, x. p. 100.); and the two as sagely, as simply kind, to Atterbury in the Tower. (*Roscoe*, ix. 234 and 237.) The wisdom which characterizes these is here particularly adverted to, because the advice given to the bishop is so characteristic of the moderation

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and liberality of Pope, who had reason to believe, that his friend too much narrowed his mind,

'And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.'

He therefore cautions him in the form of confident expectation:

'Resentment, indeed, may remain; perhaps cannot be quite extinguished, even in the noblest minds; but revenge never will harbour there. Higher principles than those of the first, and better principles than those of the latter, will infallibly influence men, whose thoughts and whose hearts are enlarged; and cause them to prefer the whole to any *part* of mankind, especially so small a part as one's single self. Believe me, my Lord, I look upon you as a spirit entered into another life; as one upon the edge of immortality, where the passions and reflections must be much more exalted, and where you ought to despise all little views, and all mean retrospects. Nothing is worth your looking back; and therefore look forward, and make (as you can) the world to look after you. But take care that it is not with pity, but with esteem and admiration.'

Yet the writer of this letter, Mr. Bowles insinuates to have been privy to Atterbury's traitorous design in favour of the exiled royal family; and to have wished him success in it. The conjecture is made precisely on the ground on which a reader of ordinary ingenuity would have formed the very opposite construction. Pope says to Atterbury, 'I wish every thing may succeed in your own family, and in that, which I think you no less account your own, and is no less your family, the whole world.' 'Is it not possible,' (says Mr. Bowles's note,) 'there may be a latent meaning in these words?' (vol. viii. p. 128.) That is, that this family of the whole world means one particular family; which family was the Pretender's; and, then, ευρηκα! Pope is a traitor! It is singular that Mr. Bowles did not favour his readers with his translation of a Latin passage in the same letter, where Pope says, 'I heartily wish, quod superest ut tibi vivas:' which Mr. Bowles, no doubt, construes, 'I heartily wish you may dedicate the remainder of your life to a faction.' It is the same perverse spirit, which twists into treason the wishes at least, of Pope, and his friend Edward Blount: though they lament, both before and after the rebellion, the madness of those who violated the peace of the country for the purposes of a party. But Mr. Bowles (iv. 138.) thinks it singular Pope should 'boast of his native moderation, because his most intimate friends were Tories, and many of them professed Jacobites.' Now this is just the greatest proof of his moderation; that with such sentiments, and such friends, he never used his great talents in behalf of a party.

The same obliquity of remark, too, pursues the letter-writer on the subject even of friendship, which all his biographers, Bowles inclusive, had allowed to be a marked trait of his character. On the

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the correspondence with Swift, which appears as much what Pope calls 'the pouring out of mind,' as any thing can be, the comment is, 'All Pope's letters to Swift seem more than usually affected and laboured:' but perhaps the reader will think Swift a better judge on the subject than Mr. Bowles: and Swift says, in a letter of 3d September, 1735, 'Neither did our letters contain any turn of wit, or fancy, or politics, or satire, but mere innocent friendship.' . . . 'I believe we neither of us ever leaned our head upon our left hand, to study what we should write next.' So much for style, and for his judgment on the reality of feeling let one among a hundred passages suffice—after having visited Pope, and having returned to Ireland, he writes in October, 1727, 'You are the best and kindest friend in the world; and I know nobody, alive or dead, to whom I am so much obliged; and if ever you made me angry, it was for your too much care of me.' His testimony to his friend's generosity and benevolence is equally strong: 'I thought myself as great a giver as ever was, of my ability; and yet in proportion you exceed, and have kept it till now, a secret even from me, when I wondered how you were able to live with your whole little revenue; (October, 1729,) and again, 'I never yet knew any person one tenth part so heartily disposed as you are, to do good offices to others, without the least private view.' (August, 1729.) This is the man whose generosity Mr. Bowles could forget to commemorate; and these are the friends, on whom he and Dr. Warton have recorded, and Mr. Roscoe has suffered to pass, without a word of doubt and contradiction, the following libel, extracted from Mr. Birch's MSS. in the British Museum, '(August 17, 1749,) Mr. George Faulkner, of Dublin, told me, that Dr. Swift had long conceived a mean opinion of Mr. Pope, on account of his jealous, peevish, avaricious temper.' And who is this Mr. George Faulkner, whose testimony is to be taken against that of a thirty years correspondence of confidence and affection, closed only by that calamity of Swift's, which was worse than death? who? but the honest gentleman whom Richardson has consigned to infamy in the advertisement to the first edition of his Grandison; for having bribed his pressmen to send over to Ireland the proof sheets of that work; and then, on the plea of the surreptitious edition there printed, withholding the money he had contracted to pay for certain copies of the genuine edition. And this is the prosecutor's witness!

Before ceasing to speak of the letters, *one* ought to be noticed, in which, indeed, the style *is* most elaborately finished. It is the 'Letter to a Noble Lord;' the worthy coadjutor of Lady M. W. Montague, in that libel of Pope, which will descend to posterity as the bitterest satire on themselves. This personage, who had

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before figured as Paris, Sporus,* Lord Fanny, and Narcissus, is now addressed in his proper character as a peer of the realm; and the scrupulous observance of the formal deference due to his rank, joined with the real sarcasm included in the masterly argument, reminds the reader of the singular style of Locke's Letters to Stillingfleet; whilst the polish of the language forms an æra in English prose-writing, as the author's versification had done in our poetry. It approaches nearer to the style of Junius, than any other, which had preceded that extraordinary writer; unless we take into the comparison some passages of an author, who is a still more wonderful exception to the style of his age; passages of Silas Titus we mean, in that book which is said to have been the death of Cromwell.

Having now concluded a brief examination of the chief charges against the moral character of our great poet, and a cursory view of his principal works, it remains only to state the results, to which this investigation appears to have conducted.

In all the grand essentials of moral excellence, Pope stands pre-eminent among the sons of fame; for it has too often been found, that the possessors of high talents, imagining that they could, by them alone, command the respect of society, and obtain the rewards of it, have neglected to practise the self-denial so requisite to the formation of truly social and virtuous qualities. Arbuthnot well appreciated the worth of such qualities in a man of genius. In his farewell letter, when he considered himself on a death-bed, he says,—

'I must be so sincere as to own, that though I could not help valuing you for those talents which the world prizes, yet they were not the foundation of my friendship; they were quite of another sort; nor shall I at present offend you by enumerating them; and I make it my last request, that you will continue that noble disdain and abhorrence of vice, which you seem naturally endued with.'—(*Roscoe*, vol. x. 419.)

Pope was reared, from his birth, in the bosom of domestic affection—the nurse of all the virtues. He was the only child of his parents; and, as a sickly child, was fostered with more than common fondness; like Goërvyl's 'miserable hope, the dearer for its weakness.' And if the indulgence were even carried to excess, how well might the parents of such a son have pleaded their excuse! 'Puisque le jour peut lui manquer, laissons-le un peu jouir de l'aurore.' They enjoyed, however, the delight of this early indulgence, and of beholding too the object of their solicitude transcending in his maturity their fondest anticipations;

* Mr. Bowles has twice expressed himself at a loss to know why this person had his nom de guerre changed from Paris to Sporus; perhaps he will guess if he compare the passages from 325 to 329 in the Prologue to the Satires, with Suetonius, vi. 28.

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devoting himself to their happiness; withdrawing from the blaze of fame and blandishments of society, to give them the comfort of his presence; to return the care and affection which they had lavished on the morning of his life, in relieving the irksomeness, in soothing the pains, and guarding the tranquil pleasures of the evening of theirs.

To the infirmity of his frame and the tenderness of his nurture, some of the weaknesses as well as some of the excellencies of his character may be traced. From having been the object of first importance in his own family, he became habituated to the receiving of minute attentions, and to the gratification of petty wishes; and when his good sense showed him that these were incompatible with the commerce of general society, he sought to obtain, by oblique hints, (which his ingenuity would always readily suggest,) what he deemed it unpolite directly to require. And to servants, he is said to have been particularly troublesome; though he seems to have been ready to indemnify them by his liberality; for Johnson tells us, 'Lord Oxford's servant declared, that in the house where her business was to answer his call, she would not ask for wages.' But they who are in the full enjoyment of a healthy organization can have no conception of the thousand little uneasinesses that are always gnawing at the peace of him, to whom deformity makes every motion a discomfort, and into whose cup of enjoyment disease is every moment dropping something bitter; and when to these are added the exquisite sensibility of genius, a charitable mind will readily pardon any little exactions, or even frailties of temper; nor suffer them to weigh much in the balancing of general character, more especially, where all important and deliberate acts are found to flow from a heart fraught with generosity and benevolence. That Pope's was such, is evinced by the strong testimony of Swift already cited; by his kind forbearance and liberal contribution to the necessities of the perverse Savage; by his fraternal adoption and domestication of Gay; and by annually appropriating an unusually large portion of his income to the purposes of private charity.

When such warm and kind feelings were concentrated in individual attachments, they produced an intensity and constancy of friendship, which is not easily paralleled in literary biography, and which is alike honourable to the poet and to those who were the objects of such affection. For they were evidently selected from no regard to station, talent, or celebrity; but solely for the qualities of the heart. Of all other claims he held himself independent; but as his society was courted by all classes, he occasionally found persons with these primary qualities united to the other secondary recommendations, and had no mean jealousy, or ple-

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bean pride, to prevent his cultivating their intimacy, on terms of moral and intellectual equality, joined with the gentlemanly feeling of the courtesies due to rank.

It cannot be matter of surprise, that a man possessed of such eminent virtues and talents, to which those of the first celebrity for both vied in paying the tribute of applause and affection, should have entertained a high idea of his own character and consequence; and if this sometimes degenerated into overweeningness, it must be considered as a portion of the evil inseparable from all that is good, and of the littleness which clings to all that is great in humanity.

Of his religious tenets we know that he had a steady belief in the grand truths of Revelation; but he seems to have avoided the discussion of controverted points as more likely to produce a breach of charity than to amend the heart. He repeatedly disavows the exclusive and damnatory part of that creed in the profession of which he had been educated; and which no temptations from interest and ambition, or, what might have been supposed of more force, from false shame or intellectual pride, could ever induce him wholly to renounce.

Excluded as he was by his religion, the mediocrity of his rank and circumstances, and by his personal deformities, from all the ordinary avenues to distinction; and at the same time finding within himself powers for the acquisition of literary fame, it is not surprising that the love of that should have become the ruling passion of his life. We have seen how successful was his pursuit, and it remains to estimate the rank to which he and his works have attained.

We do not think the first a difficult question—the two higher orders of poetry, the epic and dramatic, he left entirely untouched; and his essays as a lyrical poet are so few and slight, as to require mention only to show that they have not been forgotten. His line was didactic, in the enlarged sense of that word; which includes appeals either principally to the understanding, as in satire both grave and ludicrous, or to the emotions and passions, as in elegy, and such epistles as Eloisa's; which last, however, approaches nearly to the dramatic, as being, in fact, an impassioned though extended monologue. And, in this order of poetry, there can be no hesitation in pronouncing Pope to be the first of poets. Who is there, in any age or nation, that can pretend to compete with him? Who has combined such powers of reasoning with such splendid fancy? Such concentrated meaning with such melodious verse? Such elegant playfulness with such causticity of wit, such dignified reprehension, and such noble bursts of moral feeling? All these excellencies are in him accompanied with

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with a profusion of imagery, always delighting by aptness of illustration, sometimes by sportiveness and wit, but oftener by its richness and warmth, with a refined delicacy of sentiment and brilliance of expression; and such a variety of elegant phraseology as the language of no other poet, in the same order of poetry, can match.

All these qualities, however, marvellous as the combination is, do not prove that he was capable of the highest efforts of poetic genius:—that his mind possessed the majesty, magnificence, and scope of Homer; the sublimity of Milton, 'wielding the elements;' or the grandeur and profundity of Shakspeare, sounding the depths of the human heart, and raising and stilling the passions at his bidding.

It is therefore high, perhaps the very highest in the second class, that we rank the poetic genius of Pope; with regard to the place which his works hold in English literature, the question hardly admits, and for any useful purpose does not require, a very precise answer. Much in the judgment of every individual will depend on that individual's tastes and sympathies—we cannot, however, claim for his works the same power to soften, elevate, or purify the soul, which we confess in Shakspeare, Milton, or Spenser—their strains are of a higher mood; Pope is the poet of common life; and keeping this in our recollection, if we are to decide by the quantity and variety of pleasure afforded, by the value of the knowledge imparted, or the sound morality inculcated, whom should we place before him, but Shakspeare alone? in what other poet's works can we find, with so little intermixture of what is base and corrupt, so many, such various, and such copious sources of delight and improvement?

ART. II.—1. *A Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia, including the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.* By W. C. Wentworth, Esq. a Native of New South Wales. Third Edition. 2 vols. London. 1824.

2. *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, principally designed for the Use of Emigrants.* By Edward Curr. London. 1820.

3. *Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales, by various hands.* Edited by Barron Field, Esq. F.L.S. &c. London. 1825.

THERE is something so strangely different in the physical constitution of Australia, from that of every other part of the world;—we meet with so many whimsical deviations, on the two islands of New Holland and Van Diemen's land, from the ordinary rules and operations of nature in the animal and vegetable parts of the creation, that he must be a dull traveller indeed who does not

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not glean something new and amusing from these regions, which are yet so imperfectly known to us. We might produce a host of instances in illustration of this anomalous character: thus, we have in one or other or both of these colonies, birds without wings, as large as deer, their bodies covered with hair instead of feathers;—beasts with the beaks of birds;—swans that are black, and eagles white. Here too we find the ferns, nettles, and even grasses, growing to the size and shape of trees;—rivers running *from* the sea and lost in interior swamps;—trees that are evergreen in spite of frost and snow;—extensive plains on which, as one writer tells us, 'one tree, one soil, one water, and one description of bird, fish, or animal, prevails alike for ten miles and for one hundred;'—and, as it is said, though we do not believe it, a climate diminishing in temperature in proportion as cultivation extends itself. 'But,' (says another writer,)

'this is New Holland, where it is summer with us when it is winter in Europe, and *vice versâ*; where the barometer rises before bad weather, and falls before good; where the north is the hot wind, and the south the cold; where the humblest house is fitted up with cedar (cedrela toona, according to Mr. Brown); where the fields are fenced with mahogany (eucalyptus robusta), and myrtle trees (myrtaceæ) are burnt for firewood; where the swans are black and the eagles white; where the kangaroo, an animal between the squirrel and the deer, has five claws on its fore-paws, and three talons on its hind legs, like a bird, and yet hops on its tail: where the mole (ornithorhynchus paradoxus) lays eggs, and has a duck's bill; where there is a bird (meliphaga) with a broom in its mouth instead of a tongue; where there is a fish, one-half belonging to the genus raia, and the other to that of squalus; where the pears are made of wood (xylomelum pyriforme), with the stalk at the broader end; and where the cherry (exocarpus cupressiformis) grows with the stone on the outside.'—*Field*, App. p. 461.

It is not our present intention, however, to dwell on the marvellous productions of the creation in this part of the world, which seem to present an almost inexhaustible fund for the researches of the naturalist, but to take a cursory view of the recent improvement and the rising importance of the two colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; touching at the same time on the geographical researches which have been and still are in progress, more epecially on the immense island of New Holland. The prosperity of these colonies is the more gratifying to the mother-country, setting aside any direct advantages she may hope to derive from them, from the circumstance that, by their means, and probably at no very distant period of time, her laws and her religion, her language and manners, will spread themselves over a large portion of those numerous islands which rise out of the great southern ocean, and are scattered around at no great distance from either of them. The original planners of these settlements

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tlements could scarcely have contemplated this result; and we believe the most sanguine, at the time of their establishment, expected nothing farther from them than the getting rid of a set of desperate malefactors, whom it would have been inconvenient to turn loose again upon the public. Those who had the charge of them, and the very few voluntary emigrants who ventured to reside among them, had, like the early planters of North America, to struggle for many years against a variety of accidents and misfortunes, physical and moral, which not all the aid and encouragement of the mother-country were for a time entirely able to avert. They have happily, however, survived that almost hopeless state of difficulty, and are now advancing, with accelerated rapidity, from the period of infancy to that of manhood. There are even those among them, who foolishly fancy themselves old enough and strong enough to go alone—to shake off the easy yoke of parental authority and to set up a government of their own: and who begin to think it matter of speculation (in the foolish language of Mr. Wentworth), 'whether, in fine, their infant establishment will remain the attached and dutiful child of a considerate parent, or seize the first favourable opportunity that shall occur to renounce the controul of an unwise and unfeeling master.' Does this *unwise* young man reflect what the consequence would be to himself and others, should the mother-country withhold its annual grant for the maintenance of the convicts, and withdraw the garrison, leaving himself and the other settlers to the mercy of a body of ten thousand hardened malefactors, who have no kindred ties to soften them, no property to attach them, no principles of religion or morality to restrain them? What could be expected in such a case but the utter ruin and destruction of persons and property throughout the whole settlement? Mr. Wentworth, it seems, is now practising at the bar in the supreme court recently established at Sydney, and has associated himself with another lawyer of the name of Wardell, the *ci-devant* editor of a London newspaper called the Statesman, in the conduct of a public journal at Sydney, under the title of the 'Australian.' Of this journal we have seen some eighteen or twenty numbers. It is precisely what Mr. Wentworth's work, now under review, would have led us to expect it would be—a vehicle for such opinions, and so expressed, that, for the peace of the country, it will probably soon be found expedient to suppress it.

In a former edition of Mr. Wentworth's book, he clamorously called for a supreme court of justice and trial by jury; he has them now, and a legislative council into the bargain; but this council is designated as 'a wretched mongrel substitute for a legislative assembly,' which he asserts to be their undoubted privilege; or, as he

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he calls it, 'right, which they have derived from the valour and wisdom of their ancestors.' A 'Colonial Assembly,' in short, is the patriot's toast of Botany Bay; but it is to be hoped that the experience of such assemblies in some of our old, will prevent their adoption in any of our new colonies; and that his Majesty's government will not readily be prevailed on to constitute bodies, calculated from their very nature to obstruct and paralyze its own measures, to create factions and family feuds, and to sacrifice the public good to private interest. A Governor, assisted by an independent Council, but authorized to act on his own responsibility, according to the model of India, is, we are persuaded, better adapted to secure the peace and prosperity of the colonies, than any legislative assembly that Mr. Wentworth and his associates can devise for them.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood, nor misrepresented; we are not prepared to deny that, many years hence, the colonists of New South Wales and Van Diemen's land may be enabled, if then so disposed, to set up for themselves, and become independent; but, judging from what we yet know of the territorial character of these two islands, the population will be likely to find its limit of supply long before it bears any due proportion to their superficial magnitude, as by far the greater portion of what has yet been discovered consists of rocks, sands, swamps, and barren soils, unfit for either agricultural or pastoral purposes. There is scarcely indeed a single spot on the whole western and southern coasts of New Holland, which is not absolutely untenantable by man, on account of the rocky or sandy shores, the desert plains within them destitute of water, or the vallies choked up with mangrove swamps. These insuperable obstacles to a dense population on full three-fourth parts of the sea coast may, and in all probability will, in the course of time, compel the colonists to cast their swarms, and to form establishments on some of those numerous, beautiful, and more fertile islands which we have already alluded to, and which, stretching from north-west to south-east, embrace an extent of latitude from the Equator to the 48th degree south; that is to say, from the northern extremity of Papua or New Guinea to the southern extremity of New Zealand; including the several groups of New Britain, New Ireland, New Georgia or Solomon's Archipelago, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Louisiade, all of which encircle the northern and eastern coast of New Holland, and the most distant of which does not exceed 300 leagues from its shores.*

Leaving,

* It will be seen, from our Article on New Zealand, (in No. LXI.) that the work of civilization has already commenced on the northern part by means of the missionaries, the

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Leaving, however, anticipations of the future aggrandizement of these Australian colonies, and instead of what they may be, confining our view to what they are, proceed we to glean from the works before us, and other sources within our reach, a brief statement of the recent geographical discoveries, and the new establishments formed in consequence thereof; the state, condition, and character of the present population; and the prospects held out for an extensive emigration, which will be the probable consequence of the two Associations, established by Act of Parliament for that and other purposes, and of the intention of government, as announced in the House of Commons, to encourage emigration from the South of Ireland to the British colonies.

It will be recollected that, until about ten or twelve years ago, and five-and-twenty years after the first establishment of the colony

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the constant intercourse with our shipping, and the frequent visits of the chiefs and others to Sydney, and occasionally to England. The southern part of this island is as yet little known, but it is said to contain two or three fine harbours into which rivers of considerable magnitude flow. The chieftain of this district, Tippahee Cupa, is, or was recently, in London, and the history of his visit marks strongly the bold and resolute character of these islanders.

Captain Reynolds of the Urania, when rounding the south end of the island, observed three large canoes containing seventy or eighty men, making for his ship with all haste, the first of which having approached within a short distance, Tippahee the chief stood up, and by signs desired to come on board. Captain Reynolds, suspecting some treacherous design, returned signs of refusal, but on the canoe reaching the side of the ship, the resolute savage sprung from the canoe, and in an instant was on the deck, and from thence waved off all the three canoes. Being asked what he wanted, he replied in broken English, 'Go Europe, see King George.' The Captain, however, not wishing to be embarrassed with such a guest, and knowing how well all these islanders swim, ordered three of the stoutest seamen to throw him overboard. Tippahee, understanding their design, threw himself flat on the deck, and seizing hold of two iron ringbolts, grasped them with such surprizing force, that it was found impossible to remove him, without maiming him, which of course Captain Reynolds would not permit. He still persisted 'to go see King George;' and as the canoes were now out of reach, Captain Reynolds seemingly consented to take him, intending, however, to leave him on some part of the coast, but the wind and weather would not allow of this, and he had no resource but to bring his unwelcome guest to Europe. He soon became a favourite among the crew, and evinced a strong attachment to Captain Reynolds, who subsequently owed his life to him. Near Monte Video, he fell overboard, and being unable to swim soon disappeared, but Tippahee plunged at once into the waves, brought up his friend, and, swimming after the ship with one hand while he supported Captain Reynolds with the other, both were got safe on board.

Tippahee possesses a good set of features, and great muscular strength; is gentle in his manners and very tractable, but easily roused at the slightest affront. A stout sailor once designedly began to tease him, but Tippahee perceiving it, seized the culprit by the neck and trowsers, and holding him above his head for some moments, dashed him on the deck with great violence. His observations on the various objects that presented themselves, all new and wonderful to him, show that his intellectual faculties require only the aid of instruction to make him a great character. Being asked what he had observed in England which struck him most, his reply was remarkable. 'England all good, no *cookies* (slaves), every body look up.' If the 'New Zealand Association' be not a thing of straw, we would recommend the members to cultivate the friendship of Tippahee and to visit that part of the island in the possession of his tribe.

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of New South Wales, the Blue Mountains had been considered as an impassable barrier, which completely shut out the colonists from all access to the interior. A road was at that time first made across them; and though steep, difficult and dangerous, the town of Bathurst on the other side was rapidly established, and the extensive grassy plains are now studded with farm-houses, and enlivened with large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle; most of the substantial agriculturists of what may be called the cisalpine districts having their grazing farms upon these plains. Two large streams, named the Lachlan and the Macquarie, were traced across them by Mr. Oxley, the former running to the W. S. W. and the latter to the N. W. till they appeared to lose themselves in large lakes or morasses. Since that time there has been discovered, a little farther to the northward (between lat. 31° and 32°), a fine open elevated country, possessing a rich soil, well clothed with grass, and free from timber, to which the name of the Liverpool Plains has been given, and a detailed description of which will be found, in Mr. Field's compilation, by Mr. Cunningham the botanist.

Two other passes, preferable to the first, have since been discovered across the Blue Mountains, which will add considerably to the value of the extensive plains of Bathurst and Liverpool in the interior. From the extreme eastern and western boundaries of the Liverpool plains, and running to the northward, are the rivers Castlereagh, York and Peel, besides several inferior streams. If these waters should be found to unite in the Brisbane river, recently discovered to fall into Moreton bay, Liverpool plains, and the country through which these streams hold their course, will become of the utmost importance to the wealth and prosperity of the colony.

The discovery of the Brisbane was purely accidental. Mr. Commissioner Bigge had recommended three new settlements to be formed on the eastern coast, at Moreton Bay, Port Bowen, and Port Curtis, all to the northward of Port Jackson; to which the convicts, not usefully employed at the old settlements, should be sent, as well as all convicts of idle, refractory, or other bad conduct and habits; there to be employed in the clearing and cultivation of land, in cutting and preparing wood, &c. for the use of government. Acting on this recommendation, Sir Thomas Brisbane, in September, 1823, dispatched Mr. Oxley the surveyor, and Mr. Uniacke, to examine the ports Curtis and Bowen, with the view of removing to one or both the convicts then stationed at Port Macquarie, which had been settled about two years before as a penal establishment, and which, from the excellence of the soil, the fineness of the climate, and its convenient distance from

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from Sydney, the governor was desirous of throwing open to free settlers. Their first visit on the voyage was to this establishment, which they found in a most flourishing state. It consisted of a town laid out in streets of straight lines, a handsome esplanade, a barrack for 150 men, neat and substantial cottages for officers' quarters, smaller cottages and gardens for the married men, comfortable huts for the convicts, constructed of split wood, lathed, plastered, and whitewashed, with a garden attached to each, in which fruit trees, maize, and sugar-cane were growing very luxuriantly. The natives there were observed to mix kindly with the military; they are described as a much finer race than those about Sydney, many of them being upwards of six feet high, with features more expressive of intellect, and limbs much better formed. Several of them are victualled from the king's store, and in return perform the duties of constable more efficiently than any Europeans could do; for on the escape of any of the convicts into the woods, they are instantly pursued by this black police, who seldom fail to bring them back, dead or alive, and are rewarded accordingly.

The next visit was to Port Curtis, which they found a difficult harbour to enter, and the adjoining country composed chiefly of stony ridges and sandy valleys; the vegetation scanty, and the few straggling trees dwarfish, and fit only for fire-wood. They met with no fresh water nearer the shore than twelve or fourteen miles, where the rapid river, to which they gave the name of the Boyne, was fresh: beyond this they passed a succession of rapids; the banks became highly picturesque, the hills were covered with wood, and the plains well-clothed with grass. The result, however, of the examination was, that this part of the coast did not hold out any promise of being convertible into a prosperous settlement, and that convict labour employed there would be wholly thrown away.

The lateness of the season induced them to return to the southward, in doing which they entered Moreton bay, discovered by Cook, and afterwards visited by Flinders. Scarcely had the vessel anchored, when a number of natives were seen rushing down to the shore, and among them one person who appeared of a larger size and much lighter colour than the rest, who, on advancing to a point opposite to the vessel, hailed her in English. On their approaching the shore in a boat, the natives showed many signs of joy, dancing and hugging the white man, who appeared nearly as wild as themselves, being perfectly naked and daubed all over with white and red paint. He was soon discovered to be an Englishman, but was so bewildered with joy that little could be made of his story that night; on the following day, however, Mr. Uniacke took down in writing his narrative, which is by far the most

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most curious and interesting paper in Mr. Barron Field's Collection. His name, it appeared, was Thomas Pamphlet; he had set out with three others, Richard Parsons, John Finnegan, and John Thompson, in a large open boat, for Illawarra, or the Five Islands, to the southward of Sydney, to take in cedar-wood; but a violent gale of wind, which lasted for five days, drove them, as they imagined, to the southward as far as Van Diemen's Land. Under this idea they kept to the northward, till after having suffered inconceivable hardships, and being for twenty-one days without water, in the course of which time John Thompson died of thirst, they were wrecked on Moreton Island, which they still thought was to the southward of Port Jackson. His two surviving companions, Parsons and Finnegan, had about six weeks before resolved to prosecute their way towards Sydney; in which he had accompanied them about fifty miles to the northward, when he returned on account of his feet becoming so sore as to render him unable to travel any farther; a few days afterwards, Parsons and Finnegan having quarrelled, the latter also returned, and was then absent, at no great distance, on a hunting expedition with the chief of the natives; but Parsons had not been heard of since his departure.*

On the day after the Mermaid's arrival at Moreton Bay, Finnegan returned from his expedition; and as Pamphlet and he both concurred in their account of a large river falling into the south end of the bay, Mr. Oxley proceeded in the whale boat to examine it. The muddiness of the water, and the abundance of fresh water molluscæ, convinced him that he was entering a large river, which in a few hours was no longer doubtful, the water having become perfectly fresh.

'At sunset we had proceeded up the river about twenty miles. The scenery was peculiarly beautiful—the country on the banks alternately hilly and level, but not flooded—the soil of the finest description of brush land, on which grew timber of great magnitude, of various species, some of which were unknown to us. Among others a magnificent species of pine was in great abundance. The timber on the hills was also good; and to the south-east, a little distant from the river, were several brushes or forests of the common Australian cypress-tree (Callitris Australis) of large size. Up to this point the river was navigable for vessels of considerable burthen, if not drawing more than sixteen feet water. The tide rose about five feet, being the same as at the entrance.

'The next day the examination of the river was resumed; and, with increased satisfaction, we proceeded about thirty miles farther, no dimi-

* In the course of last year Parsons reached Sydney; he had travelled 500 miles to the northward, till the heat of the weather convinced him he was taking a wrong direction; he was kindly treated every where by the natives, and well fed by them, as his fat, plump and sleek appearance abundantly testified.

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nation having taken place either in the breadth or the depth of it, except that in one place, to the extent of about thirty yards, a ridge of detached rocks stretched across, having not more than twelve feet at high water. From this point to Termination Hill, the river continued of nearly uniform size; the country being of a very superior description, and equally well adapted for cultivation and for grazing; the timber abundant, and fit for all the purposes of domestic use or exportation, while the pine-trees, if they should prove of good quality, were of a scantling sufficient for the topmasts of large ships. Some were measured upwards of thirty inches in diameter, and from fifty to eighty feet without a branch. —*Field*, pp. 13—15.

He further adds,

'The nature of the country, and a consideration of all the circumstances connected with the appearance of the river, justify me in entertaining a strong belief that the sources of the river will not be found in a mountainous country, but rather that it flows from some lake, which will prove to be the receptacle of those interior streams crossed by me during an expedition of discovery in 1818; but whatever may be its origin, it is by far the largest fresh-water river in New South Wales, and promises to be of the utmost importance to the colony, as it affords communication with the sea to a vast extent of country, a great portion of which appeared to me capable of raising the richest productions of the tropics.' —p. 17.

The name given to this important river is, the Brisbane. That it derives its waters from the lake or morass into which the Macquarie falls, and from those numerous streams which were crossed by Oxley in 1818, all running to the northward, seems a very reasonable supposition. He was able to trace its course forty miles beyond a hill which was fifty miles from its mouth; and he could see in the same direction, namely, in the S.W., the abrupt termination of the coast range of mountains; and the distance from Moreton Bay to the lake or morass of the Macquarie, is not more than 300 miles. The discovery of this river may cause those to hesitate, who so positively assert that none of any magnitude fall into the sea from New Holland. Captain Cook discovered Moreton Bay; it was well known to Captain Flinders, who anchored his vessel both above and below the mouth of this great river, and passed it twice in his boats, but it was concealed from him by two low islands. How, then, can it be affirmed, that in an extent of coast exceeding 6000 geographical miles, there is no river of any magnitude? We shall speedily see that another fine stream has been discovered on the southern coast, and we have no doubt many more will yet be found on all the coasts of this immense island.

It appears from Pamphlet's account that nothing could exceed the kind attention paid by the natives to the shipwrecked seamen;

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they lodged them in their huts, hunted and fished for their subsistence, and the women and children gathered fern root for them. They regularly painted them twice a day, and would have carried their favours even to the scarifying their bodies, and boring the cartilage of their noses, had they not signified their desire to dispense with such decoration however fashionable. Nor was this friendly conduct confined to the natives of Moreton Bay; they experienced the same kind treatment from every horde through which they passed in journeying to the northward, the people making fires to warm them, and catching and broiling fish for their use. Of the process of boiling water, these poor people, it seems, were entirely ignorant; and had no more idea that water could be made hot than that it could be made solid. Pamphlet had saved a tin pot, in which he had an early occasion to heat some water; as soon as it began to boil, the whole tribe, who had anxiously watched the process, took to their heels, shouting and screaming with all their might; and they could not be persuaded to approach the fire until he had poured the water out and cleaned the pot; nor were they ever reconciled to this operation of boiling water.

In their dispositions and manners, Mr. Uniacke considers the natives of Moreton Bay by far superior to those of Sydney; the women in particular, many of whom he describes as being tall, straight, and well formed; the features, also, of some being as regular and expressive as those of Europeans. Both sexes go perfectly naked, nor were the females in the least abashed by appearing in that state before strangers. Each individual had the cartilage of the nose perforated, and many of them wore large pieces of stick or bone thrust through it in such a manner as completely to stop the nostrils. The women, as at Sydney, had all lost the first two joints of the little finger of the left hand, but the men, on their approach to puberty, had not here, as at Port Jackson, one of their front teeth extracted. The women are daily employed in seeking *dingowa* or fern root, a chief article of their subsistence, and in weaving neat baskets of net-work made from rushes. The men weave the nets used for fishing and catching the kangaroo, which are made from the bark of the kurrajong (*hibiscus heterophyllus*), growing abundantly in swampy places. The chief employment of the men is hunting or catching fish; and it appears from the narrative of Pamphlet that they are generally successful, and seldom without provisions, though they lay up nothing in store, but subsist from day to day. The several hordes, it would appear, have each their dwelling huts and temporary fishing stations, which are generally at the distance of three or four miles asunder, changing their residence from one to the

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the other as the fish or game fail them. Their huts are of wattles bent into the shape of an arch, interwoven with wicker-work, and covered with tea-tree bark *(melaleuca armillaris)*, so as to be quite impervious to the rain; they are sufficiently spacious and commodious to contain ten or twelve persons.

The men are friendly to each other, and, contrary to the general conduct of savages, and to those of Sydney in particular, are kind to the women. Pamphlet declares that during his residence of seven months nearly he never saw a woman struck or ill-treated by a man. The quarrels between neighbouring hordes are frequent, and often end fatally. The common practice is for a champion on either side to fight it out fairly, in a ring made for the purpose. Pamphlet describes one of these duels which he witnessed. A man of the horde, with whom he was living, had been wounded in the knee by a spear thrown at him by a person belonging to a neighbouring horde. He sent, as soon as cured, to demand satisfaction. At the spot pitched upon was a ring about twenty-five feet in diameter, three feet deep, and surrounded by a palisade of sticks. About 500 men, women, and children attended, the men all armed with five or six spears each. The two combatants entered the ring, and after a short parley, accompanied with violent gestures, they took their spears from the ground, and after each of them had thrown two, the third hurled by Pamphlet's friend went through the shoulder of his adversary, who fell, and was carried off by his friends, and the company departed with loud huzzas from all sides. A reconciliation then took place, which was announced by shouting, dancing, and wrestling, after which both hordes joined in a hunting excursion, which lasted a week.

Finnegan had just returned from one of these tournaments, which had ended more disastrously. It commenced by a battle between two ladies, who fought desperately with sticks, after which two men engaged, when the one belonging to Finnegan's party was mortally wounded. He was carried to the women, and as soon as dead was skinned by them. In the mean time a tremendous shout was set up, which Finnegan, who had been forced to remain with the women, understood to be the signal of foul play between some other combatants, which was immediately followed by a general battle between the parties. Finnegan's friends at length ran away, having another man killed, but they contrived to carry off the dead bodies, which, after skinning the second, they burned. Their skins were carefully preserved and hung over the fire to dry, but he knows not what finally became of them.

It is evident, from the account of these men, that the aborigines along this part of the coast are of a less savage and ferocious

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character than those in the neighbourhood of our first and chief settlement continue to exhibit even at this day. This may be occasioned by their never having been brought into hostile contact with foreign invaders. Both in Van Diemen's land and at Port Jackson, the Europeans have been singularly unsuccessful in their endeavours to advance the natives in civilization; nay, they have given them new vices, from which they were wholly free, particularly that of drunkenness. 'It is a melancholy sight (says a lively writer in Mr. Barron Field's book) to witness the drunken quarrels and fightings of the simple natives of Australia in the streets of Sydney.' Bad as the Botany Bay school has undoubtedly been for their instruction, it is not for want of attention on the part of government or an earnest desire on that of the settlers generally to better their condition; but they cannot be prevailed on to work, and to serve in any capacity appears to be hateful to them. Their power of undergoing fatigue is inexhaustible; yet such is their natural disposition to idleness that not even the keen cravings of appetite can always subdue it; and so great is their dislike of any restraint, that those who have been taken into families while children are almost sure, sooner or later, to betake themselves again to the woods. Comfortable huts have been built for them, and land given to induce them to settle, but they have seldom had patience to wait till the maize and the cabbages that were planted to their hands were fit to be gathered. A school was instituted by Governor Macquarie, for the education of native children, and they are found to be as capable of receiving instruction as the children of Europeans. One of the girls, of fourteen years of age, and between three and four years in the school, bore away the second prize; but the writer before mentioned states, that their parents usually steal them away from their instructors, and that they rarely return. Yet it is agreed on all hands that their conceptions are quick, and their powers of imitation very remarkable. 'They are,' says the writer last quoted, 'the *Will Wimbles* of the colony; the carriers of news and fish; the gossips of the town; the loungers of the quay. They know every body, and understand the nature of every body's business, although they have none of their own, but this.—They have a bowing acquaintance with every body, and scatter their *How d'ye do's* with an air of friendship and equality, and with a perfect English accent.' Of their persons, he thinks Col. Collins has given too unfavourable a picture. 'Their faces (he says) have generally too much good nature to be absolutely hideous. Their hair is not woolly; their heads are not dog-like; nor are their legs baboonish.'

We are not in the number of those who hold the doctrine that

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that the habits and dispositions of the parents must infallibly descend in hereditary succession to their offspring; we are convinced, on the contrary, that man, through all the modifications of the species, is very much dependent on circumstances, and that his feelings, inclinations, and conduct in life, are generally the result of education and example. Speaking of the school in question, Mr. Wentworth says,

'About two years since, four or five of the native girls were married out of this institution; but, as it contained at that time no youths who were of sufficient age to be their husbands, some of the best disposed of the young bushmen were necessarily selected for this purpose. On this occasion, Governor Macquarie gave each of the young couples a little cottage, with a suitable allotment of ground, the requisite implements, and a cow; and it appears, that they are all residing on their farms, and doing better than could be reasonably expected, considering the uncivilized habits in which the male portion of this interesting little colony were educated. The warmest friends of this institution, however, are not very sanguine as to the success of this experiment: for, should it even prove a complete failure, it evidently will not afford any fair criterion, by which to judge of the future results of this philanthropic establishment. Husband and wife must both be brought up in it, before a fair instance can be had of its probable consequences.'—*Wentworth*, v. i. p. 63.

But if little or nothing has been done, or is capable of being done, for improving the condition of the original natives, that of every description of settlers, whether voluntary emigrants or emancipated convicts, has been most materially improved. Wealth and prosperity have very generally been diffused throughout all classes, of which one great proof is the remarkable extension of the geographical limits of the colonial establishments. In consequence of the discovery of the Brisbane, and conformably with the plan of employing the re-convicted felons in clearing the ground for future settlements, the original establishment of these persons at Newcastle, in Port Hunter, into which the Paterson river flows, was moved northwards to Port Macquarie and the banks of the Hastings. But this latter beautiful, well-timbered, and romantic country, being too tempting to be continued as a penal establishment, Sir T. Brisbane determined, in September last, to throw it open to settlers, and to move the prisoners still farther northwards to Moreton Bay, to form a settlement on Redcliff point near the mouth of the Brisbane. On this occasion the surveyor, accompanied by Mr. Cunningham, the botanist, advanced up the river about forty miles higher than on the former visit, nearly ninety all together; the navigation was stopped in several places by beds of gravel and ridges of rocks running across from bank to bank. It was still

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a fine stream, the line of which could be traced from an eminence, continuing to point towards the quarter where the Macquarie lost itself in the lake or morass. It remained however in doubt whether it might be considered as the outlet of the Macquarie, the Castlereagh, the Peel, and other streams which were discovered running to the northward.

About the time that this establishment was forming, a new settlement, by orders from home, was planted on Melville Island, at the northern extremity of New Holland, which, in a commercial point of view, as an intermediate station between the establishments on New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land and the ports of India and China, is likely to become of great importance in the eastern world. It is in this neighbourhood that the annual fleet of Malay proas fish for the *trepang* or sea-slug, an article of great consumption in China, and sent chiefly to that market; not, however, without passing through the hands of the Dutch, who beside laying high duties upon the article imported into their settlements, fix an enormous advance on the prices of the goods given in exchange for it. This impolitic conduct will probably have the effect of driving the Malays to our new settlement of Fort Dundas, on Melville Island, where our merchants will treat with them on more liberal terms than they have been accustomed to at the Dutch settlements; and in this view we think it would be politic to allow these industrious people to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of their trepang fishery.

It has been said, that the Dutch feel annoyed at the formation of this new establishment so near to some of their own; and the more so as they had themselves taken measures for anticipating us in the same quarter. We would not willingly impute to them such unworthy feelings; for, without adverting to our ancient and only settlements on the island of Sumatra, which they know that we consented to transfer to them upon a plea totally unfounded in fact,* they can scarcely have forgotten that we voluntarily surrendered to them every island in the great oriental archipelago, which the fate of war had wrested from them when in alliance with France, nor that to our generosity they are indebted for every foot of land which they now hold in the east.

The two islands of Bathurst and Melville are not only admirably situated with regard to the general commerce of the east,

* The plea was, that we had usurped possession of the island of Singapore. Now that island they had never held, or even claimed, and its name even does not appear as one of the dependencies of Malacca, (the only ground on which they could pretend a right to it,) in the minute statistics of their authentic and voluminous historian, Valentyn.

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but the soil and climate are precisely adapted for the production of the various valuable spices and other articles which are at present solely supplied by the eastern archipelago. Two species of nutmeg and the pepper plant are found growing wild in the woods, and the cabbage-palm and betel-nut are occasionally met with; the sego-palm also grows abundantly on all parts of the northern coasts. The woods abound with excellent timber, and there is plenty of good fresh water, both from wells and rivulets. In the course of two months the settlers, consisting of a detachment of troops, a party of marines, a few women, and forty-five convicts, in all one hundred and twenty-six individuals, had given to the spot the appearance of a populous village; a fort had been constructed, containing quarters for the officers, and a large storehouse; thirty huts raised for the soldiers and convicts; gardens cleared and planted, and all kinds of culinary vegetables and maize flourishing in great vigour. Pigs, ducks, and fowls were doing well, and fast increasing their numbers. The natives, accustomed to hostilities with the Malay visitors, were for some time troublesome, by making ferocious attacks on detached parties; but a timely chastisement, to convince them of our superior power, had apparently checked their hostile conduct. Thus, then, our occupancy of New Holland may now be considered to extend from Cape Van Diemen to the gulf of Carpentaria, on the northern coast; and from Cape York, in lat. 11°, to Bass's Strait, in lat. 39°, on the eastern coast; which latter coast abounds with numerous bays and harbours, into which a more minute research will no doubt discover many fine streams flowing. All these might, we think, be settled with advantage, forming so many points of communication along this extensive line of coast, and creating, as they would speedily do, a very considerable coasting trade.

The latest accounts from New South Wales mention a discovery that cannot fail to be of the utmost importance to the prosperity of the colony. Two travellers, of the names of Howell and Hume, set out from Sydney with a determination, if possible, to reach the southern coast in Bass's Strait. After passing several ranges of mountains, some of which were so high as to be covered with snow even in summer, they reached a beautiful country, which they describe as 'the first in respect of soil, and the most English in point of climate.' Though shut out by these mountains from all access to the eastern coast, it is easily approachable either by land, or by a navigable river of considerable magnitude, falling into Port Western, which affords a safe and convenient anchorage for shipping. This port in Bass's Strait will therefore undoubtedly soon become the head-quarters of a new settlement, and not only prove, at some future period, a commanding position

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for protecting the navigation of the Strait, but also afford the means of a speedy communication with the second principal port of Van Diemen's Land. It appears to us that a thousand convicts might advantageously be employed in preparing this newly-discovered district for future free settlers.

The discoveries in Van Diemen's Land, small as the whole island is, have been of late years so trifling as scarcely to deserve mention. The line of country which connects the two great harbours on the northern and southern extremities, and which includes the two rivers that, running in opposite directions, are discharged into those harbours, is occupied and tolerably well inhabited. It forms a broad belt through the heart of the country, being in its superficial contents about two-seventh parts of the whole island; but all the rest is yet a terra incognita, with the exception of Macquarie harbour, about the centre of the western coast, into which fall two rivers not yet traced to any great distance. The land surrounding this harbour, as well as that along the banks of the rivers, as far as it is known, is well adapted for all the purposes of cultivation, and abounds with coal and fine timber, for the procuring of which an establishment of convicts has recently been formed. The improvements on this island, however, are not the less progressive, but probably more so, on account of the increased density of population; and when the capital of the two great companies, which have been formed in England for the extension of the trade and agriculture of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, shall have been brought into operation, there can be little doubt that the whole surface of the latter island will very speedily be occupied. The natives are few in number, and not likely to occasion much trouble to the settlers; though, in consequence of an unfortunate misunderstanding by which several of them lost their lives some years ago, they have occasionally shown a spirit of ferocious hostility. Recently, however, it appears, a party of them came voluntarily to Hobart Town, and the friendly reception and kind treatment they met with from the inhabitants may be the means of restoring confidence. From all accounts they appear to be a degree lower in the scale of humanity than those even of Port Jackson; and so far differ from them in their persons as to have woolly hair, which in the other is wiry. They have not the art of taking fish either by the net or the hook; and the rude bark canoe is entirely unknown to them, a clumsy and ill-constructed raft serving them to cross a river or sheet of water. They have spears of wood, and not of bulrush pointed with wood, as in New South Wales, in using which they grasp the centre; but, having no *womera* or throwing stick, they neither

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neither throw them so far, nor so dexterously, as the natives of the sister-colony.

When Botany Bay was first established as a penal settlement thirty-seven years ago, we believe it never entered into the contemplation of those who recommended the measure, that such a population and such a state of society, as now exist in the two colonies, could have been created within the first hundred years. Yet in a single generation we find the wilderness converted into the finest gardens, orchards and corn-fields, and those lonely spots where a few straggling, half-famished and naked savages might be seen prowling about in search of sustenance to preserve a miserable existence, are now covered with towns, villages and detached farm-houses. The town of Sydney has 1200 houses, and 7,000 inhabitants; and such is the demand for land and new buildings, that the former in many places is stated to be worth £1000 an acre; and that houses let for from £100 to £500 a year. Nothing can be more delightful than the commanding situation of this capital of the Australian world. Its noble harbour, with its 'hundred coves,' capable of containing all the shipping in the world, its warehouses, and its quays, and the number of ships which visit it, give to it the appearance and the bustle of an English seaport. It has two churches, two Wesleyan chapels, and a Roman Catholic chapel; an excellent market, held three days in the week, in a large oblong square, with commodious public stores for the reception of unsold goods; in return for which trifling dues are levied, amounting in the year 1817 to £130; and in 1822 to £595. This market is well supplied with grain, vegetables, poultry, butter, eggs, and fruit, but some of them sold at higher rates than might be expected.

'By the late accounts of the colony, which reach down to the latter end of last year, (1823) which was a year of remarkable abundance, it appears that good mutton, beef, and pork were to be had from the butcher from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per lb.; that wheat was selling in the market at 4*s.* 7*d.* per bushel; oats at 2*s.* 9*d.*; barley at 3*s.*; maize at 2*s.* 6*d.*; potatoes at 8*s.* per cwt.; fowls at 2*s.* 9*d.* per couple; eggs at 1*s.* 9*d.* per dozen; butter at 2*s.* 3*d.* per lb.; cheese at 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb. The price of the best wheaten bread was fixed by the assize at 3½*d.* for the loaf weighing 2lbs.'—*Wentworth*, vol. i. p. 450.

A chartered bank is established at Sydney, which has shared dividends among the proprietors of 12 to 15 per cent., and there is also a saving bank, instituted by Governor Macquarie. They have 'the Australian Magazine,' 'the Australian Newspaper,' and 'the Sydney Gazette.' They have also a Philosophical, an Agricultural, and a Horticultural Society. Neither has the religious and moral education of adults nor of the children of the poor been

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been neglected. They have various schools for both sexes, supported from the public revenue of the colony; besides Sunday Schools for the gratuitous instruction of the poor: of which the Wesleyans alone have five, attended by three or four hundred children. They have private seminaries for the more opulent classes, two of which are kept by clergymen of the established church; and there are several schools in Sydney for the board and education of young ladies.

On the banks of a fresh water stream at the head of Port Jackson harbour, we find the town of Paramatta with a population of 1500 souls, having its church and chapels, its government house, orphan house, hospital, manufactory of coarse cloth, (in which about 160 unruly female convicts are employed,) besides other substantial buildings, and among them two inns, where, it is said, all the comfort and accommodations, that are met with in similar establishments in England, are to be found. It has its two half yearly fairs, for the sale of cattle and other stock. It has, besides, an institution which reflects the greatest credit on its founder, the late Governor Macquarie—a school for the education and civilization of the aborigines of the country. Its success may be doubtful, but the intention is so praiseworthy, that it would be well to continue it in spite of some trifling circumstances, of a discouraging nature, which happen to all new institutions. It appears, by the latest accounts from Sydney, that not less than 400 natives attended and were feasted at the late Paramatta fair.

The town of Windsor, on the river Hawkesbury, is also in an improving condition, with its population of 800 or 900 souls; and Newcastle, on the Coal river, with a larger population, and a neat church, is likely, at no great length of time, to become a valuable settlement on account of its coal, its shell-lime, and good timber, chiefly cedar and rose-wood. But the flourishing condition of the towns is not the criterion by which we are to judge of the prosperity of the colony; we must look to the state of the farms, the progress of agriculture, and the rapid increase of the flocks and herds, before we can duly appreciate the resources and the wealth of the colony. The wool alone is of infinite importance, being of a staple equal to any and superior to most of the samples brought to market. The cattle of the colonists will produce them hides and tallow in abundance; besides wheat, barley, rye and oats, they have the finest and never failing crops of maize; the vine flourishes in the southern, and sugar, coffee, and all the tropical fruits may be raised in the northern settlements. In short, every vegetable product, from the pine-apple to the potatoe, may be obtained in this single colony.

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The progress of civilization and improvement has been still more rapid on the little island of Van Diemen, though fifteen years later in its commencement, and though the original colonists were the re-convicted felons that had been banished to Norfolk island, who were subsequently recruited with convicts of the very worst description. But its fine climate, its beautiful appearance, its rivers and magnificent harbours, soon procured for it the preference of voluntary emigrants, which was strengthened by a striking resemblance of many of its features to Great Britain. Between the years 1818 and 1820, the population and produce were nearly doubled. In the latter year alone 1,060 free settlers arrived. The number of convicts at this time was 3,477, of which 3,107 were men, and 370 women; and the total population amounted to 6,178 souls. In 1821, the population had increased to 7,185, of which 3,246 were free persons, and 3,939 convicts; since that time 500 respectable families have emigrated to this island; and an additional number of convicts have been sent thither, so that the population at this moment cannot be far short of 12,000 souls. In the year 1821, (since which we believe there have been no returns,) the amount of live stock in the colony was 170,391 sheep, and 34,790 head of horned cattle; and the value of the annual produce was estimated at £234,975; of which was exported to the amount of about £60,000; and of this sum more than half was for the supply, chiefly in grain, of the sister-colony of New South Wales. In Hobart Town, the number of houses were 600, containing 3,500 inhabitants, and new buildings are rising up every day: yet rents, in the two capitals at least, are high, being from £60 to £200 a year, for a single house. At the other extremity of the island is Launceston, containing about 250 houses and 1,200 inhabitants. It stands upon the river Tamar, as Hobart Town does upon the Derwent, both of them magnificent rivers, terminating in bays and harbours, the latter not excelled in the world besides. George Town has also been recently established on the banks of the Tamar, as a place of secondary banishment, and has a manufactory of cloth, &c. for the employment of female convicts. It contains about 600 inhabitants. Here, too, as in New South Wales, churches, chapels and schools, have been erected and endowed; and banks, markets, and other conveniences, quite equal to those of the sister-colony.

In point of fact there is very little choice between the two colonies; that of Van Diemen, having on an average a lower temperature of about ten degrees, assimilates more nearly with England in its climate and productions. Fortunately the settlers, or the leading men at least, seem best pleased each with their own island. A discussion on their relative superiority by the Presidents

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sidents of the respective Agricultural Societies somewhat amused us. He of New South Wales boasted of the superior advantages of that colony in water, in climate, and in unbounded extent, to say nothing of Van Diemen's land being twenty years behind in civilization. To which the other answers, by denying the truth of the first position, as to water; and by asserting that, as to climate, Van Diemen's land has undoubtedly the advantage, its summer heat being as 70 to 90 of New South Wales, and the winters never severe; he admits, indeed, that they have no tropical fruits, but says, on the other hand, that they have all the fruits and vegetables of the mother-country, and may therefore well afford to resign the orange and the citron, when their potatoes and grain, in substance, produce and quality, are beyond comparison superior to those which New South Wales produces; and if the wool be at present inferior, in respect of which article the elder colony boasts so much, the experiment is only in its infancy in Van Diemen's land, but there is no reason to doubt that the climate is equally favourable for the breed of fine woolled sheep. To the assertion of superior civilization, the President observes, that, till eight years ago, no vessel was permitted to enter the ports of Van Diemen's land, nor any thing to be imported, but by way of Port Jackson; that thence also were received her refuse treble-convicted felons, out of whom, as might be expected, bands of robbers were formed, who, under the name of bush-rangers, for years desolated the colony; but that these depredators have now been happily destroyed, and that, with the occasional exception of a few sheep being stolen from the solitary farms, where the flocks stray over a wide extent of country, persons and property are perfectly safe in every settled part of Van Diemen's land. It is almost superfluous to add that both these colonies are purely English; that all the feelings and habits of the settlers, their religious, moral and economical institutions, are modelled on those of the mother-country; that their sports and recreations, their fairs and their cattle-shows, their balls, assemblies and races differ only in degree from those which they left behind. Even in their hunting and shooting they are not satisfied without an English pack of hounds and English game. In this last refinement Van Diemen's land appears to take the lead; for, not contented with hunting emus, kangaroos and bandicout rats, and shooting quails, snipes, pigeons, plovers, curlews and ground-parrots, an association has been formed to introduce from England deer, hares, pheasants, grouse and partridges; which will of course be followed by an enactment for the preservation of game on Van Diemen's land. It appears also that the conveniences, refinements and luxuries of life are by no means lost sight of. Hobart Town, like London, is watered by pipes. It has

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has not only its banks and its ball-rooms, but can already boast of about sixteen breweries and distilleries; various manufactories of clothing and other articles of domestic use; and its citizens are enlightened by the 'Tasmanian Gazette' and 'Launceston Advertiser.'

The separate government and jurisdiction which has lately been given to Van Diemen's land will put an end, it is to be hoped, to any little jealousy that might exist between the two colonies, and at the same time be the means of allaying those squabbles and contentions for place and precedence which occupy so large a space in the first voluminous Report of Mr. Bigge.

That a spirit of party, that feuds and animosities should exist in all their violence among a people composed of such materials as that of Australia, was to be expected; the wonder is that they have amalgamated so well. For some time there were but two classes—the civil and military officers, and the convicts,—between whom the line of distinction was so broadly drawn, as never to be passed; the leading, and indeed the only principles of government, were necessarily command and obedience; but in the course of a few years, in addition to the voluntary settlers, a third class sprung up, composed of convicts who had become free by the expiration of the time for which they had been sentenced, and of such as had been made so by pardon. They were distinguished by the appellation of 'emancipists,' a name by which they are still known, in contradistinction to the voluntary emigrants. Till the time of Governor Macquarie, these people, though they had become important by their numbers, and more so by their reformed habits and property, still possessed little or no visible influence in society; they were looked upon as a degraded class; but as they had either paid the penalty of the law, or received a full pardon for their offences, this officer thought it but just that they should be rescued from the state of degradation in which he found them: he therefore laid down a rule, on which he acted, 'that it was good policy to restore the deserving emancipist to that rank in society, which he had occupied previously to his conviction.' It will readily be supposed that the encouragement thus given to the emancipists only served, in the first instance, to widen the separation between them and the aristocratic party, or 'vile faction,' as Mr. Wentworth calls all those, whether free settlers or functionaries, who resisted the governor's plan, and whose 'unrelenting and systematic hostility' was soon directed against that officer himself and his government. To ascertain the true state of the colony, and to tranquillize the conflicting parties, Mr. Bigge was sent out, armed with full powers as King's commissioner, to inquire into and report on all grievances, &c. that might be brought before him. He sanctioned, rather unfortunately

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fortunately as we think, a directly opposite line of conduct to that which had been pursued by Governor Macquarie; not, however, by any means to the extent which Mr. Wentworth has been pleased to impute to him, who charges him, 'instead of healing those wounds, and allaying those animosities, which have so long distracted this unhappy community,' with sowing, 'with a prodigal hand, the seeds of new, and still more inveterate dissensions. Instead, adds this writer, of confining his report to public objects and public interests, he has polluted every page of it with private scandal and vituperation, as if these had been the exclusive ends of his appointment.' Without attempting to exculpate Mr. Bigge from the charge of entering into a too minute detail of private transactions, we must say that he had a most arduous and delicate task to perform, and are far from thinking that he has merited the abusive and opprobrious terms which this young man has lavished upon him—such as 'booby commissioner,' one who 'raked together all the dirt and filth, all the scandal, calumnies and lies that were ever circulated in the colony.' That Mr. Wentworth should espouse the cause of the emancipists is natural enough, and we are far from blaming him for it; but youth and folly only can make him suppose that the abusive and scurrilous language which runs throughout his book, wherever this part of the subject occurs, adds any strength to his arguments in favour of one party or against the other. The following statement which he has given, if founded on facts, demonstrates the justice of removing any legal disabilities from that class whose cause he espouses, more forcibly than all his opprobrious epithets on the opposite party.

'From a census taken by some of the leading men among the petitioners with the greatest care and accuracy, it appears that the emancipists in that year amounted to 7,556, and their children to 5,859; while the number of voluntary emigrants were only 1,558, and their children 878. It appears too from the same document, that the property, whether real or personal, held by the two classes was pretty nearly in relative proportion to their respective numbers; the emancipists possessing 29,028 acres of land in cultivation, 212,335 acres in pasture, 1,200 houses in towns, 42,988 head of horned cattle, 174,179 sheep, 2,415 horses and 18,563 swine, 15 colonial vessels of various burdens, and capital invested in foreign trade, and domestic, to the amount of £150,000;—while, on the other hand, the emigrants possessed only at that time 10,737 acres of land in cultivation, 198,369, acres in pasture, 300 houses in towns, 28,582 head of horned cattle, 87,391 sheep, 1,553 horses and 6,304 swine, 8 colonial vessels, and capital invested in trade and commerce, to the amount of £100,000: the estimated aggregate value of the property of every description possessed by the emancipist Colonists amounting to £1,123,600 and that of the emigrant Colonists to £526,136, leaving an excess in favour of the former of £597,464.'—*Wentworth*, vol. i. p. 414.

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The vast importance of the emancipists to the colony appears obvious enough from this statement; but why should Mr. Wentworth do the very thing of which he accuses Commissioner Bigge; at the same moment too in which he admits that 'already is the equality of every free colonist, whether emigrant or emancipist, distinctly recognized by that clause of the act passed in 1823, which regulates the trial by jury'? If not kept up by that spirit which appears in his book, the distinction of the two classes will probably soon cease; and the descendants of the voluntary emigrant and the convict will not despise nor entertain antipathies against each other, as is said to have been the case in the early periods of some of the North American settlements.

But there is another and a greater evil besetting these colonies, which will require a longer time to correct; we allude to the enormous disproportion that exists between the male and female part of the population.

'The young men are almost invariably temperate, chaste, frugal, and laborious; and if unhappily this character be not generally applicable to the native-born females, this exception on their part is to be traced not to any innate depravity, but to that vast and alarming disproportion which exists between the sexes; the number of males being to the number of females nearly as four to one. Hence it happens, that the instant a young woman arrives at the age of maturity, and often, indeed, long before, she is beset with all the arts, and played upon with all the artillery of seduction; and being, perhaps, under the roof of a mother, herself not wholly reclaimed from the vicious practices of her youth, and thus the insidious underminer of her daughter's chastity, what wonder that the poor girl at length gives way, and that her after-life continues an uninterrupted scene of riot and debauchery?'—*Wentworth*, vol. i. p. 364.

We might here ask Mr. Wentworth who these artillerymen of seduction are, since he tells us that the *young* men are almost *invariably* chaste—but let it pass. The disproportion among the convicts is much greater than that stated above, the number of men in 1821 was no less than ten to one woman, and since that period the inequality has nearly doubled. Mr. Wentworth is disposed to think that it arises from the disinclination of our government to transport female offenders, since the general introduction of something like the penitentiary system into England; and more particularly since Mrs. Fry undertook the management of the female prisoners in Newgate. Now the fact is, that a whole cargo of Mrs. Fry's converts were shipped off for the colony, who, in spite of all the care which had been taken with them, happened to turn out more refractory and abandoned than any which had before been transported. But even women such as these are much better disposed

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posed of in New South Wales than by being turned loose on society in England. A great deal was said of the abandoned and incorrigible characters of the females who were sent to the penitentiary of Paramatta, and of the enormous expense of that establishment; but Mr. Wentworth thinks that both were grossly exaggerated, and we are inclined to believe that such was the case. At all events we agree with him in hoping that the state of this factory will not be brought forward 'as an argument against the transportation of women to this colony, seeing the horrible disproportion which already exists there between the sexes, and the lamentable consequences that must ensue, unless some speedy means of equalizing them be adopted.'

Frequent doubts have been entertained as to the efficiency of these colonies considered as 'a school of correction and reform.'

On this part of the subject, however, as well as on the policy of encouraging the emigration of the poor to the Australian colonies, Mr. Wentworth has published three letters addressed to Mr. Peel by a gentleman who is evidently well versed in the matters on which he treats, and who, to an intimate knowledge of the colonies, adds full information regarding the state of the prisons, penitentiaries, and condition of the labouring poor at home: these letters form the best portion of Mr. Wentworth's work. The following is a striking view of the effects produced by the colonization of convicts.

'The extent to which reform has been effected among the convicts heretofore sent to New South Wales is not, I believe, generally or indeed at all known; I shall therefore just give a sketch of it. The number of persons transported to New South Wales, from its establishment in 1788, to the end of the year 1815, was 13,801 men, and 3,265 women, total 17,066; of these 6,067 became free by pardon, and service, 1,688 held tickets of leave, 3,813 still continue convicts, and the remainder 5,498 had died, having a considerable number previously become free. Those who had become free with their children who had come to maturity, 1,947 persons, formed in 1821, 3,478 families, having 7,212 children, and possessed 251,941 acres of land in pasture, 34,769 acres in cultivation, 2,447 horses, 59,466 head of horned cattle, 168,960 sheep, 25,568 swine, 3,478 houses, 15 decked vessels, of various burthen, 87,000*l.* worth of agricultural dead stock, and 300,000*l.* invested in trade; the estimated value of their entire property being 1,562,201*l.* sterling, all the creation and fruit of their own industry; and they employed and subsisted 4,640 convict labourers, making thereby a saving to the government of 116,000*l* per annum; as appears by the colonial general muster of population and property, for the year 1821. Here the reformation that has taken place among the convicts, transported to New South Wales, appears both in its nature and degree. Of 17,000 persons

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sons transported in thirty years, nearly 5,500 have died; 3,800 are still convicts; 1,700 are so far reformed as to have obtained the first degree of reward and indulgence, and 6,067 have become heads of families, householders, and proprietors of landed and other property, to the value of above one million and a half sterling; have upwards of nine thousand children, who are in the course of being educated in industrious habits, and employ, and subsist, and thereby relieve the crown from the expense of subsisting more than 4,600 convicts. Whatever the private morals or failings of these people may be, and the greater number of them are not worse in this respect than their unconvicted fellow colonists, they have been politically, and as far as human laws are concerned, morally reformed. They have become fathers of families, they possess considerable property, created and acquired by industry and honest exertion, and fulfill all the political, social, and domestic duties of citizens; and their children are in the course of becoming, and will become, equal to any other description of people in any part of the king's dominions. I do therefore conclude, upon consideration of these facts, that New South Wales, as a penal settlement, has been productive, in an eminent degree, of substantial and beneficial reform in the persons transported thereto.'—*Wentworth*, vol. ii. p. 156, 158.

Then with regard to economy or the expense of the system, he finds, from the reports of parliamentary committees, that the average expense per man transported to New South Wales is considerably below that in gaols, penitentiaries, houses of correction, or hulks. Thus the average *annual* expense of each man in the hulks for thirty-four years is 28*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; an estimate for the same period, in penitentiaries (had they existed so long) 32*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.*; in nine gaols, houses of correction, and bridewells, (including Milbank, the average of which alone is 56*l.* 15*s.*) 38*l.* 14*s.*: while an average for the same period for each convict transported to New South Wales has been no more than 20*l.* 14*s.* 5½*d.*, and this includes subsistence, clothing, superintendence, the civil government, and the naval and military expenses of the colony, as well as the transport of the convicts out. The following is a condensed comparative view of the total expenditures of the three systems.

'The entire expense of New South Wales, from its settlement in 1788, to December, 1821, has been 5,301,023*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, for which 33,155 persons have been transported, and subsisted, and all the civil, naval, military, and other expenses of the colony paid. To have kept the same number during the same period, in hulks, would have cost the nation, including the fitting up of the necessary number of hulks, forty at least, 7,214,486*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* And to have subsisted and managed them in penitentiaries, erected and supported, not at the same rate of expense as Milbank Penitentiary, but, upon the most economical plan, would have cost for superintendence and subsistence only, 7,943,221*l.*, and the expense of erecting the necessary number of penitentiaries, forty at least, upon the least expensive plan yet effected, I mean the plan of the

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Maidstone Goal and Penitentiary, the erection of which, for the accommodation of 450 prisoners, notwithstanding the utmost attention to economy, and simplicity of style, cost 192,000*l.*, would have cost the further sum of 8,366,640*l.*, making a total, for penitentiaries, of 16,309,861*l.*, sterling.'—vol. ii. p. 164.

Besides, he argues, and we think fairly enough, that the labour performed in New South Wales is much more valuable than that of prisoners in hulks or penitentiaries; that, in fact, the employment of convicts at home, where there is a superabundance of free labourers, is of no benefit whatever to the country, but, on the contrary, a serious evil, as it must throw out of employment an equal number of free labourers, who will come on the poor's rate for subsistence; that allowing, however, the labour of convicts in hulks and penitentiaries to be of all the value that the favourers of the system may be pleased to make it, its amount is a mere trifle in comparison with that of New South Wales.

'That colony is certainly the fruit of the convicts' labour. It now contains a population of more than 40,000 souls, who occupy upwards of 700,000 acres of land, and possess upwards of 5,000 horses, 120,000 head of horned cattle, and 350,000 sheep; it contains five thriving towns, and several villages; it consumes British manufactures annually of the value of 350,000*l.*; its exports amount to 100,000*l.* per annum; it employs upwards of 10,000 tons of shipping, and yields a colonial revenue of more than 50,000*l.* a year: whereas if the same convicts had been kept in England, either in hulks, penitentiaries, or any other better system of correction, and employment, their labour, instead of being productive and valuable, would have been in itself of very little value, and, as coming in competition with free and unconvicted labour, would have created a far greater expense in the shape of poors-rates, for the subsistence of those whom it would have thrown ont of employment, than any possible saving that would have been derived from it. The convict in England, so far as his labour is concerned, becomes a competitor with the free labourer; the convict of New South Wales becomes not a competitor with, but an employer of the free labourer of England, to the full extent of the expense of his, the convict's, maintenance: because all the money expended in New South Wales has been, directly or indirectly, expended in the purchase and consumption of British manufactures.'—vol. ii. p. 155, 156.

Another most important advantage is secured by sending the convicts to New South Wales. There the culprit has the chance of becoming an honest and useful citizen; and that these chances are equal in his favour is evident from the fact, that 'one half the number of persons transported to New South Wales, up to 1815, had, in 1821, become free, and were heads of families, householders and settlers.' But it is impossible, or very nearly so,

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so, that, in the present state of the labouring population of England, convicts discharged from hulks and penitentiaries can, however reformed they may appear to be, continue honest. 'How can a man,' asks this writer, stating his case however a little too strongly, 'coming out of a hulk or penitentiary, with necessarily a tainted character, claim honest employment and subsistence in a country, where men of untainted character and the most sober and industrious habits cannot, with all their efforts, obtain employment to subsist by?'

We remember, not many years ago, a good deal of pseudo-philanthropy, if we may use such a term, in parliament and out of it, on the hardship and cruelty of not accommodating the convicts of New South Wales with a passage home at the expiration of their servitude. The facts above stated show the value of such complaints, and confirm us in the justness of the opinion expressed by the writer above mentioned, 'that the very circumstance of the difficulty of the convicts returning after the term of transportation expires, is the peculiar advantage of transportation.'

Some sensible observations are made in these letters as to the mode of distributing and employing the convicts. He recommends the local government to remove them as far from the towns as possible, to be employed by those settlers who are engaged in agriculture and grazing. 'The convict assigned to the settler is compelled to continual labour; he is out of the way of evil example; he cannot indulge in habits of idleness, dissipation or theft; he gradually acquires habits of industry and sobriety; his labour is turned to profitable account; and the government is entirely relieved from the expense of his subsistence.' The difficulty is, that there are not settlers sufficient to give employment to all the convicts, who in 1823 probably exceeded ten thousand. Upon this he observes that the most advantageous way would be to employ them in clearing and preparing farms for emigrants; that is to say, felling and burning timber, fencing in the ground, building huts and sheds; and as emigration is likely to take place on a great scale as soon as the capital of the two Australian companies shall be brought into operation, we do think that as many convicts as can be spared might be employed with great advantage in this manner, by which a whole year would be gained to the new settlers. If something of this kind be not done, the increasing number of convicts, as appears from the following abstract, must be an enormous expense to the government and a dead weight upon the colony.

'At the colonial muster, or census, of 1821, the number of male convicts was found to be 16,210; of those there were distributed among and

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employed by the colonists in every way 6,927, and 1,378 held "tickets of leave," leaving at the disposal of the government 7,905 labourers. Since that period, upwards of 3,500 male convicts have been sent out, and there are now therefore upwards of 10,000 crown labourers, who really are, in a measure, in want of employment, in the colony. It is to be observed that the government has to feed, clothe, and lodge all the convicts not distributed among the colonists. Now if those 10,000 crown labourers, or even a part of them, were employed in clearing and fencing farms, and erecting houses on them, they would clear and fence a sufficient quantity of land every year, for several thousand farms, and besides erect a house on each farm.'—vol. ii. p. 230, 231.

It is then shown, by a detailed estimate, that the labour of preparing a farm of thirty acres, fenced with a three-rail fence, one acre cleared for a garden, and five for agricultural cultivation, with a cot-house twenty-four feet long, twelve feet wide, and eight feet high, weather-boarded and shingled, could be completed by one convict in one year at an expense, including the materials, of £19. This being the case, it is further shown, by a number of detailed estimates, what an advantage it would be to the labouring poor of England and Ireland, and what a relief to the parishes, if 5,000 families should annually emigrate from each of the two countries to New South Wales, for the reception of whom 10,000 such farms as above-mentioned could be prepared by the convicts already there, and to whom, it is supposed, the government have no means of giving profitable employment. This is a point worthy at least of serious consideration: for we are satisfied, that the Australian colonies are, of all others, those in which pauper emigrants can be settled with the least expense to the public, and with the greatest advantage to themselves.

Mr. Curr, whose account of Van Diemen's Land we have placed among others at the head of our paper, is anxious that the English farmer should not be misled when he reads of Australian farms and farm-houses.

'The cottage,' says he, 'is usually built of sods, logs, or mud, and thatched with straw; a few logs laid together in the style of the American fence perhaps compose a pig-sty: and an open detached yard of the same materials serves to contain the working cattle.

'These are, in a majority of cases, the only features of a farm-house in Van Diemen's Land, unless, indeed, we think proper to add the disgusting appearance of wool, bones, sheep-skins, wasted manure, and the confused heaps of ploughs, harrows, carts, fire-wood, and water-casks, with a few quarters of mutton or kangaroo hanging on a neighbouring tree, and a numerous tribe of dogs and idlers; the former barking, the latter lounging about. Every thing betokens waste and disorder, the total absence of industry and economy. As to the thrifty mistress of the house, her place is too frequently supplied (among the lower classes in particular)

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particular) by a being of a different nature, generally a convict, or one free by the expiration of her term of transportation. In respect to the dairy and poultry, the latter are indeed generally to be met with; but the possessor of a hundred head of cattle often cannot command milk to his tea.'—p. 14, 15.

We should regret, as much as Mr. Curr, the dissemination of any false or exaggerated notions on this subject, but this account of the farm-house, &c. is so far from being generally true, that he himself admits, in another place, (p. 33,) that 'many farms would do credit, in every instance, to the best agricultural districts in England.' And in cases, which the picture really resembles, all that can be said, is, that if the farmer chuses to live amidst filth and garbage; if he suffers his cattle to run wild over the plains, as in South America, and the calves to suck their mothers, until they bear calves themselves, (at the age of eighteen months,) instead of taking the trouble to milk them for the dairy—if he confines his sheep in hot yards in summer, and in dirt and dung in winter; it is neither the fault of the soil nor the climate, but of that slovenly indolence which seeks nothing beyond the gratification of the appetite by gross feeding. These are not the necessary evils of a new settlement; they are not evils which a sensible, clean, and industrious family need fear. That something better might be obtained is evidently the opinion of Mr. Curr himself. In an excursion from Hobart town, he says,

'Passing over these beautiful tracts, the most enchanting views, the brightest verdure, and the greatest fertility, combine to delight the eye and to invite the husbandman. It has often been to me a subject of regret, that I could not take up my final residence upon it; and I have often reflected, (I had almost said, exclaimed,) How happy might I be here in the bosom of my family, the possessor of all the acres my eye beholds; my flocks and herds grazing around me, and depending on them alone for subsistence:—far above want,—perhaps in affluence, and sure at last of leaving an independence to my children! Such will often be the exclamation of the traveller, as he roams over these plains in search of a spot on which to fix himself.'—p. 28—29.

Of such a country as this, a better race of settlers, with more orderly and industrious habits than the emancipated convicts, would soon change the aspect, improve the breed of sheep and horned cattle, and produce plenty, with all the comforts and conveniences of life. There is no apprehension for many years to come, especially in New South Wales, of overstocking the country with population; 'I have made an estimate' (says the able writer of the 'letters')

'of the quantity of good land, fit for agricultural purposes, the growth of grain, hemp, flax, and tobacco, contained in the line of country explored by Mr. Surveyor-General Oxley, in his expeditions into the interior,

rior, in the years 1817 and 1818, and the result is, that it forms a square area of 250 miles every way, or 62,500 square miles, and 40,000,000 acres, and contains, at least, ten million acres of land upon the banks of rivers and streams, well watered, rich, fertile, and valuable for all purposes of grazing, cultivation, and settlement, and capable of producing, in the greatest abundance, wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, tobacco, flax and hemp, and of rearing and feeding horned cattle, horses, and fine woolled sheep without number. A country certainly sufficient, in point of extent and fertility of soil, for the reception of all the redundant population of Great Britain and Ireland.'—*Wentworth*, vol. ii. p. 229.

The soil, too, is admirable, especially in the vicinity of the rivers, and found so productive, as to yield abundant crops of wheat, maize and barley, in some places for thirty, and in others for twenty and fifteen successive years without manure and without rest; and, what is not of less importance, the climate is most desirable, without that scorching heat which renders the European unfit for toil, or those frosts and snows which defy all agricultural labour for five or six months in the year; the tracts too to which we allude are free from those swamps and morasses, which engender fevers to debilitate and destroy the human frame.

'The first requisite in any country, and more especially in a new colony, is a good climate. In this particular, New South Wales, in which I always include Van Diemen's Land, is in no respect inferior to any other country in the world. We have now had the experience of five-and-thirty years, and it serves to show, not only that the climate is most congenial to the human constitution in preserving health, but that old and unhealthy persons have recovered and preserved a state of health seldom to be found in other countries. It is a well ascertained fact that inflammatory and febrile diseases have not hitherto been observed in New South Wales. There is no trace to be found of the diseases that prevail in the back woods of America. And as to those fatal diseases of children, small-pox, measles and hooping-cough, not one single case has been known to exist. The climate is equally favourable for all domestic animals. Horned cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and every description of poultry, thrive and multiply to a degree I believe seldom known, certainly never exceeded elsewhere. In short, with respect to climate, there is not a healthier or finer in the world, for man or beast, than that of New South Wales.'—*Wentworth*, vol. ii. p. 327.

On a review of what has been done by convicts, both for the colony and themselves, the success of industrious families of voluntary emigrants can, we think, be no longer doubtful; and it will become a question for serious consideration, how far it may be advisable for parishes to be at the expense of the transport of a certain number of those families which are annually relieved by the poor rates, to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. The writer of the letters to Mr. Peel proposes to

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to send out annually five thousand families, consisting of twenty-five thousand souls, for whose reception the convicts can with ease prepare five thousand habitations and farms; that for each family of five persons a contribution of £10 a year should be paid to the emigration fund from the poor's rate, for fourteen years, and that the annual rent to be paid by each emigrant settler shall also be £10 a year, to commence the third year of his settlement, when it is concluded he may with ease afford to pay so much. We cannot follow him through all the estimates by which he arrives at his conclusions, but the result is that a permanent reduction and relief would be afforded in the parish rates of £30 a year, on an average, for every family of five persons subsisted wholly or in part by the poor's rate. We see but one objection to this scheme. The emigration contemplated can only be voluntary; in crowded manufacturing parishes there might perhaps be no insuperable difficulty in procuring emigrants—these, however, would be the least useful class of persons for the purpose in view. But in agricultural parishes, in which the love of the native soil has all its primitive hold on the affections, and where the idea of transportation to Botany Bay as a punishment is still regarded with salutary horror, we doubt exceedingly whether families of the class alluded to, that, is subsisted wholly or in part by the poor's rate, would be found in any considerable number willing to avail themselves of the advantages held out to them. These persons look to the poor's rate as a source of support legally their own, and would listen with great distrust and jealousy to any proposition coming from the overseers, calculated to relieve the rate, as they would think, at their expense.

If, however, as is probable, a committee of the House of Commons, in the next session, shall be appointed to examine into the question of emigration from the United Kingdom, and from Ireland in particular, we would strongly recommend to its particular attention the three letters from which we have made extracts; and if the documents therein referred to, and the estimates grounded upon them be correct, we cannot help subscribing to the following conclusion, strongly as it is expressed.

'If the Irish land proprietors, from any ill-grounded fears of the mischief of poor's rate, will not agree to the adoption of some such means for promoting the emigration of the redundant population of Ireland, but will be looking to the imperial government, or in other words to taxes to be levied on the people of England, (who have, certainly, no right to pay for the emigration, or otherwise support the redundant population of Ireland,) to keep up the excessive rents and increase the incomes of the Irish gentry, they will give just reasons for suspecting that they are influenced rather by motives of private and individual,

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though mistaken interest, than by patriotism and humanity: and their increasing distresses will meet with little commiseration, as they may be fairly attributed to themselves. If every poor family of five persons can be comfortably settled in New South Wales, at the very trifling expense to the country of *two pounds twelve shillings per annum, for forty-two years,* I think the mouths of the Irish gentry, as to all claims of relief from the imperial parliament, must be stopped; and if they will not consent to incur so trifling an expense for such a purpose, perhaps it will be said, they deserve to suffer all the mischiefs of a redundant, unemployed, starving population.'—*Wentworth*, vol. ii. p. 286.

ART. III.—*Voyage Historique et Littéraire en Angleterre et en Europe.* Par Amadée Pichot, D. M. Paris, 1825. 3 vols. 8vo.

DOCTOR Pichot seems to be a hack translator for the Parisian booksellers, who has thought it necessary, in the way of his trade, to visit the country whose language and manners he pretends to understand; and, it must be confessed, that the title of *translator* (little as he knows of English) is much better suited to him than that of *traveller*, for, in fact, his *travels* are little else than *translations:* and of the 1500 pages which compose the three volumes before us, there are not 200 which might not have been written though the Doctor had never quitted his *entresol* in the *Rue des Morfondus.*

We shall begin our observations with a few specimens of the Doctor's *recipe* for making a book of travels. When about to describe the style of the English Bar, (an interesting subject, and one on which we should like to have the opinion of a competent foreigner,) it happens that the word *Erskine* falls from his pen. Adieu in a moment to the Bar and its various styles! The Doctor immediately sets about translating a common-place life of Lord Erskine after this manner:

'Thomas Erskine, third son of the Earl of Buchan, was born in Scotland, about the year 1750. After acquiring the rudiments of learning at Edinburgh, he completed his education at the University of St. Andrew's,' &c.—vol. ii. p. 112.

Then follow translations of scraps of his speeches for *thirty* pages, at the end of which the Doctor reluctantly

'renounces the pleasure of citing other passages of an orator whose ingenuity of discussion, whose elevation of style, and whose purity of taste, give his works an air *entirely French.*'—vol. ii. p. 148.

The mention of Mr. Campbell fortunately enables Doctor Pichot to get through *seventeen* pages, by doing into French so much of Gertrude of Wyoming; a poem soothing enough in the original, but an absolute narcotic in the hands of the Doctor.

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Doctor. Mr. Crabbe is a still more lucky hit, for he affords *thirty-two* pages of translation. If the Doctor goes to Drury Lane, he translates you the auto-biography of Mr. Kean; if he happens to mention Burns, you are forthwith generously presented with his life and adventures, followed by translations at *double length*, and *in prosé*, of

1. The Vision.
2. Lines to a Mountain Daisy.
3. Highland Mary.
4. To Mary in Heaven.
5. The Cotter's Saturday Night, (this occupies but *eight* pages of the Doctor's *Travels.*)
6. Their Groves of Sweet Myrtle, &c.

And thus is accomplished a 'voyage historique et littéraire' through Great Britain—his real travels, as far as can be gathered from his book, being neither more nor less than his conveyance from Dover to London, and from London to Edinburgh,* on the roofs of the respective stage-coaches;—a very commodious and opportune position for the researches of a literary and historical traveller.

From this general view of the objects and facilities of the Doctor's inquiries, we proceed to the mode in which he manages the very few details with which he condescends to intersperse his general plan.

In the first place, this 'Voyage Historique et Littéraire' is written in a series of ninety-four letters, addressed to about ninety different persons, in Paris. There may be a dozen of those persons whose names have reached the ears of good society in Paris or London, but the rest are one more obscure than the other. Such a beginning does not raise our opinion of the Doctor's society in his own country, while it excites some doubts as to the authenticity of the letters themselves; for, if he had really written such letters, and addressed them as he pretends, his matter would have been parcelled out to ninety correspondents, who must have assembled together in a general council, and compared and adjusted each his own piece of patchwork to those of all his neighbours, before the Doctor's communication could be brought even into a shape of intelligibility. We wondered, at first, how he could have ventured on so clumsy a fiction; but, on consideration, we think we discover his motive. He contrives in this way to enlist ninety of the subaltern

* The last two letters give a few particulars of a further excursion made by the Doctor from Edinburgh northward; but as it is intimated that this is to be the subject of a future volume, and as it occupies so little of these, it is not worth while to notice it at present.

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littérateurs of France in his cause, who will each feel bound in gratitude to say a good word for the complaisant Doctor, and recommend him to the *badauds* of Paris as an *historical traveller,* and to Mr. Charles Gosselin (his publisher) as a *trustworthy translator.*

As we do not affect to be well skilled in all the peculiar merits of Dr. Pichot's ninety friends, we cannot say that some of the topics handled in the several letters may not have a kind of relation to the supposed acquirements of the person to whom they are addressed; Dr. Pichot means, no doubt, that we should so understand it. What a compliment, then, does he pay to the gentler sex in France, in selecting a lady, *Madame de Saint Georges,* as the favoured person to whom he addresses, with little if any circumlocution, an account of some circumstances of no delicate nature, common, indeed, to all mankind, but which, the Doctor informs his fair friend, are very foolishly made matters of mystery and concealment in England! We cannot venture to be more particular, but some of our readers will remember Sterne's Madame de Rambouillet, and we can assure them that Dr. Pichot entertains *Madame de Saint Georges* with details quite as gross, interspersed with some broad hints at the *false* delicacy of Englishmen and Englishwomen, who are such fools as to blush at these ideas.

'English modesty is a very capricious virgin, which proscribes from her language certain words which *we* (*nous autres*) pronounce without a blush *in the best society.*'—vol. i. p. 272.

We have found it very hard to deal with this topic, and the above are the only lines of the passage which we can manage to quote; but as showing in some degree his own taste and that of what he calls the *best society,* we could not in justice overlook it altogether. Let us add, however, that we are persuaded, (in spite of Madame Rambouillet and Dr. Pichot,) that good society in France, and particularly good female society, 'would blush,' as we do, at such grossness; and we imagine that poor Madame de Saint Georges will be not a little dismayed at finding herself the declared patroness of this branch of the Doctor's inquiries.

We gladly proceed to some more decent and more amusing specimens of the Doctor's taste, judgment and learning.

He early in his first volume lets us know, that he is alike skilled in architecture and Italian. He confounds the *portico* of Carlton House with the *skreen;* and tells us, that the columns of the *portico* support nothing, but its entablature; and that on one of them, an artist wrote these two *Italian* lines.

'Belle Colone qui fate la?
Io no lo se en verità!'—vol. i. p. 65.

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We have copied the distich *literatim*, and if the present work should, as we rather fear, injure the Doctor's trade as an *English* translator, we console ourselves by thinking that this quotation cannot fail to procure him tolerable employment in the *Italian* line.*

Somerset House is almost the only building in London which the Doctor admires; he has examined it and its destination with such accuracy that he can venture to commend it as very suitable to the purposes for which it is employed; for—besides the Society of Antiquaries and the Exhibition of the Royal Academy,—the *Treasury*, the *Admiralty*, the *Secretaries of State*, and the *War Office*, are *all*, he tells us, most commodiously disposed in Somerset House; and on this *fact* he reasons with great acumen; 'by thus,' he says, 'congregating all its "*hautes administrations*" into the same building with its artists, England reveals the *secret* of the scarcity of her public buildings.'—vol. i. p. 67.

This summary mode of transplanting White-Hall into Somerset House, and then gravely informing the world, that there exist no such edifices as the Admiralty, the Treasury, or the Horse Guards, is certainly an easy receipt for creating a scarcity of public buildings in London.

With a similar degree of skill he discusses the British Musæum, and seems to fancy that old Montagu House was specially built for the reception of the collection which he found there, and thence he draws a conclusion greatly to the honour of French taste.

'I cannot leave the Musæum without observing, that the edifice itself is an homage paid to the superiority of French art, since it was the work of Puget of Marseilles, who was brought into England by Lord Montagu expressly to preside over its construction.'—vol. i. p. 95.

The doctor evidently does not suspect that *Lord* Montagu's edifice has changed its original destination, and been (as an *au pis aller*) pressed into the service of the arts; but we are, nevertheless, very ready to yield to the good taste of France all the superiority which it can claim from the architecture of this hideous mass of inconvenience and deformity.

Of Blackfriars Bridge he acquaints us, that it has not in common parlance yet acquired 'the *new name* of Pitt Bridge, voted to it in honour of the illustrious rival of Fox.'—vol. i. p. 206. Now all the world, except Doctor Pichot, knows, that the name of Pitt given to this bridge is not *new*, having been *voted* before

* The authentic version is,

'Care Colonne che fate quà?—
Non lo sappiamo in verità!'

Out of *ten* words the Doctor has contrived to Frenchify *eight*.

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the bridge was begun, and that *the* Pitt, in whose honour it was so named, was the great Lord Chatham, and not his son, as our *historical* and literary traveller imagines.

We hesitated whether we should introduce under the head of *music* or that of *chronology*, the following enlightened passage.

'Handel is here claimed as an Englishman; and in the *last* century they had Arne, Jackson, and *Purcel*, who by some simple and touching airs (reminding one sometimes of the Devin du Village) have acquired the honour of being mentioned as *men of genius*.'—vol. i. p. 433.

That Doctor Pichot, who places Purcell in the same *century** with Jackson, should place him in the same *scale* of musical merit with Jean Jacques Rousseau, will not surprize our readers; and we find that the Doctor thinks he could not pay him a higher compliment; for in another charming passage he tells us that *John Bull prides himself* (se glorifie) on the character of *Lord Edouard* in Rousseau's *Héloise*.—(i. 289.) Doctor Pichot may think, if he will, that every Englishman *ought* to pride himself on resembling this portrait, but we are obliged, with deep regret and contrition, to assure him, that, of the class of our countrymen usually designated by the generic name of John Bull, few, perhaps, ever heard of *Lord Edouard;* and that of the Englishmen who happen to have read the works of the illustrious Jean Jacques, the majority look upon him as a mad mischievous mountebank. This is, we know, very shocking; but 'though John Bull be our brother, truth is our sister,' and we are constrained to make the humiliating avowal.

The Doctor has more deeply and accurately studied our *manners* and modes of social life than we could have thought possible in so short a visit as he seems to have paid us; as our readers will see by the following examples.

'They tell you,' he says, 'at present, in England, of a certain *lord*, who, to acquire distinction, walks about *arm-in-arm* with his own *coachman*.'—vol. i. p. 289.

Of the late Duke of Devonshire, and his brother *Earl* George, (the peerage thus conferred on him will surprize Lord George Cavendish,) Dr. Pichot tells us that they indulged the humour of taciturnity to such a degree that they passed whole months *together* without ever speaking one *single word*.

'In this temper these two noble lords had been travelling through Europe, in the same postchaise, for a year past, and arrived one night at an inn in Germany, where they were told that they must put up with an apartment in which there were *three* beds, one of which was occupied. They made no reply, and undressed in silence; before, however, they

* Purcell died in 1695, and Jackson in 1803!

went

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went into their own beds, they had the curiosity to look into the other, the curtains of which were closed. The duke opened them gently and looked in, the other was contented with a glance over his brother's shoulder; neither took any notice of what they saw, but went into bed and fell fast asleep. Next day, however, after having had their breakfast and paid the bill, the duke could not refrain from saying, "*George, did you see the dead body?*" "*Yes,*" replied the brother, and without another word got into their carriage to continue their silent journey.'—vol. i. p. 291.

With the same discrimination between a *conte à rire* and an historical fact, Doctor Pichot assures us, that at the period when fashionable people usually leave town,

'those *fashionables,* who happen neither to have a country-house nor a *postchaise to make a tour of the lakes,* conceal themselves carefully in their houses, and spread a report that they are gone out of town.'—vol. iii. p. 121.

The Doctor, whose own travels have been performed on the roofs of stage-coaches, had not discovered that postchaises are furnished to travellers who may not have carriages of their own, at every post-house in England.

Of our progress in the fine arts the Doctor is an exquisite judge.

Mr. Haydon has been, Dr. Pichot tells us, *proclaimed* 'the first historical painter in England.'—vol. i. p. 170. We are rejoiced to hear it: and we learn with equal satisfaction, that Sir Joshua Reynolds's picture of 'Garrick distracted between the smiles of tragedy and comedy' (the *smiles* of tragedy!) is copied from the picture of Hercules between Virtue and Vice! We wish this erudite connoisseur had favoured us with the name of the painter of this latter picture.

He greatly admires Mr. Chantry's monument of the two female children. This, however, would have been much more complimentary to that eminent artist if the Doctor had ever seen it; but it turns out, that, although he *gives a drawing* of this chef-d'œuvre, he *never saw it!* His route (at least what he has described of it) never led him to Litchfield, where it is placed, and in two different passages in which he talks of it, he carefully tells us that it is to be seen at *Sheffield!*

Although he can make drawings of monuments which he never saw, he is rather ignorant about those that he did see. When he began to criticise that unhappy bronze, which, in defiance of public taste, and public decency, disgraces Hyde Park, we were afraid that he was about to observe on the folly of erecting a *cast* from an old statue in Rome (the very original of which has neither an ascertained name nor meaning) as *a monument to the Duke*

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Duke of Wellington. But, no, the dear Doctor never suspected us of such egregious folly; with a most ignorant good nature, he fancies

'That this colossal statue dedicated to Wellington by the ladies of England, represents Achilles throwing off his female attire, (sa robe,) and covering himself with his shield.'—i. 142.

And in another paragraph, he informs us that Mr. Westmacott's *Achilles-Wellington* is nothing but a colossal *Adonis*, who cannot deceive the *English ladies* as to his sex, as he did Deidamia and her nymphs.

The doctor evidently never saw nor heard of the statues on the Monte Cavallo, and imagines this *cast* to be a bright conception of Mr. Westmacott's own inventive genius.

As to his sneer at the delicacy of our countrywomen,

——————— pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli.

We confess, with deep regret, that there is but too much reason for his sarcasm, and that the delicacy of the ladies of England—which was and is the dearest and the best glory of our country—has, by the erection of this unhappy statue, become the mock of every one who wishes to disparage the English character. Let it be known, however, that the *Ladies of England* had nothing to do with the selection of this *brazen image* or its indecent exposure in its present site. Both are the work, as we believe, of a self-elected committee, in which we doubt whether there was a single lady; and the whole affair was got up, we have heard, by the artist and half a dozen dilettanti, who cared little about the *ladies* or *Wellington*, or a *triumphal monument*, but were enraptured at the idea of erecting in London the copy of a statue which they had admired at Rome. They have got their statue, and much good may it do them! but in the name of common sense and justice let the names of the *Ladies* and the *Hero* of England be removed from a monument with which they have nothing at all to do. We have lately heard a circumstance which, if true, puts the finishing stroke to the absurdity of this pretended monument:—the French have had a *cast* made of the *brother statue*, which is to be erected on some public site in Paris—not as a *monument*, but as what it is, and ever will be, a *copy* of an ancient statue and a contemptuous commentary on the English idea of a *national monument*.

That Doctor Pichot should not have been aware that this statue is neither *Adonis*, *Achilles*, nor the *Duke of Wellington*, but probably one of the sons of Leda, does not at all surprize us, for we entertain no great opinion of his classical acquirements. Having occasion

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occasion to allude to the old story of one offering a brick as a sample of a house to be sold, the Doctor attributes the ingenious device to Harlequin. From any one but a *learned* Doctor we should have accepted this error without observation; but to a gentleman who makes such pretensions to erudition, we think it right to observe that the jest, such as it is, is of higher antiquity than Harlequin: Σχολαστικός οἰκίαν πωλῶν, λίθον ἀπ' αὐτης εις δεῖγμα περιέφερε.—*Hierocles.* Fac. ix.

Though the Doctor talks of arts and of sciences, of Chantry, Lawrence, and Davy, with the same taste and discrimination with which he does of Haydon, Hercules and Harlequin, it is on the subject of our general literature that this erudite stranger is most instructive and satisfactory.

He does full justice to Sir W. Blackstone's celebrated *Commentaries*, although he thinks it detracts a little from the author's merit that his plan is not quite original:

'Both Coke *and* Littleton had already given us learned Commentaries on the laws of England; * * * * * * * but the most precious work for any one desirous of studying English *legislation* is the Collection of State Trials.'—vol. ii. p. 91.

We fear that the Doctor here confounds *legislation* with the *administration* of the law. The State Trials would indeed be a *precious work* to teach *legislation*. It is quite clear, however, that Doctor Pichot believes that Sir Edward Coke, Sir William Blackstone, the compilers of the State Trials, and *Mr. Littleton*, have all written on the same subject, and do all belong to the same class of legal literature.

On the important subject of the influence of the Bar on civil and political society, the Doctor is very concise, but very profound—so profound, indeed, that *we* cannot see the bottom.

'The work of M. Cottu on the Criminal Justice of England may be usefully consulted on the subject of the tendency of the Bar to aristocracy, because, written under the dictation of the Whig lawyers of the day, it *betrays the secret* of a tacit association between the Bar and the aristocracy. Thus we have an easy explanation of the ready alliances of the *Peerage* with the *King's Counsel*.'—vol. ii. p. 90.

We have, as our readers know, carefully read over M. Cottu's ingenious work,* but may we perish if we can make the slightest guess at what Dr. Pichot means by his '*faciles alliances entre les Lords titrés et les robes de soie*'—*the peers and silk gowns*—and we venture to suspect that the Doctor knows no more than we.

On the subject of our periodical literature, he is equally well informed, as we shall see. After mentioning Addison and Steele, he proceeds thus:

* See Vol. XXII. p. 247.

'To

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'To the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians, succeeded the Free-thinkers, Freemen, Champions, &c. until the sceptre of censure (*sceptre de la censure*) fell into the hands of the greatest of literary despots, Dr. Samuel Johnson. We cannot find in this boorish, sour, and fantastic censor, the delicacy and good nature of the *criticism* of Addison and Steele. Partial on account of his violent enmities, liable to suspicion even when he judged right, because he was full of real literary prejudice, Johnson deserves to be, above all, reprobated for having enshrined *personality* in criticism, by the great authority of his example.'—vol. ii. p. 245.

And then he goes on to discuss the Trifler and Mirror, and Cumberland's Observer; from all which it appears that the learned Doctor, having read somewhere of Dr. Johnson's having published the Rambler and the Idler, and the Lives of the Poets, and having perhaps heard that some of the criticisms in the latter work were thought severe, has confused all this information in his poor stupid head, and boldly decides that Dr. Johnson was a periodical critic, who dealt in ungenerous personalities against the unhappy authors whose works he *reviewed*. We vehemently suspect that Doctor Pichot never read a line of the works of one of the ablest and best men that ever adorned literature.

In the same spirit, when the Doctor mentions Foote, (who, by the way, much more resembles Molière than Mathews, to whom he absurdly compares him,) he contrives to display still greater ignorance of Johnson. Our readers will be surprized to hear that Foote was miserably unsuccessful in life; but what do they think was the great obstacle to his thriving? The enmity of Dr. Johnson! 'L' *inimitié* de Johnson lui a été *funeste*.'—vol. i. p. 464. M. Pichot had heard some one repeat Boswell's story of Johnson's surly resolution not to laugh at Foote's buffoonry one day when he accidentally met him at dinner, and having heard perhaps but half the anecdote, and understood none of it, he informs his reader that Johnson's active and continued *enmity* was *fatal* to Foote!

But if he has discovered enmities, which did not exist, amongst former writers, he has, *en revanche*, given to some of our living authors friendships equally gratuitous.

'Mr. Frere and Mr. Smith, who were Canning's colleagues in the Anti-Jacobin, have since written a parody (*toute littéraire*) called the Rejected Addresses.'—vol. ii. p. 329.

Mr. Smith will be rejoiced to learn that he helped Mr. Canning to write New Morality, and Mr. Frere will not be a little surprized at the compliment which Dr. Pichot addresses to him as one of the authors of the Rejected Addresses.

The English newspapers seldom, he says, venture on regular and

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and formal reviews of literary works. There is, however, *one* exception. Which paper does the reader expect to hear mentioned as that which most frequently deals in regular, reasoned, literary, criticism? *The Morning Post!* The excellent, good-natured, gossiping Morning Post; that indispensable medium of fashionable society; that repertory of all that every lady and gentleman of fashion knows to-day and forgets to-morrow;—*that* is Dr. Pichot's *critical review*. What would the Doctor say to an Englishman who should confound the *Journal des Savans* with the *Feuilleton des Modes?*

We proceed to some other judgments equally amusing:

'I learn that Mr. Maturin is dead, and I *hasten* to say, *d'avance*, that *if* he had not been the most extravagant of authors, he would be (serait) the *greatest genius* of English literature.'—vol. ii. p. 27.

'Your *if* is your only peace-maker;' he here turns out to be a great panegyrist. Poor Mr. Maturin wrote two or three tame tragedies and two or three mad romances; the stage has rejected the former, and the circulating libraries have forgotten the latter. He afterwards wrote upon subjects more suitable to his profession, and, we are told, with considerable ability. Sorry, as we are, on many accounts, for his death, it is some slight consolation to us that he cannot be made uneasy by Dr. Pichot's extravagant and ridiculous praise.

But we must hasten towards a conclusion, and shall therefore proceed to give some idea of Dr. Pichot in his chief character of a *translator*. Nothing seems to us more unaccountable, on general principles, than that the English, who are mighty lovers of home and great despisers of every thing foreign, should have yet a pretty general proficiency in foreign languages, and particularly in the French; while amongst the French, who have, for fifty years, (with a short interval,) affected l'Anglomanie, it is rare to find a person (even of those who have spent the long period of the emigration amongst us) who can speak tolerable English; none of them, that we have ever met, know substantially any thing of English literature. Amongst such *cæci* Dr. Pichot may pass for a *unoculus;* but if an Englishman, who knew no more of French than the Doctor does of English, were to dare to set himself up as a translator, we can only say that he would be hooted out of the corps, and starved out of the trade.

These volumes are full, we said, of translations; we should have said of *mistranslations*. It is not always easy to distinguish between the absolute ignorance and the blamable license of a translator, but we shall produce a few indubitable instances to show that the mistakes of Dr. Pichot are the result of solid substantial ignorance, and not of any mistake of the principles of translation.

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He quotes a line of Mr. Campbell's, describing an European child led by an Indian:

'Led by his *dusky* guide, like morning *brought* by night.'

This line has been much admired in England, but undeservedly, as the Doctor seems to think: no wonder, for the following is his idea of it:

'Conduit par son guide comme le matin suit de près la nuit.'

A poetical and, in the circumstances, a very descriptive phrase, is thus turned into the dullest common-place, and that too when the general admiration of which the Doctor speaks, should have induced him to take some pains to understand what he was about.

Again he tells us that Mr. Kean one evening quarrelled with his audience, and gave a symptom of his rage by addressing to the rioters in the house the line which he should have addressed to the bearers of King Henry's body; and this line the Doctor thus prints:—

'Unmannered dogs, *stand* ye where I command.'

Our readers already see that of these *seven* words the Doctor misquotes *three:* but this is nothing to the mistranslation:—

'Chien grossier, *taisez vous* quand Richard vous l'ordonne.'

And it is not a *mere* mistranslation of '*stand*' into '*taisez-vous;*' the whole story must be a fiction, since it turns altogether on the false translation. Richard commands the bearers of the body to *stand* and set down the body: but this address would have had no kind of allusion to the noisy pit, and therefore Dr. Pichot translates the *stand* into *taisez-vous!*

With equal skill and learning he assures us, when descanting on the alterations which Shakspeare's plays receive on the stage, that 'at least the character of Richard remains unaltered.' It is rather unlucky for the Doctor, that of *all* Shakspeare's characters this is the one which has been the *most* profusely altered; and if he had compared even the first page of Shakspeare's play with that acted at Drury Lane, he could not have overlooked the change; but in good truth the worthy Doctor here and elsewhere shows that he knows no more of Shakspeare than he does of the age of Purcell or the criticisms of Johnson.

In fact, the Doctor's acquaintance with English authors seems pretty strictly confined to those on whom he has inflicted the pains and penalties of translation,—but M. Gosselin, his Parisian publisher, might suspect the Doctor's universality, if he did not produce an *échantillon de son savoir faire* with regard to some other poets; and the Doctor is too happy to find an occasion to introduce a line of Gray's, or, as he familiarly designates him, *Th. Gray;* and this is the line:—

'*Words* that *breathe* and *thoughts* that *burn.*'

And

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And this happy version is still more poetically translated,—

'Des mots doués de vie et des pensées de feu!'—vol. iii. 72.

By all which it most incontestably appears, that our learned visitor had not the most remote idea of the meaning of

'Thoughts that breathe and words that burn.'

The following is the motto of one of his letters:—

'Before the court I, Peter Puff, appear,
A Briton born, and bred an auctioneer!'

This distich of Garrick's the doctor translates:

'Devant cette cour je parais, moi, Pierre Puff, né Anglais, élevé au métier de crieur d' encans.'

Now this is a fair specimen of the doctor's best style of translation; he occasionally renders *verbum verbo* fairly enough, and does well as far as his dictionary can carry him, but beyond that he has not the slightest conception of the meaning. So in this place, after very ably translating *Peter-Puff* into *Pierre Puff*, he subjoins an explanatory note to say that a Peter-Puff is a '*compère qui sert les marchands*'! Although the text says that his *name* is Peter-Puff and his trade an auctioneer, the doctor insists upon it that a *Peter-Puff* is, generically, a 'compère qui sert les marchands'!

But the best is to come. This quotation, and this annotation on *Peter-Puffs*, which seem to refer to an auction, are the preludes to a letter in the whole of which there is not the slightest allusion to auctions or *Peter-Puffs*, nor even to puffs of any kind, it being a very grave history of the rise, progress, and present state of the art of painting in England, the earlier parts compiled from Walpole, and the later borrowed from modern critics—but of picture-auctions and all that class of *charlatanerie*, there is not the slightest hint; and we cannot help believing, that this motto, having been selected for the Doctor by some one who understood it, as a proper introduction to a letter on *picture-dealing*, the good man, in pure simplicity of heart, thought it would do just as well for the motto of a history of the art of picture-painting.

When the doctor quotes Warton's description of

'Beauteous Windsor's high and *storied* halls,
Where Edward's chiefs *start* from the *glowing walls*'—

he thus renders it:

'Superbe Windsor, dont les *splendides appartemens* semblent encore *habités* par Edouard et ses capitaines.'—i. 229.

The doctor here mistakes not only *words*, such as *storied, halls, start, glowing*, &c.; but the whole meaning of the passage is de-

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stroyed, and Warton's reference to the *paintings* which vivify the glowing walls is wholly invisible to the eyes of Doctor Pichot and those who put their trust in him.

Again; Pope's line—

'Where Thames with pride surveys his rising towers'—

he thus transforms:—

'Où la Tamise voit avec orgueil *les Monumens de Londres*'!

The reader sees at a glance that the introduction of London and its Monuments is here quite gratuitous; but it is equally evident that the Doctor quotes and translates a passage which he never read: Pope is describing the *rural* parts of the Thames in the neighbourhood of Hampton Court!

'Hard by those *meads* for ever deck'd with *flowers*,
Where Thames with pride surveys his rising towers.'

Queenhithe and St. Botolph's Lane are the flowery meads through which this quotation leads our learned doctor!

We believe we might after this safely leave his reputation as a translator of English, to the decision of M. Charles Gosselin himself, but we really are not without some serious doubts as to the Doctor's proficiency in the language and literature of his own country—on one occasion he quotes, 'nul n'aura de l'esprit *que* nous et nos amis'—this is not French; but in the 'Femmes Savantes,' Armande says to Trissotin,

'Nul n'aura de l'esprit *hors* nous et nos amis.'

This is what we suppose Doctor Pichot meant to quote, and as he seems to us to be a happy mixture of *M. Trissotin* and *Dr. Diafoirus*, we are surprized not to find him a little better acquainted with Molière.

A word or two more.

The Doctor is no friend to our aristocratic institutions, and he delights to sneer at all that we poor ignorant souls think most valuable and most sacred: in general he sneers in French, but on one occasion he grows so very facetious that he ventures his joke in English, and begs pardon '*to* the most tolerant Church-of-Englandism.'—What a wag!

The Doctor fancies himself so well skilled in the English tongue, that he can venture even to discuss its organic merits and defects. The language has, he says, many of the latter, but one very great and striking;

'La multiplicité des monosyllabes en est le trait le plus remarquable.'

which, being literally and faithfully translated, is as follows:—

'The multiplicity of monosyllables is its most remarkable feature.'

Now, unluckily for the Doctor's theory, the very phrase in which he expresses it has *eight* monosyllables, while the equivalent English

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English phrase has but *five;* and lest this should have been merely accidental, we have examined the sentences immediately preceding and following, and we find that the French has 47 monosyllables, while the corresponding English would have but 37.* What a linguist!—

When he was about to set out on the roof of the Edinburgh stage, he obtained letters of introduction from some London booksellers to certain of their fraternity in the Scottish capital, and one of the latter gave him a note to Sir Walter Scott;—Sir Walter, with a good nature which is quite as extraordinary and indefatigable as his genius, received him, we believe, twice; and the Doctor has thence taken advantage to publish all the chit-chat which fell from Sir Walter and his lady and an accidental visitor or two in the course of these interviews. We apprehend that, great as is the public curiosity about every thing connected with Sir Walter Scott, our readers, from the specimens which we have given, will have no desire to taste him *tamisé* through Doctor Pichot. We shall therefore here conclude our notice of a work which is, to use one of the Doctor's own phrases, '*d'une rare impertinence,*' and we will add, in our own language, of a still rarer ignorance and effrontery.

ART. IV.—*The Right Joyous and Pleasant History of the Feats, Gests, and Prowesses of the Chevalier Bayard, the Good Knight without Fear and without Reproach.* By the Loyal Servant. London. 1825. 2 vols. small 8vo.

THE *Bon Chevalier sans paour* is one of the principal characters in the romance of Meliadus, a book written in a higher tone of chivalrous feeling than any other work of its class, Gyron le Courtoys alone excepted, which is evidently from the same hand. He was the father of Sir Dynadan and *La Cote male tayle,* names well known to those who are versed in the history of the Round Table *Sans paour* this Good Knight was, being indeed a perfect example of chivalry; but rather through misfortune than any fault, there was one occasion on which he did not come off *sans reproche.* It was in allusion to this personage, as well known three centuries ago as the most popular characters in Sir Walter's novels are at this time, that the appellation of *Le Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* was bestowed upon Bayard.

That appellation was well deserved. Rich as the old history of the French is in good names, (and how rich it is, it becomes an Englishman cheerfully to acknowledge,) that of Bayard is pre-

* We have examined several of the Doctor's own translations, and have found the same result; his version is generally, if not always, more *monosyllabic* than the original.

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eminently the best among them. His is a character that requires little allowance to be made for the age in which he lived, or the circumstances wherein he was placed; and, on the other hand, it is not to any adventitious circumstances that he is indebted for his high and durable reputation, but to his genuine worth—not to the splendour of his actions, nor the brilliancy of his fortune, but to his generosity and his virtue. Perhaps no other person who acted so unimportant a part in the world ever attained so wide and just a renown. It might be a question for academical disputation whether this be more consolatory or mournful; consolatory to think that worth alone, unaided by success, is held in such high esteem; or mournful to reflect that it should owe this estimation to its rarity.

But because the part which he bore in public affairs was so entirely that of an individual possessing little influence and no authority, though every one has heard his name and is acquainted with his character, there are few who know any thing more of him than the fine circumstances of his death. The translator of this 'right joyous and pleasant history' has therefore performed a useful task in thus bringing forward a work which has never before appeared in our language, a work curious in itself, and in its whole tendency unexceptionably good. Any thing is useful at this time which may assist in producing well-founded feelings of respect and good will towards a nation against which we have had but too much cause to cherish the most hostile disposition. And while we let pass no opportunity of noting, for the infamy which they deserve, the modern soldiers of Cesar Borgia's stamp, who are the opprobrium of that nation; it is with pleasure that we see a French captain in all respects their opposite, once more brought forward as an example of true military virtue,—one who took his stand upon the 'Broad Stone of Honour,'—a pedestal which never can be overthrown.

Pierre du Terrail (for such was the Chevalier's name) was born in the Chateau de Bayard in Dauphiny, in the year 1476. His family was connected with the best and noblest in that province, where the nobles called themselves the Scarlet of Nobility. His ancestors for three generations had fallen in war; one at the battle of Poictiers, another at Agincourt; his grandfather, who, for his distinguished courage, was called *l'Epée Terrail*, with six mortal wounds, besides others; and his father, Aymon Terrail, received such hurt in the battle of Spurs (that of Guinegaste*) that he was never after able to leave his house. He attained, however, the

* This specification is important, because at the battle before Terouanne, in 1513, which is more commonly known to English readers as the Battle of Spurs, Bayard himself was present, and made prisoner.

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great age of fourscore, and, according to the Loyal Servant's account, resolving, a few days only before his death, to set his house in order, called in his four sons, to learn from them, in the presence of their mother, what manner of life each of them chose to pursue. The eldest, in reply to the question, said, that his wish was never to leave the house, but to stay and attend upon his father till the end of his days. Very well, George, replied the old man, since thou lovest the house, thou shalt stay here to fight the bears. In justice to George it ought to be remarked, that the occupation thus assigned to him was neither an unnecessary nor an inglorious one; a mighty hunter was a very useful personage in Dauphiny, where the inhabitants were sometimes at peace with the Duke of Savoy, but always at war with Sir Bruin and Sir Isgram. Pierre's turn came next, a lad about thirteen or little more, with eyes like a hawk and a cheerful countenance; and he said that the good discourse concerning the noble men of past times, and those especially of his own family which he had heard from his father, had taken root in his heart, and therefore he desired to follow the profession of arms, as his ancestors had done. My child, replied the old man, weeping for joy as he spake, God give thee grace so to do! Thou art like thy grandfather both in features and in make, and he in his time was one of the best knights in Christendom. I will put thee in a way of obtaining thy desire. The third chose to be of the same estate as his uncle Monseigneur d'Esnay, so called from the abbey over which he presided; and the youngest to be like his uncle the Bishop of Grenoble. These had their desires, the one becoming Abbot of Josaphat at Chartres, the other Bishop of Glandeves, in Provence. What success George met with in his campaigns against the bears no historian hath recorded.

Aymon Terrail dispatched a servant the next morning to Grenoble, requesting that his brother-in-law the bishop would visit him at Bayard, to confer with him upon some family affairs. This prelate (Laurent des Allemans was his name) obeyed the summons without delay, and arrived the same night at the castle. Other friends and kinsmen were assembled there. Pierre waited upon them at table with so good a grace as to obtain the commendation of all; and when dinner was done and grace said, the father informed his guests of the choice which this his second son had made, and asked their advice in the house of what prince or lord he should be placed till he were old enough to enter upon the profession of arms. One proposed that he should be sent to the King of France; another was for placing him in the house of Bourbon: but the bishop said there was a close friendship between their family and the Duke of Savoy, who reckoned them in the

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number of his good servants, and no doubt would gladly receive him as one of his pages. Conformably to this advice it was determined that on the morrow the bishop should take his nephew to Chamberry and present him to the duke. The business of equipping him was to be performed, and this could not have been done more expeditiously in these days with all the facilities that a modern metropolis affords. The bishop sent in all speed for his tailor from Grenoble, with orders to bring with him velvet, satin, and other necessary materials, including, it may be presumed, other sons of the thimble to assist him. They worked all night, and after breakfast, which was in those times at an early hour, young Bayard presented himself in the court, in his new presentation suit, mounted on a fine little horse with which his uncle had provided him.

Horsemanship was an accomplishment of great importance in the days of chivalry, for the order of knighthood was strictly an equestrian order, and the word for a knight in most of the European languages signifies a horseman.* It was therefore a hopeful sign when the boy, who had not left school a fortnight, kept his seat well in spite of the efforts of his horse to throw him, and giving him the rein and the spur, brought the spirited animal fairly under command. The father asked him if he had not been afraid, for the beholders with some reason had feared for him. Sir, he replied, I hope with God's help, before six years are over, to make either him or some other bestir himself in a more dangerous place. Here I am among friends; but then I shall be among the enemies of the master whom I shall serve. His mother, who till now had been sitting in one of the towers, weeping, called him apart, and enjoined him, 'as much as a mother can command her child,' to love and serve God, and never omit the duty of praying night and morning; to be mild, courteous, humble, and obliging to all persons, temperate, loyal in word and deed, and kind to the widow and the orphan, and bountiful to the poor. She then took out of her sleeve, (which in those days served the purpose of the modern reticule,) a little purse containing six crowns in gold, and one in smaller money, which she gave him; and she delivered a little portmanteau with his linen to one of the bishop's attendants, charging him to pray that the servant of the Squire under whose care he might be placed would look after him a little till he grew older, and entrusting him with two crowns which were to enforce the request.

* The most obvious exceptions are the words knight and miles. Mr. Sh. Turner has very well traced the gradual advance of the former from its first signification, that of a lad, or youth, up to its present. The latter owes its present usage to that state of European warfare in which the infantry were made no account of, and the cavalry considered as the only *soldiers*.

Chamberry

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Chamberry was so near the castle of Bayard, that the bishop, setting out after breakfast on his way, arrived there in the evening, early enough for the clergy to come out and meet him. On the morrow after mass, he dined with the duke, and the boy serving him to drink at table, was noticed as he had hoped, and afterwards presented, on his horse, and courteously accepted, as a good and fair present, with the hope that God would make him a brave man. Charles, the fifth duke of Savoy, in whose service young Bayard was thus placed, was one of the best princes of a good race. A few generations later and the Dukes of Savoy were conspicuous for the disregard of honour which was *manifested in their political intrigues, and for the ever execrable persecution of their Protestant subjects; but in the earlier periods of their history, there is, perhaps, no house of equal eminence whose annals are stained with fewer crimes. *Cestui Duc Charles fut un prince autant vaillant, preux et magnanime, qui de son temps ayt vescu; et qui s'est comporté autant bien en paix et en guerre que nul autre de ses voisins. Tellement que encores qu'il fust belliqueux et de hault courage, si n'ha il point desaugmenté le tiltre de paix, heur propre de ceste maison de Savoye:—il s'est dit de luy, que Savoye n' en ha jamais eu un plus grand, ny plus admirable en guerres, ny plus juste et religieux en temps de paix.* So Paradin describes him in his *Cronique de Savoye.* Some of these virtues he had inherited from his father, Duke Amé, who relying upon the efficacy of alms as good works, used to wait upon the poor whom he entertained, and call them his soldiers and his gens d'armes, on whom he relied as the bulwarks of his dominions. An ambassador inquiring one day if he kept hounds, the duke replied, he would let him see a fine pack on the morrow; and showing him then the long tables at which the poor who frequented his court were seated, he said, *voila mes chiens de chasse, avec lesquelz j'espere chasser et prendre la gloire de Paradis.*

The duchess, Blanche de Montferrat, then in the flower of her youth, was worthy of such a husband, being *une des plus excellentes dames en prestance, en beauté de corps, et des illustres en vertus et bonnes conditions qui ayt vescu de son temps.* The bishop, therefore, could not have placed his nephew in a better school; and while young Bayard exercised himself in the manner suited to his age and profession, in leaping, wrestling, riding, and throwing the bar, his moral nature, as well as his bodily powers, procured all the advantage that is to be derived from good

* Cardinal D'Ossat's Letters were mutilated in the first edition, in consequence of his strong expressions concerning the conduct of Charles Emanuel,—an intermarriage between the families of France and Savoy having recently taken place. Some of the suppressed passages have been restored in late editions, but not all. *The Serpent* was the name by which the French government designated this prince in its correspondence.

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example. In this respect the change was not desirable for him when, some six months afterwards, the duke having an interview with Charles the Eighth of France, at Lyons, presented him and his horse to the king. On this occasion the boy obtained the name of Picquet, by which he was for some time called, because when he was displaying his horsemanship before the king and his company, the pages, echoing the king's desire to see him make the horse curvet again, called out to him, *picquez, picquez!* Charles put him under the care of the Lord of Ligny, who was of the house of Luxemburg: with him he continued as page till he was seventeen, and then was enrolled in that lord's company, though he was so much a favourite that he still kept his appointment in the household, with the allowance of three horses and three hundred francs a year.

In this company he came again to Lyons, at the time when a Burgundian knight, Claude de Vauldré, hung up his shields, defying, with the king's permission, all adventurers, either at spear on horseback, or battle-axe on foot. Picquet, by which name he was now generally known, stept before the shields and looked at them thoughtfully, saying within himself, Ah, good lord! if I knew how to put myself in fitting array, I would right gladly touch them! Upon communicating that wish to his companion Bellabre, and expressing his regret that he knew not any one who would furnish him with armour and horses, Bellabre, who was a *fort hardy gentilhomme,* said to him, have you not an uncle who is the fat abbot of Esnay? I vow to God we will go to him, and if he will not supply the money, we will lay hands on crosier and mitre; but, I believe, that when he knows your good intentions, he will produce it willingly. Picquet upon this, touched the shields. Monjoye, king at arms, who was there in due form, to write down the names of all appellants, said to him, how, my friend, your beard is not of three years growth, and do you undertake to combat with Messire Claude de Vauldré, who is one of the fiercest knights known? The youth answered, that he was not influenced by pride or arrogance, but by the desire of learning the use of arms from those who could teach him, and the hope also, that with God's grace, he might do something to please the ladies. It was soon the talk of the court, that Picquet had touched the shields; and as the combat was not to be like one of the desperate adventures in the days of King Arthur or King Lisuarte, but such a spectacle as ladies might very well behold without any fearful emotion, Charles and the Lord of Ligny were well pleased with the spirit which their young soldier had manifested.

They were not aware that Picquet looked with more apprehension to his adventure with his uncle the abbot, than with his adversary

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versary the knight. The next morning early he took boat with his friend Bellabre for Esnay;—the news had arrived there before them, and the abbot gave his nephew an ungracious reception, suspecting at once the purport of this visit. He reminded him that he was a page the other day, and yet but a boy, and that the rod would be the fit punishment for his presumption. Picquet pleaded in his justification the desire of emulating his ancestors; and preferred his request with becoming modesty and spirit. *Ma foy*, replied the abbot, you may go elsewhere for money! the property bestowed on this abbey by the founder was to be expended here for the service of God, and not in jousts and tourneys. Perhaps Picquet thought, when he glanced at the abbot's well fed form, that the revenues were not all applied to religious uses. Bellabre, however, put in a well-timed speech, saying, that had it not been for the prowess of his ancestors, the abbot would not have possessed that abbey of Esnay, for it was by their means and no other that he had obtained it. His nephew was of good descent, and enjoyed at this time both the Lord of Ligny's and the king's favour. It would not cost two hundred crowns to equip him, and the honour which he would do his uncle would be worth ten thousand. The abbot stood out awhile, but yielding at length, gave Bellabre an hundred crowns to buy two horses for the youth, whose beard, he said, was not yet old enough for him to be trusted with money, and he gave him a written order to Laurencin, a merchant at Lyons, to furnish him with such apparel as he might want. If the abbot's bounty was not graciously bestowed, neither was it gratefully received. They had no sooner left him, than Bellabre said, where God sends good fortune men ought to make the best use of it; *Ce qu'on desrobe à moynes est pain beneist:* and in pursuance of that proverb he proposed, that as the order upon Laurencin specified no limits, they should make haste, before the uncle should perceive his omission, and send to limit him. Picquet agreed to this something too easily; and letting Bellabre tell the merchant that the abbot had given him three hundred crowns for horses instead of one, and that his instructions were to have him fitted out so that no man in the company should be better attired than he, obtained from him gold and silver stuffs, embroidered satins, velvets, and other silks, to the amount of eight hundred crowns, before the abbot's messenger, restricting the order to an hundred or an hundred and twenty, arrived. Displeased at this, as he well might be, the abbot sent to inform him that if he did not send back the goods which he had thus improperly obtained, he should never receive any farther assistance from him; but Picquet, expecting such a message, kept out of the

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the way, and would never suffer any of his uncle's people to be admitted. The chivalrous ages gave large license in such matters, as well as in certain other things. The Loyal Serviteur relates this story as if it left his youthful hero *sans reproche;* just as the way in which the Cid defrauded the Jews at Burgos is recorded by his Chronicler and his poets as if they did not perceive the slightest dishonour in an action for which a man would now be punished by the laws of every country in Europe, or be rendered infamous even if he escaped them.

In Bayard's case what there was worse than mere youthful facility may be imputed to his companion. Happily his nature was originally so good, and perhaps his early education also, that he escaped with little corruption from the evil communication to which he was exposed. The military part of the adventure past off well. He bought two good horses for an hundred and ten crowns, and in the lists, it appears from the honest account of the Loyal Servant, that Claude de Vauldré behaved as a knight of established character might have been expected to do, towards a youth in his eighteenth year: 'how it happened I cannot tell, *ou si Dieu luy en vouloit donner louange, ou si M. Claude de Vauldré preint plaisir avec luy,* but so it was, that no one in the whole combat, on horseback or on foot, played his part better or as well.' The ladies gave him the honour of the day, when in his turn he paraded the lists before them: the Lord of Ligny and the king praised him for the good beginning he had made, and the trick which had been played upon the abbot of Esnay served as a jest for the court.

After this adventure Picquet was sent by the Lord of Ligny to join his company at Aire, in Picardy; upon taking leave of the king, Charles told him he was going into a land where there were fair ladies, bade him exert himself to win their favour, and presented him with three hundred crowns and one of the best horses in his stables. The Lord of Ligny also gave him a good horse and two complete suits, and Bayard, who gave as liberally to those in inferior stations as he received from his patrons, set off for Picardy by short journeys, because he had his horses led. Some six-and-twenty of his comrades, knowing his approach, rode out to meet him; a supper had been provided for his arrival, and before they separated, his companions, concluding that he had not come to keep garrison without money, made him promise to give a tourney, that he might himself talk to and win the good will of the ladies. The next morning, accordingly, it was announced, that 'Pierre de Bayard, *jeune Gentilhomme et apprentif des armes, des ordonnances du Roy de France,* caused a tourney to be cried and published for all comers, without the town of Lyons and adjoining the walls,

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walls, of three strokes of the lance without lists, and twelve of the sword with edged weapons, and in harness of war, the whole on horseback; and to them who did best, a golden bracelet should be given, weighing thirty crowns, and enamelled with his device.' The next day there was to be a combat at point of lance on foot, and at a barrier half stature high, and after the lance was broken, with battle-axes, at the discretion of the judges, the prize being a diamond of forty crowns value.

Par Dieu, compaignon, said his adviser, when the *ordonnance* for the tourney was shown him, *jamais Lancelot, Tristan, ne Gauvain ne feirent mieulx.* A trumpet was sent from garrison to garrison to proclaim it; six-and-forty adventurers appeared to contend for the prizes, and Bayard, having been pronounced himself to have done best on both days, without disparagement of others, who had all done well, gave the bracelet to his friend Bellabre, and the diamond to Captain David, the Scot. Thenceforth the ladies could not be satisfied with praising the good knight. This tourney gave occasion to many others during the two years that he remained in Picardy; and tourneys were popular entertainments, for a reason which one of the best writers of romance expresses with considerable *naïveté* when he is describing one. '*A celluy temps la coustume estoit merveilleusement mise sus, que la ou les tournoyemens devoient estre, les dames et les damoiselles dillec entour. et de deux journees de loing y venoient; je dy des dames qui estoient de noble lignage; les chevaliers qui estoient leurs parens charnelz les amenoient illec, et moult de dames et damoiselles estoient ja illec venuës. La estoient maries moult honnorablement et moult haultemente qui ja neussent esté maries de long temps, se ne fust ce quelles estoient illec venuës.—Les dames et damoiselles quon y amenoit, y faisoit on plus venir pour les marier que pour nulle autre chose.*'* The 'moral' Gower tells us in his Confessio Amantis, that he who sought 'Love's grace' from such 'worthy women' as the Romancer speaks of, must travel for worship by land and by sea—

'And make many hastie rodes,
Sometime in Pruis, sometyme in Rodes,
And sometime into Tartarie;
So that these herauldes on him crie,
Vaylant, vaylant! lo where he goth!
And then he yeveth hem gold and cloth,
So that his fame might sprynge
And to his Ladies ear brynge
Some tidynge of his worthinesse,
So that she might of his prowesse

* Meliadus, c. 52. ff, 82.

Of

Of that she herde men recorde
The better unto his love accorde.'

But it was not necessary to go crusading to Prussia or Rhodes, for the purpose of winning a fair lady's love, in the days of chivalry. In those days the civilians were, with few exceptions, clergy, and bound to celibacy therefore.—Of that obligation, connected as it then was with the durance and restrictions of the cloisters, the women of gentle birth lived in fear. 'Ah poor wretches, what will become of us! we must enter into religion and be made nuns by will or by force!' is the exclamation which a writer of those times puts into the mouths of the Spanish ladies, at the prospect of a civil war:—*Ay mezquinas y que sera de nosotras, que ora por fuerça, ora por grado, avremos de entrar en religion y ser de orden!* A tournament was the only public amusement, except what a Saint's day afforded, in an age when there were neither theatres, music-meetings, nor races; when the assizes were connected with no festivities, and the capital was not frequented by persons from the provinces, and there were no watering-places for fashionable resort.

The mimicry of war, with all its pomp and circumstance and splendid pageantry, could not be more gratifying to the most light-hearted of the one sex, than the reality of it was to the adventurous or the desperate part of the other. These gallants had their full occupation when they were withdrawn from their pleasant quarters in Picardy, to bear a part in what Paradin calls the immortal quarrel between the Angevins and Arragonese, in the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, a quarrel in which, says the good canon of Beaujeu, so much human blood had been shed, that if it could be seen together, it would seem like a sea. Louis XI. being, as Guicciardini says, a prince *che aveva sempre seguitato più la sostantia che l'apparentia delle cose*, abhorred in his prudent foresight the affairs of Italy, and had never been tempted by ambition to renew claims which were sufficiently disputable, and sure to be disputed. But Louis, sagacious as he was, had supposed that the best mean of inducing his son and successor to listen to good counsellors, was to give him less education than was usual for princes in those days. Charles the Bold had been ruined by his own rashness; and Louis, having this example before his eyes, thought that if his own son could be taught by a consciousness of deficiency to distrust himself, he would be in no danger of shipwreck upon the same rocks. It was a strange conceit to enter into so politic a head. But Charles was a person with whom nature had dealt so hardly, that little fruit could have been expected, whatever culture had been bestowed upon him. Weak alike in intellect and in constitution, he could hardly tell his

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his letters when he succeeded to the throne which his father's unscrupulous policy had established in such strength. Of course he fell into the hands of men the most unfit to be his advisers, low-born and lower-minded people, who being employed about his person, had ingratiated themselves with him, and while they profited by his lavish and indiscriminating bounty, were not the less accessible to bribes from any quarter. Ludovico Sforza's money had more effect in producing the French expedition into Italy, than any natural ambition in Charles himself, or in those of his nobles, who were more likely to feel the force of that motive.

If we may believe Guicciardini, the death of Cæsar was not announced with more prodigies than this commencement of evils for Italy. Three suns were seen at midnight in Apulia, accompanied with clouds and thunder and lightning; armies of horsemen scoured through the sky with the sound of trumpets; misshapen and misconceived births were brought forth; and the images of saints were seen to sweat, in forefeeling of the evils which were to come. Pietro Martire, who neither knew nor heard of these portents, drew from his own mind as melancholy a presage as they could have excited, and one which the event justified. This writer, who, though he has left no elaborate composition like the great work of Guicciardini, has given us some of the best and most interesting materials for the history of those important times, was then at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where he groaned in spirit for his unfortunate country; foreseeing that it would prove the grave of the French, but that their destruction would not remedy the evils which their invasion must bring on. '*Galli, veluti bruchus, verno tempore arborum folia, quæritant: sed et cum foliis bruchus* INTERIBIT. *Gallus ficuum sapore, uvarumque dulcedine pellectus, gestit jam; sed pellem, uti soles, Galle miles, relinques. Folia corrodere dabitur: ficus uvasque deglutire licebit, ast sanguine tandem tuo damna quæ inferes, pensabuntur. Perimeris, Galle, ex majori parte, nec in patriam redibis; jacebis insepultus; sed tua non restituetur strages, Italia!*' And in another place he compares them to wolves, licking their lips at the sight of their prey, when the rams who should have defended the fold have invited them in. He warned his friend Ascanius Sforza, the cardinal, of the miseries which Ludovico would bring upon himself and his house as well as upon Italy: and he urged him, if it were possible, to impress upon his brother, how sad, how miserable, how dreadful a thing it was to repent when there was no longer room for repentance!

Pietro Martire's good fortune had removed him to a land from whence he could regard the dangers and calamities of his own country in safety. His forebodings were as true as the warnings which accompanied them were unavailable. The Italians were caught

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caught in the net of their own insidious policy; and in France what course could the gilded vessel of the state be expected to steer, when youth was at the prow and pleasure at the helm! The Loyal Serviteur passes over Charles's whole expedition as having been so fully recorded in other histories, that any recital of it by him would only weary his readers and waste paper. He therefore omits all notice of Bayard's adventures in his first campaign. It appears, however, from Guicciardini, that the Lord of Ligny was sent to Ostia with 500 lances and 2,000 Swiss, to threaten Rome on that side, and with the help of the Colonnas, bring the Pope to terms; and that after Ferdinand had abandoned Naples, Virginio Orsino, and the Conte di Pitigliano, having retired to Nola with 400 men of arms, surrendered to half that number of the Lord of Ligny's people, upon a safe-conduct, under the king's own hand. If Bayard, as is probable, were of the party, his sense of honour must have suffered some shock when this safe-conduct was pronounced by the Lord of Ligny to be of no avail, upon the lawyer-like plea, that, though the king had signed it, his secretary had not, neither had it received the confirmation of his seal: and upon this plea they were detained as prisoners. This lord was a young, light-minded man, in high favour with the king, and indeed nearly allied to him, for they were sister's children; and he had formed a scheme for securing to himself the city and territory of Sienna, as his portion of the conquests in Italy. He was, in fact, appointed to the command there with 20,000 ducats a year; but his lieutenant and guard, as well as the French ambassador, were soon driven out, when the king was on his way to France. Bayard distinguished himself in the battle of Taro, the first, says Guicciardini, which for a very long time had been fought in Italy, with slaughter, and blood,—*memorabile perchè fu la prima, che da lunghissimo tempo in qua si combatesse con uccisione e sangue in Italia.* He had two horses killed under him in that memorable day, presented to the king a standard of the enemy's cavalry which he had taken in the pursuit, and received in return 500 crowns from Charles.

Bayard's chronicler states the loss of the French in this battle at 700, that of the Italians at 8,000 or 10,000. The Italians estimated their own at 3,000, and that of the conquerors at scarcely 200, and this appeared to them a great slaughter. Their national warfare was of a very different kind. Squadron was brought out against squadron in fair field, and they fought in due order; there was no pell-mell fighting, none of that *entrando da ogni parte nel fatto d'arme gli squadroni alla mescolata,* like the battle-royal of a tournament with which the French astonished them; it was rather a game at war, played according to strict rule; the combatants

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tants who were weary withdrew, their places were supplied with fresh men, and the battle generally continued the whole day, *n'e quali sempre si faceva pochissima uccisione*, till night separated the parties. This mode of warfare grew out of the division of Italy into so many petty states. The division had taken place not among a barbarous people, like our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, for whom it was as natural to live in continual hostilities, as it is for wolves and kites to subsist by prey; but in a country where, through all its miserable revolutions, the remembrance of ancient civilization was cherished, and its habits and feelings were preserved. In that delightful climate, life had too many enjoyments to be desperately staked or lightly thrown away. And governments, which, because of their limited territories, could bring few men into the field, were necessarily frugal of their blood. The adventurers also, who carried their mercenary bands from the service of one tyrant or one commonwealth to that of another, had the same valid reason for economizing their men. *Pochissima uccisione* was what all parties desired for their own sake, whether victors or vanquished; for of the slain no profit could be made, but the prisoners were worth their ransom. Owing to these causes the Italians were horror-stricken at the ferocity with which the French, Swiss and Germans, who from this time poured into that unhappy country, carried on their wars. Their own history abounds with stories too flagitious even to be allowable in tragedy; crimes of so monstrous and accursed a character, that it is to be wished, for the sake of human nature, all records of them could be obliterated, all memory of them blotted out. But the ordinary usages of war had become merciful. An Italian battle was little more dangerous than a tournament in other countries. It was a trial of skill, still more of strength and endurance; nor were the evil passions, which civil factions brought into the field, sufficient to preponderate against the cool, calculating, and prudential system upon which the mercenaries always acted.

This, while it continued, was a good which had arisen from the divided state of Italy; and unquestionably to the same cause the remarkable developement of genius in so many branches, there, as formerly in Greece, must be ascribed. But the Italians paid dearly for these advantages. They remained a divided people, when France and Spain and Austria were consolidating their strength by those peaceful and perfect unions which can never be so effectually and unobjectionably brought about as by intermarriages, and the acknowledged right of succession in monarchical states. No wrong is then committed, no violence offered, no heart-burnings are left behind. Republics, on the contrary, have no other means of increase than by conquest; and therefore Italy remained weak and divided, while

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the surrounding nations were acquiring consistency and power. If we regard her history in that mood of mind which leads us to speculate upon what might have been, the wish that seems naturally to arise is, that the kingdom of the Lombards should not have been overthrown.

But worse than all the consequences of foreign domination, (great and sore as that evil is, an evil as galling as it is oppressive,) worse than all wounds inflicted upon Italy by strangers, was the moral cancer which had taken root in its bosom with the papacy. That strange personage, Christina, the abdicated Queen of Sweden, said to Burnet, that the Roman Catholic Church must certainly be governed by the immediate care and providence of God, for not one of the four Popes whom she had known during her residence in Rome, had common sense. She added, they were the first and the last of men. In intellect, however, it was seldom that the Popes were wanting; men of feeble character were never elected to that station till the conclave was under the influence of foreign powers. There was no lack of ability among them during those centuries when they were the most active, the most aspiring, and in strict truth it may be added, the most flagitious potentates of Europe. The history of all kingdoms is but too disgraceful to human nature; but the history of the papacy exceeds all others in the hideous description of its crimes. If we strike out from Prideaux's whimsical classification of Popes, the order of Egyptian magicians, the most opprobrious appellations which remain stand ratified by authentic records and judicial proofs. And the examples which had been made by the councils of Pisa and Constance and Basil, were of so little effect, that Alexander VI. had at this time been placed in the chair of St. Peter, though his character was perfectly well known.

Pietro Martire warned Ascanius Sforza what he might expect for raising such a person to the popedom: *vulnera calcesque ab eo, magis quam gratitudinem aut linguæ lambentis medicamina, suspicamur proditura.* He describes him as rapacious, restless, ambitious, bent upon raising the children whom he avowed as his without shame, to high fortunes by whatever means:—*Alexander ille noster pontem ut nobis ad superos faceret electus, pontem facere filiis quos sine rubore ostentat, ut ad grandiores opum acervos emergant, intendit.* And he says that Ferdinand and Isabella augured nothing but ill to Christendom from his elevation. The evils which a turbulent Pontiff brought upon distant countries, great as they often were, were less injurious to the dearest interests of society, than the example of a profligate one, where that example was public and notorious. For when it was seen that the rulers of the Christian church, while they put forth the loftiest pretensions

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pretensions to infallibility, and assumed the most blasphemous prerogatives as indefeasibly inherent in their persons, lived in habitual disregard of every Christian duty, what could they who lived within the sphere of the papal court infer, but that Christianity itself was regarded as a fable by those who set all its injunctions at defiance? The impious speech which is ascribed to Leo X. is in character, whether he uttered it or not, nor can any one doubt that it expresses the sentiments of many of his predecessors. An Observant Friar Minorite, who moralizes upon the residence of his seraphic patriarch at Rome, in the earlier part of his career, supposes it to have been of the greatest spiritual advantage to him, *perchè è difficile in una città santa non vivere santamente.* But St. Bernard, who knew the place and the people, describes it as the devil's pasture,—*si auderem dicere Dæmonum magis quam ovium pascua hæc,*—and the Pontine marshes are not more deleterious to the physical constitution of those who are exposed to their exhalations, than the *malaria* of the Vatican was to the moral and religious nature of the Italians.

To this cause the systematic villainy which the princes and statesmen of that country scrupled as little to profess as to practise, must be traced; and hence that well-founded distrust of each other, which would alone have prevented their forming any effectual combination against a foreign power, when a confederacy like the Hanseatic league might have protected Italy against all danger of foreign domination. But there existed many other principles of disunion. No Italian city or state was at unity in itself. Feuds were handed down among the nobles from sire to son; old injuries were to be revenged on one side, to be maintained on the other; and political animosities were continued from generation to generation with unabated, or rather with increasing force; where it was not state against state, or family against family, it was faction against faction, Guelph and Ghibelline, Pope or Anti-pope, Angevin or Arragonese; and now in wider extension of the same quarrel, French or Spaniard; old enmities gathering new vigour under new names. These divisions prevailed, says Paradin, *au grand prejudice et interest, non des Princes seulement, ains des particuliers aussi, comme des villes contre les autres, familles contre familles, maison contre autre, frere contre frere, pere contre filz; dont est l'Italie si miserable et tellement divisee et deschiree de ses factions, qu'il ne vient Prince si estranger qui ne trouve en chacune ville et chacune maison, des fauteurs et des bienveuillans, et qui pour la vie espouseront sa querelle contre leurs plus prochains parens. A l'occasion dequoy procedent tant de meurtres, d'aguets, d'empoisonnemens, qu'il n'y ha contree au monde, en laquelle s'espanche plus de sang humain sans propos que en Italie.*

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The conquests of Charles VIII. were lost almost as rapidly as they had been won; and though he alarmed the Italians with rumours of his preparations for recovering them, the short remainder of his life was better spent in travelling up and down his own kingdom, and sitting on the seat of justice himself twice a week, to hear the complaints and redress the grievances of his subjects. The first act of his successor Louis XII. was to enforce his hereditary claims upon the duchy of Milan, which he conquered with little difficulty. Bayard was among the persons who were left in Lombardy to garrison it. Sforza had fled into Germany to solicit aid; and the French, having no enemy to employ them, took their pleasure in jousts, tourneys and other pastimes. Bayard profited by this leisure to visit the widow of his first good master, the Lady Blanch, who resided then in Carignan, a town belonging to her own dowry. There was no house, at that time, of Prince or Princess in France, Italy, or elsewhere, where gentlemen were better entertained, than in her establishment. Bayard was welcomed there as if he had been a kinsman. Perhaps respect and gratitude were not the only feelings which induced him to make this visit. A young lady of the household had won his heart, when he was page to the duke, young as he then was; the attachment had been mutual; and had he been the eldest son, it is probable that he would have forsaken the path of glory for that of happiness, and have settled at the Chateau de Bayard, contented that his name should appear only in the family tree. Their early separation proved so effectual, that though during three or four years they kept up such intercourse by letters as was practicable in those times, the lady accepted an advantageous offer, and married the Seigneur de Fluxas, a person of great wealth, 'who took her *pour sa bonne grace*, for she had few of the goods of fortune.

'Desiring, as a virtuous woman might, to let the good knight see that the honourable love which she had borne him in her youth, still lasted,' she advised him to hold a tourney at Carignan, in honour of the Lady Blanch and of the house in which he had been first brought up. 'Verily,' said the Good Knight, 'since you wish it, it shall be done. You are the woman in the world who first won my heart to her service, by means of your *bonne grace*. I am sure that I shall never have any thing of you but, your lips and hands, for by asking more I should lose my labour, and on my soul I had rather die than press you with a dishonourable suit.' He then asked for one of her sleeves, and presently sent a trumpet round to the neighbouring garrisons proclaiming a prize, consisting of the sleeve with a ruby worth an hundred ducats, to him who should perform best at three strokes of the spear and twelve of the sword. As at Lyons so here also he was pronounced

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nounced the winner, but he declared that if he had done any thing well, the Dame of Fluxas was the occasion of it, who had lent him her sleeve, and to her he referred the disposal of the prize. Her husband understood both her character and that of Bayard too well to entertain any jealous feeling; and she therefore promised to preserve the sleeve for his sake, as long as she lived, and adjudged the jewel to the knight who was thought to have done best after him. The Loyal Servant adds, that no year past in which there was not some interchange of presents between his master and the lady, and that this mutual affection lasted between them till death.

Bayard was soon engaged in a more perilous adventure. Ludovico Sforza entered Italy with a German force, and soon recovered the greater part of his duchy, the capital included. The town where the Good Knight was in garrison, was but twenty miles from Milan, and he led out his companions upon an adventure against three hundred of the enemy's horse in Binasco. A sharp encounter took place, in which the Good Knight is described as cutting off heads and hewing arms and legs: the Italians at length fled full speed to Milan, and Bayard, unsupported by any of his comrades, madly followed them into the very heart of the city, where he was surrounded and taken before Sforza's palace. The captain of the Italians, to whom he surrendered, took him to his own house, treated him like a generous enemy, and when Sforza, having heard the uproar, sent to have the prisoner brought before him, gave him fitting apparel, and went to present him, not without a fear that some evil was intended. But even the worst men have their better moods; and Sforza behaved on this occasion as nobly as Bayard himself could have done, had the situation in which they stood to each other been reversed. 'Come hither, my gentleman,' said Sforza, accosting him, 'who brought you into this town?' Bayard, in reply, confessed his rashness as an inexperienced soldier, and commended his fortune in that he had fallen into the hands of a brave and gentle knight. Sforza then asked him to say upon his faith, what was the number of the French king's army. Bayard replied, that there were 14,000 or 15,000 men at arms, and 16,000 or 18,000 foot, all chosen men; and methinks, my lord, he added, you would be as safe in Germany as here, for your people are not equal to engage us. However discouraging this intelligence might have been to the duke, he received it with a cheerful countenance, and said he wished to see the two armies encounter, that it might be decided by the event of battle, to whom that territory belonged, as there seemed no other means of determining the question. By my oath, my lord, exclaimed Bayard, I wish it to-morrow, provided I was out of

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prison! It shall not stick there, was the generous answer, for I set you free; and moreover, ask what you will and it shall be granted. Upon this, Bayard made the only becoming request, that his horse and arms might be restored, and he might be sent back to his garrison, professing, in return, that as far as was compatible with the service of the king his master, and his own honour, he should gladly make acknowledgment in any thing that Sforza might be pleased to command.

There are legends among the humaner fables of the Romish church, which represent souls in Purgatory, and even beyond it, in the hyper-torrid zone of the spiritual world, as enjoying occasional intermissions or partial mitigation of their torments, for some practice of devotion which amid all their sins they had observed, or some good work, even though solitary of its kind, and casually performed, in the course of a flagitious life. So may this anecdote, which is in the best spirit of chivalry, be remembered in the story of Ludovico Sforza. How far does it appear from history that that spirit, when it was most prevalent, affected the general usages of war? Probably about as much as the spirit of pure and undefiled religion affects the morals of any Christian nation; that is, upon the mass of mankind it had little effect; over many, a partial influence which was easily overpowered by interest or passion; but some few happier natures were entirely conformed to it, and thereby enabled to support that constitutional elevation of mind which predisposed them for chusing the better part. In the best age of chivalry, that of Edward III., its influence was very limited; we read of actions which make the heart glow with generous emotions, but they are accompanied with details of the most inhuman ferocity, and even the prime spirits of that age resented often and deeply of its barbarity. The change which had been operated in Bayard's time was not for the better. There was no room for chivalry in the general business of war, after the introduction of fire-arms, the employment of mercenaries, and that consequent alteration which made the strength of armies consist mainly in their foot. Still, however, it had its place in the episodes. In the succeeding generation it was confined to tournaments; lastly, it appeared only in pageants, and these fell into disuse when its very costume became obsolete; court-gallants laid aside the helmet and the cap and plumes for the flowing perriwig; the trade of the armourer disappeared, and the army-tailor supplied his place.

With the right or wrong of the cause wherein they were engaged, the good knights gave themselves no concern. That belonged to their rulers: for themselves, war was their profession and pursuit; they staked their lives at the game, and if they played

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it honourably, the best of them set their consciences at ease upon all other scores. Opportunities, however, were not wanting for the display of those virtues which characterized Bayard, and which indeed were called into action and seen to most advantage in such times. The Loyal Servant calls him Lady Courtesy's adopted son, and such he seems to have proved himself on every occasion whether to friend or foe. During the Neapolitan war he took prisoner Don Alonzo de Sotomayor, who is said in these Memoirs to have been closely related to Gonzalo de Cordova; the Spaniard was captured in a skirmish after a brave resistance, and agreed to pay a thousand crowns for his ransom. He thought proper, however, to break his parol: being pursued and brought back, he protested that he had been actuated only by impatience at not hearing from his own people, intending to have sent the sum agreed upon for his ransom within two days, if he had succeeded in escaping. Bayard did not believe this, and ordered him into close confinement; in that confinement he was well treated, and in little more than a fortnight the money arrived, and he was set at liberty. The Good Knight, as usual, distributed the whole ransom among his soldiers, retaining no part for himself. This was done in Sotomayor's presence, and that knight on his return spoke in the highest terms of Bayard's liberality, activity, and other knightly qualities, but complained of his own usage, saying, that whether it were by his order or not, he knew not, but his people had not treated him like a gentleman, and it would stick with him as long as he lived. A Frenchman, who was at that time a prisoner, heard this, and reported it, on his deliverance, to Bayard, in such a manner, that a challenge ensued, which Sotomayor accepted. The circumstances might probably appear very different were there a Spanish account of the story; as it is now related it represents a series of dishonourable dealings on the Spaniard's side, who chose to fight on foot, not merely because Bayard was the better horseman, but because, knowing that he had at that time an ague, he thought his strength must be so far reduced that he could not venture to combat in that way. Sotomayor, however, was killed on the spot, by a thrust in the throat.

This adventure wounded the Spaniards, and led, during a truce which at this time ensued, to the proposal on their part, of a combat, thirteen to thirteen. The conditions were, that the place should be marked out, and whosoever past beyond the limits, was to fight no more, but remain a prisoner; whoever should be unhorsed also, was to combat no longer. And in case one party were not able to conquer the other by nightfall, though only one of their adversaries remained on horseback, the combat was then to be at an end, and that one allowed to carry off his

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companions 'free and clear, who were to leave the field in equal honour with the rest.' But if the field were won, the conquered party were to be the prisoners of the other. The Loyal Servant represents the Spaniards as behaving with little fairness and less honour on this occasion, and killing eleven horses in the first encounter. But, in encounters of this kind the danger must obviously have been greater to horse than man. Pietro Martire speaks of a tournament at Valladolid in which seven horses were killed on the spot, not by any sinister dealing, but in the fair chance of the lists. Bayard and the Lord of Orosi were the only Frenchmen who remained on horseback, and maintained their ground the whole day, assaulting the enemy when they saw their advantage, and retiring when they were threatened themselves, behind the dead horses of their comrades as a rampart; so that when the day closed, though neither party could claim the victory, the honour remained to the French, two of whom had battled during four hours against thirteen without being overcome.

A combat between the same number, in the same country, and at the same time, is described in the Chronicle of the great captain Gonzalo de Cordova; the conditions, however, and the persons engaged were different, as was the issue also. The match (for such it was) was made between the Seigneur de la Palisse (who was a horseman) on the part of the French, and Don Ynigo Lopez de Ayala, not for the Spaniards, but for the Italians, whom the French commander had vilified because they never ventured, he said, to meet the French, unless they had Spaniards in their company to support them. Upon this, thirteen Italians were matched against as many French, each combatant staking his horse, his arms, and an hundred ducats, the money as a personal ransom. They fought in an open circle, surrounded with a furrow, the diameter being about half a quarter of a mile. Prospero Colonna, who backed his countrymen, provided them with lances a foot longer than those of the French; with an *estoque*, or long sword, which was used with both hands, and which was hung on the left from the saddle; a short sword at the girdle, and on the right of the saddle a heavy axe instead of an iron mace. Besides these weapons, he provided short hunting spears, which were fixed in the ground, to be ready for those who might be dismounted and compelled to fight on foot. The horses were armed with plate armour on the head, on the neck, breast, sides, and hinder parts with leather prepared and gilt, but they had no spike on the frontlet. The French, it is said, hoped to succeed by the fierceness of their first charge; in this they were disappointed: all broke their lances, but all kept their seats; and they fought for some time with no perceptible advantage on either side, till in the

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the heat of action, four Frenchmen and an Italian touched the boundary, and were, according to the conditions, pronounced *hors du combat*. This gave the Italians so great advantage, that they forced two more of their opponents to the same fatal mark and reduced three others to surrender. There were now but four remaining, and three of them were driven out of the lists. The single Frenchman who still kept the ground, is called by the Chronicle, Grajan Daste; we may regret that the name of so brave a man should thus be so disguised as not to be cognizable; for a braver man never stood up against ill fortune. He fought against the remaining twelve Italians, till he had neither strength to stand nor breath to speak, and when he fell senseless upon the ground, it was by the judges of the field that he was pronounced vanquished,—for he himself had resisted to the last gasp. The French were not ready with their ducats, though the Italians had deposited their stakes in the judges' hands; credit was asked for them, but the judge on the Italian side, who was the Spanish captain Diego de Vera, *que de la promessa de Franceses tenia muchas vezes hecha esperiencia*, said, the Italians, for whom he acted, chose to have their prisoners for security till they received the money; and the day ended thus discourteously. The ransom, however, was paid in the course of a few days. The story is told by Guicciardini as well as by the Spanish writers, and he says, it is incredible how much the issue depressed the spirits of the French and raised those of the Spaniards.

The practice of ransoming prisoners, which seems to have gradually superseded that of selling them into slavery, was, in itself, an arrangement of mercy, but often abused in the most inhuman manner, the captives being treated with the utmost rigour, and sometimes tortured, till they raised for their deliverance larger sums than by the proper usages of war ought to have been required. It seems to have been disused as gradually as it was introduced; the latest instance which occurs to us is as late as the year 1725, and a disgraceful one of its kind it is. When the French that year plundered the village of Zwammerdam, in Holland, they carried off a girl of six years old, and as she was evidently of good extraction, she was sold from one to another as a marketable commodity, and purchased at last at Utrecht for six hundred *guelders*, by a person who became so fond of her as very unwillingly to resign her to her father when she was discovered, upon repayment of that sum. Were such things tolerated, war would be more frightful than it is. In Bayard's age the adventurer looked to making prisoners as the best chance in the lottery of a military life. How Bayard himself, who gave up with characteristic bounty all such prizes of this kind as fortune threw in his way

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way, was enabled to support the appearance which he made, and the liberal expenditure in which he indulged, is not explained by his biographer. We hear of the presents which he received from the king, or his immediate commander; but he is always represented as giving as largely as he received, and these, even if he had kept them wholly to himself, could not have sufficed. Resources, however, he must have had, and ample ones. Perhaps the abbot of Esnay had forgiven him, and become proud of a nephew who was doing honour to the family; perhaps the Bishop of Grenoble assisted him. All that appears in his memoirs is that at all times he wanted money as little as he cared for it.

This disposition was shown with circumstances of peculiar generosity when he intercepted a money-changer and his man, each with a great pouch full of money behind him, on their way to Gonzalo de Cordova, with an escort of horse. The prize consisted of 15,000 ducats. The law of distribution in such cases seems not to have been clearly understood: there were two roads which the money-changer might have taken: Bayard occupied the one by which he happened to come, and sent a certain Tardieu of his company to occupy the other; and when Tardieu claimed his share as having been of the *undertaking (de l'entreprinse)* Bayard, with a smile, denied his claim, as he had not been at the *taking (de la prinse)*. Tardieu grew warm, and complained to the commander; the opinions of all the captains were taken, and the decision, contrary to what might have been expected, was, that Tardieu had no right to share. This officer, who was as light in heart as in pocket, bore the decision with good humour, and swearing by the blood of St. George that he was an unlucky fellow, said merrily to the Good Knight, Pardieu, it's all one, for you will have to maintain me as long as we tarry in this land. Bayard displayed the ducats before Tardieu, and asked him if they were not pretty things. The Loyal Servant wrongs him on this occasion by ascribing to him the unworthy motive of wishing to mortify his comrade, whereas it was evident that no such thought could have been entertained by him at the moment; for upon Tardieu's reply, that half that sum would make him rich for life, Bayard immediately gave him the half. The astonished officer fell upon his knees, and with tears of joy exclaimed, My master, and my friend, what return can I ever make! This bounty, it is added, was well bestowed. Tardieu did not squander the large sum of which he became thus possessed, and in consequence was enabled on his return to France to obtain an heiress for wife, with 3,000 livres a year. The other half the Good Knight, 'with heart as pure as a pearl,' distributed among all the soldiers of his garrison, to each according to his quality, without reserving a single *denier* for

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for himself; and he set the money-changer and his servant free without requiring any ransom, and without taking from him rings and money to the amount of some 500 ducats more, which he had about his person.

When Lewis undertook the expedition to Genoa, to relieve his party in that city, who in the profane language of Jean Marot were *attendant le Messias de France*, Bayard was one of the king's equerries, holding that appointment till some company of gendarms should be vacant. At that time he was suffering under the same ague which was upon him when he performed the combat with Sotomayor, and which continued upon him seven years; he had also an ulcer in the arm, in consequence of a blow from a pike which had been ill-treated. In those days, when men recovered from diseases or wounds, it was by the remedial power of nature, not by the skill of the physicians or surgeons. Though, however, in such ill condition for service, he thought it dishonourable to remain at Lyons when the king was in the field, crost the mountains with him, and distinguished himself in the campaign.

The League of Cambray followed, and the expedition against the Venetians. On this occasion the king gave him a company, but told him that his lieutenant must lead his gendarms, for he wished him to have the charge of the infantry. Bayard asked what number of foot he was to command, and the king said, a thousand; no man had more. Sire, replied the Good Knight, they are too many for my skill; I beseech you let me have but five hundred, and I will take care to chuse such as shall do you service. Even this, methinks, is a heavy charge for one that would do his duty. He is mentioned in Jean Marot's *Voyage de Venise* as commanding this number, but he is only mentioned in the three words which comprize his name, and the amount of his company;—had it suited the verse we might have been informed what was the character of his people,—it is to be hoped, for Bayard's sake, that they were better than those with whom the poet has classed them, some of whom he describes to be gentle as cats, humane as leopards, honest as millers, having fingers as adhesive as glue, and being innocent as Judas Iscariot.

Qui vit adonc rustres aventuriers
Testes lever, courir aux armuriers,
C'estoit plaisir, car chascun d'eulx bien cuyde
En cestuy an tous estre tresoriers.
Dit le Picard, '*plais Dieu chés usuriers*
Me rempliront me borche qui est vuide.'
'*Par Sainct Miguel se Dieu nous est en ayde*
Dit le Normant, *je reviendray grant mestre.*'
'*Bo cap de bieu, non sapi que bol estre,*'

Repond

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Repond adonc Arnoton de Gascongne,
' Mais si pody sur quelque ung la main mettre,
S'il n'a ducatz, et fut il monge ou prestre,
J' ou le battray comme ung billain ibrogne.'

Such were the hopes with which the French soldiery entered upon this war, and the motives of the monarch were of the same kind; the difference was only like that between Alexander and the pirate:—the men fought for plunder, the king for conquest, and neither one nor the other cared how unjustly the enterprize was undertaken, nor with what inhumanity it was pursued. The Loyal Servant relates jestingly, that when his countrymen stormed the castle of Caravaggio, some countrymen were taken prisoners there, and they tried 'whether their necks were strong enough to carry away a battlement;' so little had he caught of Bayard's spirit, loving and revering him as he did. He says, indeed, immediately after, that in his opinion it was a great piece of cruelty, to hang a proveditore and his son, taken at Peschiera, when they would have paid a noble ransom; and that the brave gentleman Le Lorrain, to whom they had yielded, pleaded warmly in their behalf with the grand master, but in vain. The wealth of the sufferers made the difference in his feelings. Four things, Jean Marot says, ought to be spared in war:—

' Prestre, Herault, Paige, et feminin genre.'

This rule was not always observed, and of the four classes, the priests stood the best chance, and the women the worst. The cruelty, indeed, with which war was often carried on in the age of chivalry might almost shock belief, but it is attested both by history and romance. The best knights of the Round Table are represented as executing barbarities from which, in our days, an English hangman would revolt. In the wars between the French and English in France, after the death of Edward III. the English party at Beauvois kept a pit burning, which they called *L'Enfer*, and into which they threw those prisoners alive who could not produce the ransom which they required. The place was taken by the Duc de Bourbon, and these wretches were rightly cast into the same pit themselves. The duke's own people vied with them in atrocity; for when they took La Brugere, they slew the captain and delivered all the rest of the English to the populace,—*qui en feirent de grosses charbonnées*,—used them as the North American savages do their prisoners! When such practices could not only pass unpunished by commanders and sovereigns, but be recorded in history rather as a matter of exultation than for reproach, we need not wonder if the appellation of the Butcher was as fitly bestowed upon a chief in real life, as that of *sans pitié* upon the well known knight in romance. Nor

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Nor can the strength and beauty of a character like Bayard's be properly appreciated unless we take into consideration the brutalizing influences with which he was surrounded.

The Good Knight appears next at the siege of Padua, after it had been recovered by a successful stratagem of the Venetians, to whom the Loyal Servant renders this justice, (and full weight must be allowed to such testimony,) 'that never were there in this world masters more beloved by their subjects than they have ever been, entirely on account of the equal justice they administer amongst them.' The willing return of the Paduans to their former allegiance was styled a revolt, and when the King of France sent the Lord of La Palisse with four hundred of the best gendarmes in Italy to assist the Emperor in re-conquering it, Bayard gladly accepted that lord's invitation to accompany him. 'He had then but thirty gendarmes under him, but of that number twenty-five deserved to be captains over an hundred.' The army which Maximilian assembled for the siege was so powerful both in number and in means, that the Loyal Servant says, if his forces had done their duty, they would have sufficed for the conquest of the world. It was long since a siege had been undertaken so arduous in itself, and so momentous in its immediate consequence. For on the conquering or maintaining this great city, says Guicciardini, depended not only the establishing or the weakening the empire of the Germans in Italy, but also the fate of the very city of Venice. For if Padua were kept, that republic, abounding with wealth, at unity in itself, having able statesmen, and being subject to no such variations as the affairs of princes are, might hope soon to recover great part of its dominions; and with the more reason, because most of their subjects who had desired change not finding the issue answerable to their expectation, and knowing now by experience the difference between the moderate government of the Venetians and that of the Germans, and moreover being thrown into confusion by the trouble and injuries of war, began to turn their eyes towards their old masters.' But if Padua were lost, Venice could have no hope to maintain itself either against the confederates on one hand, or the Turks on the other. Every effort therefore was made by the Venetians for fortifying, manning, and providing this important city, and the flower of their population volunteered for a service upon the issue of which the fate of the republic depended. The force which they collected there consisted, according to Bembo, of 14,000 infantry, 600 gendarmes, 700 Albanians, and 500 horsemen armed with cross-bows. The allied force is stated by Guicciardini at 32,000 infantry, and somewhat more than 1,000 cavalry; and as the Loyal Servant

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Servant estimates them at 100,000, it may certainly be inferred that this statement is not above its real amount.

The artillery of the besiegers was 'no less terrible for the quantity than the quality.' *Apparato stupendo*, the Italian historian calls it; and well he might, for even in these days such a train might be thought tremendous.

'It is fitting that I give a description of it,' says the Loyal Servant; 'he had six hundred pieces of ordnance on wheels, the least whereof was a falcon; and six large brass bombards, which were not capable of being drawn on carriages, but were conveyed along each on a strong cart, and laden with engines. When to be employed for the purpose of battering, they were let down upon the ground, and then, with an engine, the mouth of the piece was raised a little, and a large log of wood placed underneath, and a huge target fence was erected behind for fear of its recoil. These pieces discharged stone bullets, for metal ones could not have been carried, and they could only be fired four times a day at the very utmost! There was great difficulty in bringing up so large a train, means of conveyance for only half of it could be found, and thus the movements were delayed, part of the army remaining to guard the guns which could not be sent forward till the carriages returned for them.' 'The Emperor got up betimes, and made his army march forthwith, nor would he pitch his tent till two or three hours past noon, which at that time of year was not the way to refresh men at arms with their helmets on.'

Maximilian is indeed described as performing 'a wonderful diligence' at this time, 'being invincible in mind, and of a body hardened with pain and travels.' So that he was 'running through all places day and night, and present in all actions.' Nevertheless the planting such an artillery 'could not be accomplished but with longness of time and great difficulty, as well for the great quantity and intolerable greatness of some of them, as also for that the whole camp and specially those places where they sought to plant them, were continually beaten and distressed with the artilleries of the town.'

Though Maximilian was too poor to pay even his own ordinary bands, yet his character for liberality and kindness to the soldiers brought adventurers to serve him daily from all parts, allured moreover, as they were, by the hope of sacking Padua. The preparations for defence were upon a scale commensurate to the danger; the peasantry, being regularly paid, wrought with alacrity, every part of the works was strengthened, every bastion which they thought it likely the besiegers might win was mined.—A palisade was formed within the walls round their whole circle, and the intermediate space, which was equal to the thickness of the wall, filled with earth.

'This fortification, no less wonderful in effect than for labour and travail

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travail inestimable, did not yet satisfy those to whom the defence of that city was committed, but the wall being in this sort fortified and redoubled, they cast a trench of sixteen fathom in breadth and as many in depth, which drawing narrower in the bottom, and standing thick with murdering houses and little towers full of shot, seemed impossible to be forced, and their fortifications were made with hollow vaults and caves, according to the example of the bastillions, having conveyances to be overthrown by fire when they would. And yet to be further prepared for all occasions, they raised behind the trench a rampier of the same or greater largeness, which stretched out as far as the circuit of the town, except in certain corners and places, wherein they knew it was impossible to plant artillery; and before the rampart they cast a parapet of seven fathom, which was a defence to those that fought upon the rampier, that they could not be stricken with the batteries of the enemy.'*

The city was abundantly victualled, the people of the country round being as desirous to preserve their stores from the enemy by bringing them in, as the Magistrate and the Venetians were to have the places well stored. Yet there was in the camp a wonderful abundance also, 'every house and place being plentifully furnished, for that neither the fear of the peasants, nor the careful diligence of the Venetians, nor the infinite harms of the soldiers on both sides, could waste or drain up the great plenty of that most fruitful and fertile country.' The Loyal Servant also expresses his astonishment that though the camp extended on all sides over more than four miles of territory, yet the foragers never had to go farther than six miles in the country to procure plenty of hay, corn, oats, meat, poultry, wine, and other necessaries both for men and horses; and this during two months. 'So great abundance was there, that when the siege was raised, the enemy burnt one hundred thousand ducats worth of victuals which they had provided in the expectation that it would have continued longer.' *C'est un incident*, he adds; *venons à la matière.*

Before the besiegers could take up their ground there were four barricades to be won upon the Vicenza road, two hundred paces from one another, and which, on account of the ditches on each side the road, could only be attacked in front. The charge of winning them was entrusted to Bayard. He got possession of the first, the enemy falling back upon the second. 'If there was good fighting at the first barrier, at this there was still better.' A body of peasants were brought up who had been trained as pioneers, and after a good half-hour's assault this was carried also, and the defendants were pursued so closely and with such effect, that instead of making a stand at the third barrier, they betook themselves at once to the last. This was defended

* This is Guicciardini's account of the preparations for defence, in the words of his good old translator Geffray Fenton.

by

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by 1,000 or 1,200 men, with three or four falconets, and it was but a stone's throw from the city bulwarks. There they made a resolute stand, and the conflict continued for about an hour, with pikes and arquebusses. The Good Knight grew impatient, and said to his companions, Sirs, these people detain us too long, let us alight and press forward to the barrier! Some thirty or forty gendarmes immediately dismounted, and raising their visors and couching their lances pushed on to the barricado. The Prince of Anhalt was one of this brave party, and Great John of Picardy was another, a person in name and stature, and probably enough in his propensities, like Little John of Sherwood, though not of equal celebrity, because he had no ballad writer who should

'him immortal make
With verses dipt in dew of Castaly'—

all that is known of Great John being this incidental mention of his name by the Loyal Servant. These brave companions *faisoient raige*. But the defendants were continually reinforced by fresh men from the city; and Bayard, seeing this, exclaimed, they will keep us here these six years at this rate, sound, trumpet! and every one follow me! Then like a lion robbed of *his* whelps—(for it is of a lion-father that the chronicler speaks)—he led on so fierce an assault, that the Venetians retired a pike's length from the barricade. On, comrades, he cried, they are ours! and, leaping the barricade, was gallantly followed, and not less perilously received; but the sight of his danger excited the French, and he was speedily supported in such strength, that he remained master of the ground. 'Thus were the barricades before Padua won at mid-day, whereby the French, horse as well as foot, acquired great honour, above all the Good Knight, to whom the glory was universally ascribed.'

There was little other glory won by the besiegers; for notwithstanding their great force, they never compelled the Albanians to retire from the suburbs into the town, and were continually harassed by the enemy's light horse. Their artillery kept up 'the most impetuous and terrible' battery that had ever been witnessed in those days, 'by their incredible hugeness and unmeasurable quantity of powder that was used, piercing through the ramparts, beating down the houses that were near the wall, and in many places the wall itself. 'Above twenty thousand shot were fired against the city, and they were returned two-fold.' The huge battering pieces, unwieldy as they were, were tremendously efficient when they were brought to bear; notwithstanding the prodigious labour with which the walls had been strengthened, three breaches were made, and by the ninth day formed into one, which was wide enough to have admitted a thousand

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sand men abreast, being little less than half a mile in extent. But the report of the preparations which were made for defence within the walls, convinced the Loyal Servant that if five hundred thousand men had attempted to storm the town, it would have been in vain. Some prisoners, whom the Venetian commander released, advertised the French of this terrible danger, and brought a message well designed for exciting a jealous feeling between the French and the Imperialists; for the governor expressed his hope that the King of France and the Seignory of Venice would return to their former state of amity, and affirmed that, were it not for the French, he would sally, and in less than four-and-twenty hours compel the Emperor to raise the siege disgracefully. Maximilian, when he surveyed the breach after it had been open three days, took shame to himself for not having assaulted it. Accordingly he wrote to the French commander, the Lord of La Palisse, saying, the breach was more than sufficient for such as would do their duty, and requesting that the French gendarmes would be ready to make the assault in company with the German foot, about noon, when they should hear the great drum sound. La Palisse expressed his surprize that the Emperor had not sent for him and his companions to consult upon the matter. However, he said, he would call his countrymen together, and show them the letter, not doubting that they would all yield obedience to what the Emperor was pleased to command. When the captains were assembled, La Palisse said jestingly to them, Sirs, it is fit we dine; for I have something to tell you, which if you heard it before-hand, might perhaps prevent you from making good cheer. A better specimen of the Loyal Servant's manner of narration cannot be given than what follows in this place:

'These words were spoken in jest, for he knew his companions well, and that not one among them but was a second Hector, nay Orlando; particularly the good Knight, who was never in his life overcome by aught he either saw or heard.

'During dinner they did nothing but break jests on one another. The Lord of la Palisse ever bent his raillery upon the Lord of Humbercourt, who paid him back in his own coin, with all honourable and pleasant speeches. I believe the names of the French captains assembled there have been mentioned already; and it is my opinion that the whole of the rest of Europe could not have furnished as many like unto them. After dinner all were ordered to quit the apartment except the captains; to them the Lord of la Palisse communicated the Emperor's letter, which was read twice over, in order to the better understanding thereof. This done, each looked laughing at the other, to see who would begin to speak first. So the Lord of Humbercourt said, addressing himself to the Lord of la Palisse: "There needs not so much pondering, my Lord; send

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word to the Emperor that we are all in readiness. I begin to tire of the country, for the nights are cold, and moreover good wines are about to fail us." Whereat every one laughed.

'There was none of the captains that did not speak before the good Knight, and all agreed to the Lord of Humbercourt's proposal. The Lord of la Palisse looked at him, and perceived that he pretended to be picking his teeth, as though he had not heard what his companions had proposed. So he said smiling: "Ha! you Hercules of France, what say you to the matter? This is no time to pick teeth: the Emperor must have our answer forthwith."

'The good Knight, who had ever a habit of jesting, replied pleasantly: "If we are to believe my Lord of Humbercourt, we have nothing to do but to proceed, one and all of us, straight to the breach. Yet, as I conceive it sorry pastime for gendarms to go afoot, I would willingly be excused. However, since I needs must deliver my opinion, you shall have it. The Emperor commands in his letter that you should make all the French gentlemen go on foot to the assault, together with his lansquenets. For my particular, though I am not possessed of much wealth, yet I am a gentleman. All of you are great lords and of great families. So are many of our gendarms. Does the Emperor deem it a fitting thing to place such a number of noble persons in risk and jeopardy along with foot-soldiers, whereof one is a shoe-maker, another a baker, another a blacksmith, mechanics who are not so chary of their honour as men of high degree? There is something unseemly in this arrangement, saving his grace. My advice is, that you, my Lord," pursued he, addressing la Palisse, "should return the Emperor the following reply: namely, that you have assembled your captains agreeably to his desire, and that they are determined to execute his orders, according as they were instructed by the King, their master. He knows well that the King of France admits none but persons of gentle birth into the number of his ordinary men of arms. To put such among footsoldiers, who are of low rank, would be treating them with too great a want of consideration. But there are many counts, lords, and gentlemen of Germany; let him order them to go on foot, with the gendarms of France, who, in that case, will readily shew the way. His lansquenets may follow, if the enterprise afford a prospect of success." When the good Knight had uttered his sentiments they were combated by no one, but were accounted just and reasonable. So this reply was returned to the Emperor, who thought it a very proper one, and forthwith had his drums and trumpets hastily sounded to call together his retinue, which contained all the princes, lords, and captains of Germany, Burgundy, and Hainault. Being met, they were informed by the Emperor how he had resolved upon assaulting the town within an hour, and had communicated this his intention to the French gentlemen, who were ready enough to do their parts in the undertaking: but had besought him that the gentlemen of Germany might go along with them, in which case they would willingly lead the way. "Wherefore, gentlemen," said he, "I entreat you to accompany them on foot. And I hope, with God's aid, we shall vanquish our enemies in the

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the first assault." As soon as the Emperor had done speaking, there suddenly arose a strange and marvellous commotion among his Germans, which continued for half an hour ere it could be allayed. Then one appointed to answer for all declared that they were not fit persons to go on foot, or be sent to a breach; and that it was their place to fight on horseback like gentlemen.'—vol. i. p. 220—223.

A rumour had gone through the camp that the assault was to be made. *Lors eussiez veu une chose merveilleuse,* for the priests were retained by sums of gold to hear confession, because every one wished to put himself in a good state. And many gendarmes gave them their purses to keep, by reason whereof, the Loyal Servant says, there can be no doubt that messieurs the priests would not have been displeased if they, with whose money they were entrusted, had fallen in the assault. The refusal of the German gentry to fight on foot deprived them of this pleasant expectancy; for in consequence of that refusal the attempt was not made, and the Emperor retired from the siege that night. This, however, is not consistent with Guicciardini's account: that historian says, that the whole army approached to storm the breach, but the ditch within was filled with water, and the Emperor therefore would not expose his men to so manifest a danger. The next day, he says, the water had abated; and an assault was made, without success, upon a bastillion by the gate of Codalonga, of which it was necessary to obtain possession. After battering it for two days, it was stormed by the German and Spanish infantry, supported by some dismounted gendarmes; but when they sought to follow up their success, the ditch was so well defended, not with artillery alone, but with stones and wildfire, that they were repulsed with considerable loss, and the army, which was drawn up to assail the breach as soon as this point should be taken, retired in utter despair. The besiegers were, in fact, a disorderly train, upon the greater part of whom no reliance was to be placed. They were brought together by the hope of plunder, and the ruffian who had enriched himself thought of nothing but how to secure his booty. 'Not a day passed but three or four hundred Lansquenets stole away into Germany, carrying off cows, oxen, beds, corn, raw silk for spinning, and other useful articles, so that the loss sustained by the Paduans, as well in moveables, as in houses and palaces burnt and destroyed, amounted to two millions of crowns.' When the siege was raised, the Lansquenets set fire to all their lodgings, and to every thing they past by. Bayard left a party of gendarmes to protect the house in which he had lodged, from these ruffians, for 'of a truth such incendiaries were little to his liking.' For nearly two cen-

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turies after the Good Knight's time, there usually appears, as an accompaniment to an army, in those prints with which books of military history were embellished, a gallows, and sometimes two or three, always *well hung*. The provost marshal's was no sinecure office in those days.

During the siege, and indeed whenever opportunities could be found or made, Bayard distinguished himself by many perilous enterprizes, in which he was beholden sometimes for success and sometimes for deliverance or escape, as much to his own personal prowess and the strong attachment of his comrades, as to his well-concerted plans. As a soldier indeed the Good Knight was better fitted for the time of Du Guesclin and the Black Prince, than for the age of Italian politicians and Swiss mercenaries. His mind in this respect was retrospective rather than anticipant. Congenial as the spirit of chivalry was to his natural disposition, it had been fostered in him by education and family pride of the best and worthiest kind; and he regarded sorrowfully that change in the system of war which the use of fire-arms was then rapidly producing, plainly foreseeing that the chivalrous character must in consequence soon become extinct. The time was fresh in remembrance when the presence of a single knight was felt to be of such importance as to give the one side an assurance of victory, and impress upon the other a forefeeling which prepared them for defeat. The prose romancers exaggerate the personal achievements of their heroes, even beyond the becoming limits of fiction; but as their machinery had its foundation in popular belief, so had this exaggeration its ground in the chivalrous system of warfare. When Jayme, King of Aragon, saw his son embark for the conquest of Sardinia, the first charge which he gave him was to pronounce these words *vencer o morir*, three times before he entered into battle, and then to lead on himself, with that fixed determination. The second charge was to see that all his knights were ready before he began, and if a single one were wanting, to wait for him, 'that you may have the benefit,' says the old king, 'of his advice and presence, and not be the cause that he receive shame, and be without his part of the glory of the victory. Many a time the counsel or the prowess of a single knight hath gained a battle.' 'Villainous saltpetre' was putting an end to this personal importance, and the invectives against this invention in the poets only express what was the real feeling of those persons in the higher ranks of society, who had any of the nobler feelings which were called forth in war. Jean Marot complains of its levelling effects, and says that more courage was required for soldiers now than in the time of Alexander.

'*Car*

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'Car en ses jours n'avoient point cest oraige
De feu et pouldre,
Aux fons d'enfer inventée pour touldre
Vie aux humains, plus que tonnerre ou fouldre;
Cil qu'elle actaint se peult bien faire absouldre,
Car s'en est faict.
Ung Roy, ung Prince, ung Chevalier de faict
Est aussi-tost qu'un jeune enfant deffaict
Contre son sort peu vault d'armes l'efaict
Force et valeur;
Et croy que si Hector fier batailleur,
Fort Hercules, Cesar grand debelleur,
Estoient vivans, auroient crainte et frayeur
De tel' tempeste.'

The author of the Mémoires de Tremoille observes that the harquebuss is a weapon which Christians ought not to use in their wars with each other, but only against infidels; and Bayard partook this feeling so strongly, that excellently gentle and humane as he was in the whole tenour of his life and actions, he would give no quarter to harquebussiers.

Bayard, who 'never grudged money if he could learn what the enemy were doing,' was in general well served by his spies, because he paid them well. And once by their means he laid a scheme for catching the Pope, which was so well concerted, that his Holiness must inevitably have been taken if he had not turned back in consequence of a violent snow-storm; yet the good Knight was so close upon him, that as the Pope was about to enter the castle of Saint Felice, he heard the French in the town, and leaping out of his litter, at the alarm, helped to raise the drawbridge himself, which was wisely done, for had he delayed while one might say a paternoster, he would assuredly have been snapped.' Such adventures gave a character of romantic interest to the wars of those days, and in such things it was that Bayard was chiefly tried. He used to say that a perfect knight ought to possess three qualities, the attack of a bull-dog, the defence of a wild boar, and the pursuit of a wolf. This speech might have come from the Clissons of history, or the Sir Turpins and Sir Breuses of romance. But Bayard was a better soldier as well as a better man than one who should have united in himself all these ferine qualities. *Car il fault que tous lisans ceste histoire sçaichent qui ce bon chevalier estoit un vray registre des batailles;* and in the early part of his career he was not more distinguished for enterprizing valour, than he was in maturer life for sage counsel. One of his maxims was, that he who makes no account of his enemy is a madman.

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Pope Julius had a strong desire to be revenged on the French, and at a time when Bayard was at Ferrara, with the duke, sent one of his agents to propose an alliance with the duke's family, and offered to make him gonfalonier and captain-general of the church, if he would dismiss these allies; whatever direction they might take he knew they would be at his mercy, and it was his intention that not one of them should escape. The duke gave him hearing, regaled him well, communicated his embassy to Bayard, and when Bayard, crossing himself in astonishment, would hardly be persuaded that the Pope would be wicked enough to accomplish what he intended, the duke proposed to buy over the agent, and as the Pope wished to perpetrate a piece of villany, act upon the principle of like for like. The conversation which ensued may well be genuine in the main, for the duke reported it to Bayard, and from him it is likely that the Loyal Servant directly derived it. The duke began with this Messer Augustino by stating the reasons why it would be folly in him to trust the Pope, who coveted his dominions, and hated him more than any other person in the world. He then proceeded to state that it would not be easy to deceive the French, and impracticable to turn them out. But he added, Messer Augustino, the Pope is of a very terrible nature, exceeding choleric and vindictive, as you well know, and however he may trust you now in his secret affairs, he will some day or other play you a shrewd trick. Moreover, when he dies, what will become of his servants? Another pope will succeed, who will not harbour any of them, and it is a very bad service except for ecclesiastics. He then offered to reward him richly, if he would do him good service to rid him of his enemy. This precious agent of his Holiness struck a bargain immediately, and for 2,000 ducats in hand, and a promise of 500 yearly, engaged to poison the Pope within eight days. This was so much according to the custom of the country, that the duke felt neither compunction in making such a bargain, nor shame in communicating it to Bayard. Having found him on the ramparts, the following characteristic scene ensued.

'They took one another by the hand, and, as they walked upon the ramparts, at a distance from all others, the Duke begun to say: "My Lord Bayard, it never fell out but that deceivers were themselves deceived in the end. You have heard the villany which the Pope would have made me commit against you and the French that are here. And in this intent he hath sent a man of his to me, as you know. I have so brought him over to our side, and changed his purpose, that he will do to the Pope what he wished to do to you; for he hath assured me that in eight days at farthest, he shall be no more."

'The good Knight, who would never have suspected the real truth of the

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the fact, made answer: "How can that be, my Lord, hath he spoken with God?" "Give yourself no concern about the matter," said the Duke; "so shall it be." And they went on communing together till he told him that Messer Augustino had engaged himself to poison the Pope. Whereat the good Knight said: "Oh! my Lord, I can never believe that so worthy a Prince as you will consent to so black a treachery; and were I assured of it, I swear to you, by my soul, that I would apprize the Pope thereof, before it were night." "Why?" said the Duke, "he would have done as much to you and me: and you know that we have hung seven or eight spies of his." "No matter for that," said the good Knight, "I never will consent to the effecting of his death in this manner." The Duke shrugged up his shoulders, spat upon the ground, and said: "My Lord Bayard, would that I had killed all my enemies as I did that! Howbeit, since the thing is not to your liking it shall be given up; and, but God help us, we shall both repent of it." "Not so, please God," said the good Knight. "But I pray you, my Lord, put this fellow into my hands who would perform this precious piece of work, and, if I have him not hung within an hour, let me be so dealt with in his stead." "No, my Lord Bayard," said the Duke; "I have assured him of his personal safety: but I will go and dismiss him." Which the Duke did as soon as he got back to his palace. What the man said or how he acted on his return to the Pope I know not: but he executed none of his enterprizes. So he continued about the person of his Holiness, who was much grieved at being able to discover no method of bringing his schemes to pass.'—vol. ii. pp. 9—11.

Bayard's character was shown not less advantageously when Brescia having been recovered by the Venetians, was attacked by the French. There were 8,000 troops in the town, and 12,000 or 14,000 peasantry, who had flocked thither to maintain it against their foreign enemies. The Duke of Nemours could not bring together more than 12,000 to besiege it, but they were 'the very flower of knighthood,' and Nemours had so gained their hearts that they were all ready to lay down their lives for him. When the arrangement for the attack was made, Bayard was the only person who objected to it. The Lord of Molart was appointed with the infantry to force the first line: upon him, he said, and upon many worthy persons of his company he had the firmest reliance; but it was of great importance never to give back on such occasions. The Venetians would place their best men (and they had good ones) foremost, and arquebussiers with them, and great disorder might ensue if the infantry should be repulsed, having no gendarms to support them. He proposed, therefore, that some 150 dismounted horsemen should accompany the Lord of Molart, because, being better armed than the infantry, they would be better able to sustain the shock. The duke replied, you say truly, my Lord of Bayard, but where is the

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captain who will put himself at the mercy of their arquebussiers? I will, said the good Knight: and be assured the company whereof I have charge will this day do honour to the king and you, and service that you shall be sensible of. When he had spoken, *n'y eust capitaine qui ne regardast l'un l'autre, car sans point de faulte le faict estoit tres-dangereux.* Whatever we may think of former times, the sense of honour was never so generally felt in military bodies as it is now. We find men of birth and station, with all the advantages of defensive armour, not willing to expose themselves on a service upon which the infantry were ordered. In our days, officers as well as men, and men as well as officers, are always found ready for any enterprize however dangerous, however desperate, even when it may almost be called a service of certain death. The wonder now is not at him who volunteers, but at him who holds back. Did indeed the Christian spirit take possession of us with half as much force as the military spirit, war itself would be at an end, and the diseases of society would have their sure and only effectual remedy.

The duke summoned the city, feeling some compunction at the thought that if it was taken by assault it would be sacked and all within slaughtered. Alas! says the Loyal Servant, the poor inhabitants would gladly have surrendered, but they had not the upper hand. The ascent being slippery, Nemours, 'to show that he would not be among the last, doffed his shoes,' and many followed his example. They won the rampart. Bayard was the first person who entered, but he received a deep wound in the upper part of the thigh, from a pike, which broke and was left hanging in the wound. Comrade, said he, to Molart, make your men march, the town is won: as for me I can go no farther, I am slain. And that he might not die without confession, he withdrew, with the help of two of his archers, who tore their shirts to staunch his wound. As soon as the citadel was taken, they broke down a door from the first house, and carried him on it to the goodliest mansion in the neighbourhood. The owner, a man of great wealth, had fled to a neighbouring convent, leaving his wife, and two fair daughters 'in the Lord's keeping,' rather than be butchered in their presence without any possibility of protecting them. The daughters hid themselves in a hay-loft, and when the soldiers knocked, the mother, putting her trust in God, opened the door herself. The happiest fortune which ever befell that family was when Bayard entered their house. His first orders were to set a guard there, and admit none but his own people; and he assured those who had borne him and whom he thus employed, that though they missed some booty for his sake,

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they should lose nothing in the end. The lady of the house fell on her knees, and besought him to spare her daughters and herself. The good Knight, who never harboured an evil thought, replied, Madam, it may be that I shall not recover from this wound of mine, but while I live no wrong shall be done to you and your daughters: only keep them in their chamber, let them not be seen. When the wound had been drest, and he had leisure to think of others, he inquired concerning the master of the house, had him sought for where his wife said that, if living, he would probably be found, and made the family happy by having him safely escorted home. They looked upon themselves, however, as his prisoners, and all their goods and chattels as his property by the lot of war, 'this being the case with the other houses which had fallen into the hands of the French.' And in the hope, seeing his generous temper, that a handsome offering might prevent his exacting a ruinous sum, the lady, on the day he was about to depart, entered his room, acknowledged his kindness, and, entreating his further compassion, presented him with a little steel box full of ducats. Bayard laughed, and asked how many ducats there were there? and the lady, fearing he was offended, said only 2,500, but if he were not content therewith, they would produce a larger sum. Upon his refusing to take any, she entreated him to accept that trifling gift as a mark of gratitude, with an earnestness which proved her sincerity. He then took the box, sent for her daughters, gave them 1,000 of the ducats each, toward their marriage portions, and accepting the 500, delivered them to his hostess, to be distributed by her, in his behoof, among the poor nuns whose convents had been pillaged. Such men as Bayard are always unhappily too few, and yet in the worst ages there have been enough of his stamp to redeem humanity.

A little before the storming of Brescia, an astrologer had assured Bayard that he would not fall in the dreadful battle which he predicted for the Good Friday or Easter Sunday following, but that, within twelve years at farthest, he would be slain by artillery; 'otherwise,' he added, 'you would never end your days in the field, for you are so beloved by those under your command, that they would sooner die than leave you in jeopardy.' The story of this astrologer is rather remarkable. The battle of Ravenna fulfilled his several predictions both as to the day, its issue, and the fate of the Duke de Nemours; of whom Guicciardini says, that 'if, as the opinion is, death is to be desired when men are come to the height of felicity, then surely he died happily,' —but that with him the very sinew and strength of the French army

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army utterly perished. That army had suffered much in consequence of its success at Brescia; so many of the adventurers enriched themselves there, and withdrew in consequence, that the Loyal Servant says, this was the ruin of the French cause in Italy. They who look in history for proofs of that providential government of the world, in which the best and wisest men have believed, may see reason to suppose that if Gaston de Foix, the young and heroic Duke de Nemours, had resembled Bayard as much in humanity and other virtues as he did in courage, his career might not so speedily have been cut short. But he had shown no mercy at Brescia, and made no effort to check the excesses of his men. The Loyal Servant tells us, many grievous things happened, and Guicciardini says that, 'for seven days the city was exposed to the rapacity, to the lust, and to the cruelty of the soldiers; things sacred as well as profane being parcel of the prey, and no less the lives than the goods of men.'

The astrologer, who had delivered his other predictions concerning the expected action openly, took la Palisse and Bayard apart, and charged them that they should give heed to the Prince on the day of battle, for he would be in as great danger of falling as ever man was, and he said they might cut off his head if they did not find his words fulfilled. The duke went forth early that morning armed at all points, his surcoat gorgeously embroidered with the arms of Navarre and Foix, so as to add inconveniently to the weight of his armour. The sun had just risen, and appeared so red, that one of the company said, Know you, my lord, what that forebodes? Some prince or great officer will die to day. It must be either you or the viceroy. This was said by one with whom he was accustomed to jest, and he smiled at the words, as a soldier would do, however they might have imprest him. Before the action commenced, a parley occurred, in the spirit of the Homeric age. Bayard, with the duke and some twenty others, was riding along the canal to while away the time, when they observed a party of Spaniards about the same number, and employed in like manner. He advanced towards them alone, and said, Sirs, you are amusing yourselves as we are doing, till the fine sport begins. I pray you let no guns be discharged on your side, and none shall be fired on ours. Their commander, Pedro de Paes, (a brave and distinguished man, who fell in the battle,) inquired who he might be, and with a soldierly spirit replied, upon hearing his name, On my honour, Señor de Bayard, I am right glad to see you, though we have gained nothing by your arrival, but may reckon your army 2,000 men the stronger for it. Would to God there were peace between your master and mine, that

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that we might have some interviews, for I have loved you for your prowess all my life. The Spaniard was then introduced to Nemours, and those courtesies were exchanged, which even in the heat of war excite a wish for peace, and insensibly prepare a way for it.

One of the bravest and honestest of the German mercenaries fell on the French side; an anecdote concerning his death, which the Loyal Servant was not acquainted with, is found in the Commentaries of the Senor Alarcon. He had challenged the Spanish colonel, Zamudio, who, as he advanced to meet him, exclaimed, 'O king, dearly do your favours cost me, and well are they deserved on such days as this!' Both parties might have agreed in that feeling; for the German captain, Jacob, fell by Zamudio's pike, and Zamudio himself was killed in the course of the battle. In revenge of Jacob's death, a feat was performed by Captain Fabian, which may remind the reader of Arnold von Winkelraid. It required, perhaps, more bodily powers, and did not involve the same inevitable self-devotement. The Spaniards had stationed a strong body with crossed pikes on the edge of their foss: Fabian, who was a person of prodigious strength and stature, took his own pike crossway, laid it upon those of the enemy, and bearing their points towards the ground, enabled those of his comrades who were near to rush in: *mais pour le passer y eut un meurtre merveilleux: car oncques gens ne feirent plus de deffense que les Espagnols, qui encores n'ayans plus bras ne jambe entiere mordoient leurs ennimis.* Bayard himself seems to have owed his life in this battle, when he was rashly adventuring it, to the presence of mind of a Spaniard. Returning from the pursuit with some forty gendarmes, he fell in with two Spanish companies, who were retreating in good order from the field. Spent as his own party was, and inferior in numbers, he was preparing to charge them, when the Spanish captain stept forward and said, 'Sir, what are you about? You cannot suppose yourself strong enough to beat us! You have won the battle and killed all our men; be satisfied with the honour you have gained, and let us go with our lives, since by God's will we have escaped!' Bayard felt this address as became him. It is added, that he demanded their colours, and that they were given him; if it was so, it adds no grace to the story. But they parted courteously, the Spaniards opening their ranks, and the French passing between them. Little did he imagine that the duke, attacking these very companies as rashly as he was about to have done, had fallen by their hands. 'Had he but suspected this,' says the Loyal Servant, 'he would rather have died ten thousand deaths than not have avenged him.' And yet however strong

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strong the desire of vengeance may have been in the first emotions of grief, Bayard, in his cooler moments, must have felt thankful to Providence that the Spanish officer had acted more moderately and more wisely than he himself was disposed to have done.

The battle of Ravenna proved fatal to the conquerors. The loss which they had there sustained was so severe, that they were unable to withstand the fresh forces that were brought against them, and in their retreat the Good Knight was struck by a falconet shot between the neck and shoulder, which laid the shoulder bone bare. He was able, however, to cross the Alps, and visit his uncle, the Bishop of Grenoble. There he was seized with fever, either in consequence of the wound or the fatigue which he had undergone, and the Loyal Servant puts a lamentation in his mouth at the thought of dying, like a girl, in bed, which would have read better in romance than in history. The speech ended however with a prayer, and a hope of amending his evil life. It was just after his recovery that that adventure occurred with the damsel, whom her mother would have sold to him, which has found its way into most collections of anecdotes.

His death occurred within the time and in the manner which the astrologer is said to have foretold. He was conducting the rear of the French army, when retreating in good order before the Spaniards. On such occasions the rear was always his post, and he was now making his gendarmes proceed with as much composure as if they had been in their own country, with no enemy to apprehend, when a stone from a hacquebuss struck him across the loins and fractured his spine. It was one of those wounds (as in Nelson's case) in which the stroke of death is felt, and which the sufferer instantly knows to be mortal. Jesus! was the first word which he uttered, then, 'Oh God, I am slain!' He had ever wished to die in battle, and it seems as if, in forecasting the end which he desired, he had predetermined how to act whenever it might occur: for holding up his sword and kissing the cross at its handle, he pronounced these words audibly, *Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam!* He then grew faint, but saved himself from falling by holding the saddle-bow, till his steward helped him from off the horse, and placed him under a tree, and there holding his sword as a cross before him, he confessed to the steward, there being no priest at hand. The Seigneur d'Alegro came up, and to him he said something concerning his will. A Swiss captain would have carried him off upon pikes, hoping so to save him; but Bayard felt that the motion would accelerate his certain death, and entreated that he might

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might be left, and employ the little life that remained in thinking about his soul. He besought them to go their way, and not expose themselves to the enemy by remaining with him, to whom they could afford no earthly help, but he commended his poor soul to them, and desired the Seigneur d'Alegro to salute the king in his name, and say it troubled him that he could do him no farther services; likewise he added, Messires the Princes of France, and the gentlemen of my company, and all gentlemen of the honoured realm of France in general, salute them all when you see them, on my part. When the Spaniards came up and discovered who he was, he received from them that honourable kindness which Bayard's name would have commanded from enemies of any nation, and which, in the better days of Spain, no people were so ready as the Spaniards to exhibit. A tent was spread for him, he was laid upon a camp bed, and a priest was brought, to whom he confessed devoutly, saying, afterwards, these very words—

'My God! I am assured that thou hast declared thyself ever ready to receive into mercy and to forgive whoso shall return to thee with a sincere heart, however great a sinner he may have been: Alas! my Creator and Redeemer, I have grievously offended thee during my life, of which I repent with my whole soul. Full well I know that, had I spent an hundred years in a desert on bread and water, even that would not have entitled me to enter thy kingdom of Heaven, unless it had pleased thee, of thy great and infinite goodness, to receive me into the same; for no creature is able in this world to merit so high a reward. My Father and Saviour! I entreat thee be pleased to pass over the faults by me committed, and show me thy abundant clemency instead of thy rigorous justice.'—vol. ii. p. 227, 228.

The Marquis of Pescara came up before he expired, and

'Pronounced a lofty eulogium on him in his own language, but to the following effect; "Would God, gentle Lord of Bayard, that, by parting with a quart of my own blood, (so that could be done without loss of life,) and by abstaining from flesh for two years, I might have kept you whole and my prisoner; for my treatment of you should have manifested how highly I honoured the exalted prowess that was in you. The first tribute of praise that my nation paid you, when they said, "*Muchos Grisones, y pocos Bayardos*," was not undeservedly bestowed; for since my first acquaintance with arms have I never seen or heard tell of any King who can compare with you in all admirable qualities: and though I have reason to rejoice at beholding you thus, being assured that my master, the Emperor, in his wars had no greater and more formidable adversary than yourself, nevertheless, when I consider the heavy loss which all Knighthood sustains this day, may God never aid me if I would not give the half of all I am worth in the world that it were otherwise; but, since from death there is no refuge, I make supplication to

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to Him who hath created us all in his likeness, that he will be pleased to take back your soul unto himself.'—vol. ii. p. 222.

To have died thus honoured by such an enemy must have been only less desirable than to fall in the moment of victory and in the height of success. The Spanish general appointed certain gentlemen to bear his body to a church, where solemn service was performed over it for two days. His own people then carried it home for interment. As they past through Savoy, orders were given by the duke that wherever the corpse passed or rested, as much respect should be paid to it as if it were that of his own brother. The magistrates of Grenoble, with most of the inhabitants and nobles of the surrounding country, went out to meet it when it drew nigh, and it was finally deposited in a convent of Minims, half a mile from that city, which his uncle the bishop had founded. A monument was afterwards erected to him there, not by the king whom he had served so faithfully, not by the nation of which he is the proudest boast, not even by his family, but by Scipio de Poulloud, Seigneur de St. Agnin, an individual no otherwise connected with him than as being a native of the same province, and an admirer of his worth. He was in the forty-eighth year of his age when he was slain. He left a natural daughter, whose mother was a Milanese of noble birth. If it be true that Bayard had promised marriage to this Milanese lady both by word and in writing, he cannot in this instance be said to have been *sans reproche*. The Loyal Servant indeed tells us that he was no saint; but it may be questioned whether any saint of his age left so useful an example.

We must judge of men according to the standard of their own times and the circumstances in which they were placed. There are some callings which deaden the moral sense, some which directly harden the heart, some which produce the even more injurious effect of perverting our perceptions of right and wrong. These are their effects upon ordinary minds; and where the bent of the individual's disposition is towards evil, natural obliquity is easily ripened into thorough wickedness. We have thus such politicians as Shaftesbury, such lawyers as Jefferies, such commanders as Buonaparte. On the other hand, there are spirits so happily constituted as to resist these injurious influences, and preserve, under all circumstances, the integrity of their nature. Few are the generations in which some such examples have not appeared for the relief and consolation of humanity. Success cannot elevate them, neither are they to be depressed by ill fortune; the former only exhibits more conspicuously the grace and beauty of their character, the latter only displays its dignity and its

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its strength. We have thus such statesmen as Clarendon, such lawyers as Sir Thomas More, such soldiers as Bayard. It may be said of him, as of one of our own distinguished officers who fell in the Peninsular War—

> 'That in the midst of camps his manly breast
> Retained its youthful virtue; that he walk'd
> Thro' blood and evil uncontaminate;
> And that the stern necessity of war
> But nurtured with its painful discipline
> Thoughtful compassion in his gentle soul,
> And feelings such as man should cherish still
> For all of woman born.'

If he had merely won victories for France greater than those of Turenne or Villars, he would have conferred less honour upon his country, and rendered less service to it, than he has done by the example of his personal character.

Henri IV. used to say, that Montluc's Commentaries should be the soldier's bible. It was a saying that would have been more in character with Buonaparte, than with the prince from whom it came; for though the book is in its kind incomparably good, it is the composition of one who, with all his great qualities, was a brutal soldier. Henri should have held up Bayard as a model to the military youth of France. We, who have Robert of Gloucester, and the Black Prince, and Sidney, and Marlborough, and Nelson, need not go abroad for examples. Yet it is desirable that nations should be conversant with foreign models, and particularly with those which may be found among their hereditary and natural rivals. In proportion as this knowledge is cultivated they will be disposed to judge more generously, more kindly, and more equitably of each other. We are glad therefore that English readers may now become as familiar with the history of the Chevalier Bayard as they were with his name; and a wish may be expressed that the French in return would make themselves acquainted with the English knight, *sans peur et sans reproche*, Sir Philip Sidney.

ART. V.—*The Century of Inventions of the Marquis of Worcester, from the Original M.S. with Historical and Explanatory Notes, and a Biographical Memoir.* By C. F. Partington, &c. London. 1825.

IT has often occurred to us that, if competent commentators could be found to explain and illustrate two well-known curious

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curious and abstruse works, very different in kind as well as importance, the world would receive an accession of much interesting and probably some valuable information. The works we allude to are, 'Pliny's Natural History,' and the Marquess of Worcester's 'Century of Inventions.' The late Dr. Shaw, who, to a critical knowledge of the Latin language, united that of a profound naturalist, was almost persuaded at one time to undertake to explain and illustrate the former, but we rather think did not live even to commence, much less to execute, so arduous an undertaking; and we doubt whether another will soon be found, able and bold enough to set his shoulders to the Herculean task. For the minor work, however, of the 'Century of Inventions,' we have at length, after several naked editions, obtained a new one from an editor, who has attempted, and we think generally with success, to explain what the noble author has very briefly suggested, and the methods by which his suggestions are capable of being, as many of them have been, reduced to practice.

It has frequently been asserted, but on grounds too weak to warrant any such supposition, that these 'Inventions' of the Marquess were mere assumptions set down at random, and that he never had by experiment performed any one of them, nor ever intended that they should, either by himself or others, be performed; in short, that he was an arrant impostor. Thus Hume, who does not even know the title of his book, boldly pronounces it 'a ridiculous compound of lies, chimeras, and impossibilities;' and Walpole, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' designates the Marquess as a 'fantastic projector and mechanic,' and describes his Century as 'an amazing piece of folly;' of whose hundred projects he boldly asserts the greater number to be impossibilities; allowing him, however, the humble merit, that he may have *believed* he could perform them; and, 'therefore,' adds this candid literary biographer, 'it is no wonder he believed transubstantiation.' Walpole, indeed, treats both the literary and political character of the Marquess with unbecoming and very unmerited disrespect. With his too frequent disregard of truth, he asserts what is in direct contradiction to historical fact; as, for example, that a bill, brought into the House for granting to the Marquess and his successors the profits that might arise from the use of 'a water-commanding engine,' was passed 'on the simple affirmation of the discovery that he had made;' whereas he might have known that the committee, composed of some of the most learned men in the House, met several times, and introduced several clauses and amendments, before the bill was allowed to pass. But Walpole was a prejudiced writer, and, like some others more celebrated for their

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their literary attainments than for scientific knowledge, affected to despise and undervalue what he did not understand.

It is true enough that the Marquess of Worcester has left nothing behind him to enable the world to decide on his qualifications as a literary character. The 'Century of Inventions,' his only published work, could never have been intended by him as a literary composition; he calls it, only 'scantlings,'—'summary heads of wonderful things,'—'made,' as he observes in his address to the King, 'but for the superficial satisfaction of a friend's curiosity;' adding, however, with a full confidence of his powers, 'let but your Majesty approve, and I will effectually perform to the height of my undertaking;' and he offers to do the same in his petition to the Lords and Commons, 'most heartily and readily obeying the least summons from you, by putting faithfully in execution what your judgments shall think fit to pitch upon amongst this century of experiments.'

There are some circumstances, however, it must be confessed, which lead one to conclude, that his projects were wholly disregarded at the time when they were promulgated. The Royal Society had then been for some years in existence. Sir Isaac Newton, Boyle, Wilkins, Hooke, and several other learned and ingenious men were living, and eagerly pursuing philosophical researches; yet no notice appears to have been taken by any of them of the marquess's pretensions. Could it be, that the mysterious and empirical terms in which his inventions are stated, caused them to be disregarded, and their author to be considered as a charlatan?* Many of the very same subjects, however, were engaging the attention of Hooke and Wilkins at the time—the latter labouring at his 'Universal Character' and the 'Art of Flying;' and the former busily employed in devising methods of 'Telegraphic communications;'—can it be supposed that there existed in such minds a desire to depreciate the labours of others in the same field which they had already occupied, or could the philosopher be jealous of the peer? It certainly is not very intelligible why the Marquess of Worcester should be subject to ridicule for proposing (No. 77.) 'How to make a man to fly;' which, says he, 'I have tried with a little boy of ten years old, in a barn, from one end to the other, on a haymow;' while the 'Discourse' of Bishop Wilkins, concerning the possibility of flying to the moon,

* Yet Hooke announced some of his inventions only in anagrams; one of them is curious with reference to the remarks we shall subsequently make in this paper. The words, when properly arranged, make this sentence, Pondere premit aer vacuum, quod ab igne relictum est. The philosopher had, at least, no great notion of prosodical quantities.

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was to be listened to with all possible gravity. 'It is not perhaps impossible,' says the bishop, 'that a man may be able to flye by the application of wings to his owne body,'—and even if that should fail, he has still a resource—'he may ride upon the Roc (if there be such a bird, as mentioned by Marco Polo, the Venetian,) as Ganymede does upon an eagle;'—and he gravely adds, 'if neither of these ways will serve, yet I do seriously and upon good grounds affirme it possible to make a flying chariot, &c.' Now had the marquess composed a 'Discourse,' as the bishop has done, we have no doubt he would have been able to offer as good arguments for the 'Art of flying,' as any which the learned prelate has left behind him. Certain it is, however, that the marquess, as a philosopher, was in no repute among the cunning men of the time. Even the busy, prying, inquisitive Pepys—watching experiments, just then being exhibited, on building, navigating, and blowing up ships, such as Sir William Petty's double boat, and the German Doctor Knuffler's engine to blow up ships,* with that of another German doctor of the name of Dribble, for the sinking them—takes not the least notice of the 'Century,' which had been recently published. He does not even mention, in his extraordinary 'Diary,' the name of the Marquess, except to tell us that he stood godfather to one of the children of the Duke of York.

Though we are not ignorant with what audacity a hacknied projector will hazard assertions which he well knows he has no means of verifying, yet the rank and station of life held by the projector in question;—the commissions, and the almost unlimited powers, with which he had been invested by the King;—his readiness to surrender a royal patent granted to him, conferring such privileges as were scarcely ever before granted by any sovereign to a subject;—the King's high estimation of him, which his friendly and familiar letters, now published from the originals in the possession of the Beaufort family, evince; forbid us to class him in the list of ordinary projectors; even were we not convinced, as we now are, not only of the practicability of applying, but of the absolute application of many of his inventions, though under other names, to some of the most useful purposes of life. 'We shall leave it,' says Mr. Partington, 'to the public to judge, whether the man who first discovered a mode of applying steam as a mechanical agent, an invention alone sufficient to immortalize

* 'We doubted not,' says Pepys, 'the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us, that when he do come to tell the king his secret, (for none but the kings successively, and their heirs must know it,) it will appear to be of no danger at all.' We believe so—and yet the German humbug has descended in different shapes to our times.

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the age in which he lived, deserves the name of "a fantastic projector."' True it is he was poor; and it is clear, from the act passed in his favour, that his object was, and indeed it is so expressed, 'to enable his heirs, for ninety-nine years, to receive the sole benefit, profit, and advantage, resulting from his "water-commanding engine," '—but his poverty was greatly, if not altogether, occasioned by his and his father's loyalty to two sovereigns, one of whom disowned the acts which he had commissioned him to perform, the other but ill-requited the services he rendered him, and the sufferings he underwent on his account, while an exile from his crown and his kingdom. The patrimony of Ragland was seized by the parliament, while the Marquess was an exile in France, the castle demolished, the timber cut down; and the damage sustained is stated to have been not less than a hundred thousand pounds. He was imprisoned in Ireland by the servants of Charles I. He fled to the continent, came to England on the affairs of Charles II., was discovered and sent to the Tower; was liberated on the Restoration, but totally overlooked by his thoughtless and ungrateful master. If, however, distress or any other cause made the Marquess an impostor, it made him also what was far worse, an impious hypocrite—but we will not believe it—the following prayer breathes such a spirit of genuine and fervent piety, that we will not easily suffer ourselves to be persuaded that it could proceed from the mouth of any but an honest and pious man.

'Oh! infinitely omnipotent God! whose mercies are fathomlesse, and whose knowledge is immense, and inexhaustible: next to my creation and redemption I render thee most humble thanks from the very bottom of my heart and bowels, for thy vouchsafing me (the meanest in understanding) an insight in soe great a secret of nature, beneficent to all mankind, as this my water-commanding engine. Suffer me not to be puffed upp, O Lord, by the knowing of it, and many more rare and unheard off, yea unparalleled inventions, tryals, and experiments.—But humble my haughty heart, by the true knowledge of myne own ignorant, weake, and unworthy nature, proane to all euill; O most mercifull Father my creator, most compassionatting Sonne my redeemer, and Holyest of Spiritts, the sanctifier, three diuine persons, and one God, grant me a further concurring grace with fortitude to take hould of thy goodnesse, to the end that whatever I doe, unanimously and courageously to serve my king and country, to disabuse, rectifie, and convert my vndeserved, yet wilfully incredulous enemyes, to reimburse thankfully my creditors, to reimmunerate my benefactors, to reinhearten my distressed family, and with complacence to gratifie my suffering and confiding friends, may, voyde of vanity or selfe ends, be only directed to thy honour and glory everlasting. Amen.'—p. lxv. lxvi.

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The first suggestion of the steam-engine which we find in the 'Century,' is the point to which, in the present article, we mean chiefly to confine ourselves; referring the reader for more particular information to Mr. Partington's notes on the several 'scantlings,' which may generally be considered satisfactory, though we think he might occasionally have presented his explanations in a more popular form and in clearer language. It is, indeed, sufficiently evident that he understands his subject well; and this is perhaps the very reason why he has not always sufficiently laboured to make himself intelligible to the unlearned. As it is, however, it is an acquisition to the library, and forms, on the whole, an amusing and instructive little volume.

If any doubt should remain as to the Marquess of Worcester being the person, either in this or any other country, who gave the first idea of the steam-engine, or, as Mr. Partington has it, 'suggested nearly all the data essential for the construction of a modern steam-engine,' such doubt must be removed by the perusal of this editor's 'Note' which concludes the volume, and which is given as an illustration of the following four 'Inventions,' Nos. 68, 98, 99, and 100, which are as under:—

No. LXVIII.

'An admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire, not by drawing or sucking it upwards, for that must be, as the philosopher calleth it, *infra sphæram activitatis*, which is but at such a distance. But this way hath no bounder, if the vessels be strong enough; for, I have taken a piece of a whole cannon, whereof the end was burst, and filled it three-quarters full, stopping and screwing up the broken end, as also the touchhole; and making a constant fire under it, within twenty-four hours it burst and made a great crack: so that having found a way to make my vessels, so that they are strengthened by the force within them, and the one to fill after the other, have seen the water run like a constant fountain stream, forty feet high; one vessel of water, rarefied by fire, driveth up forty of cold water: and a man that tends the work is but to turn two cocks, that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force and refill with cold water, and so successively, the fire being tended and kept constant, which the self-same person may likewise abundantly perform in the interim between the necessity of turning the said cocks.'—p. 62, 63.

No. XCVIII.

An engine, so contrived, that working the *primum mobile* forward or backward, upwards or downward, circularly or cornerwise, to and fro, straight, upright or downright, yet the pretended operation continueth and advanceth; none of the motions above mentioned, hindering, much less stopping the other; but unanimously, and with harmony agreeing, they all augment and contribute strength unto the intended work and operation;

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operation; and therefore I call this a *semi-omnipotent engine*, and do intend that a model thereof be buried with me.'—p. 99.

No. XCIX.

'How to make one pound weight to raise an hundred as high as one pound falleth, and yet the hundred pounds descending doth what nothing less than one hundred pounds can effect.'—p. 99.

No. C.

'Upon so potent a help as these two last mentioned inventions, a water-work is, by many years' experience and labour, so advantageously by me contrived, that a child's force bringeth up, an hundred feet high, an incredible quantity of water, even two feet diameter. And I may boldly call it, *the most stupendous work in the whole world*: not only with little charge to drain all sorts of mines, and furnish cities with water, though never so high seated, as well to keep them sweet, running through several streets, and so performing the work of scavengers, as well as furnishing the inhabitants with sufficient water for their private occasions: but likewise supplying the rivers with sufficient to maintain and make navigable from town to town, and for the bettering of lands all the way it runs; with many more advantageous, and yet greater effects of profit, admiration, and consequence: so that deservedly I deem this invention to crown my labours, to reward my expenses, and make my thoughts acquiesce in way of further inventions. This making up the whole Century, and preventing any further trouble to the reader for the present, meaning to leave to posterity a book, wherein, under each of these heads, the means to put in execution and visible trial all and every of these inventions, with the shape and form of all things belonging to them, shall be printed by brass plates.—Besides many omitted, and some of three sorts willingly not set down, as not fit to be divulged, lest ill use may be made thereof, but to show that such things are also within my knowledge, I will here in myne owne cypher sett down one of each, not to be concealed when duty and affection obligeth me.

In bonum publicum, et ad majorem Dei gloriam.'—p. 100, 101.

This intention of leaving to posterity a book does not appear to have been accomplished; nor is there any further explanation on this important point given by the marquess; but there is, in the British Museum, what he calls a 'definition' of this wonder-working engine, which is conceived in more mysterious terms even than those we have quoted from the 'Century.' It is printed on a single sheet, without date, and Mr. Partington thinks it may have been written for the purpose of procuring subscriptions in aid of a water-company, then about to be established. But though no other record remains of this invention, the description contained therein has enabled Professor Millington to design an engine, which, says Mr. Partington, might, with a few alterations, be made available for the purposes recommended by the noble author.

It is as follows:—

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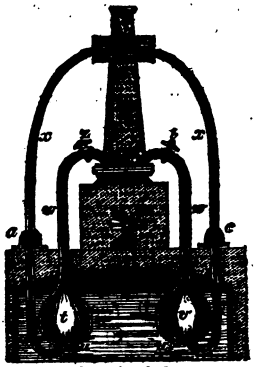

'In this diagram, *q* represents a strong and close vessel or boiler to contain water, set in brick work like a common copper, with a fire-place *r* underneath it, having a chimney *s*. The boiler thus constructed, is intended to afford the means of producing steam: and if we conceive two casks or strong hollow vessels of any form to be placed under the surface of the water, near the boiler, as at *t* and *v*, and that each of these vessels has a valve opening into it in its lower part as *u u*, and two pipes *w w*, proceeding from the upper part of the vessels to the top of the steam boiler *q*, while two other pipes *x x* proceed from the lower parts of these vessels into a cistern *y*, forty feet above the level of the water; an apparatus thus constructed will nearly form the water-commanding engine, for if the vessels *t* and *v* are both filled with water by the valves *u u*, and the cock *z* be opened after the steam has accumulated in the boiler, the elastic fluid thus generated will instantly rush down into the vessel *t*, and when the surface of the water is heated expel the whole of its contents up the pipe *a x*, into the cistern *y*, where it will be retained by a valve opening upwards in any part of that pipe, as at *a*. This done, the cock *z* must be shut, and after permitting the steam to accumulate for a short time, that at *b* must be opened, and the steam will rush into the vessel *v* and perform a similar office, *c* being the valve to prevent the return of the water. When the steam is shut off from the vessel *t*, the elastic fluid which had previously been introduced to expel the water, will be condensed by the cold media round it, and thus a vacuum will be produced in the vessel *t*, consequently a part of the water in which it is immersed will rush into it by the valve *u*, and occupy the whole internal cavity, thus putting it in a state of preparation for a second opening of the cock *z*, by which its contents will be again discharged into the cistern *y*, and so of the two vessels alternately; for while *v* is emptying, *t* will be filling, and vice versâ, which agrees with the marquis's account when he says, "that the man is but to turn two cocks, that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force," &c.'—p. 108.*

It is certainly possible, though we do not conceive it probable, that the marquess might have caught the first hint of the power of steam from the Italian philosopher Brancas, who, as early as 1629, published an account of a machine in which he used steam as a moving power; a work now not easily met with, but from a copy of which, in the possession of Major Colby, of the Engi-

* As an illustration of Lord Worcester's 'scantling,' and as proof that he really had *such* a scheme formed, and digested, Professor Millington's engine is satisfactory enough; but for practical purposes it is obviously defective—the vessels *t* and *v* being placed in a cold medium, the steam from the boiler, upon rushing into them, would condense too rapidly ever to throw the whole, or indeed any very large portion of their contents, into the reservoir.

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neers, Mr. Partington has given a diagram. It is simply a copper vessel with a close cover, bearing the figure of a man's head, in whose mouth is inserted a tube, out of which, as through the spout of a tea-kettle, the steam issues, and being directed against the vanes of an horizontal float-wheel, turns it round, by which motion is given to a pestle and mortar, employed in the alchemist's laboratory. The means, however, employed by the marquess for raising water are so totally different from this æolipile that we do not see how he could possibly have availed himself of Brancas's machine, had he even known it. Besides, we are assured that 'he desired not to set down any other men's inventions;' but if, in any case, he had acted on them, 'to nominate the inventors.' The way in which it is said—but we are not told on what authority—that he first caught the idea of employing steam, was this: while confined in the Tower of London, and preparing some food in his apartment, the cover of the vessel having been closely fitted, was, by the expansion of the steam, suddenly forced off and carried up the chimney. We may consider this, perhaps, to be one of those pretty stories got up, like that of the apple of Sir Isaac Newton, to account, in a familiar way, for the origin of some great discovery.

That others have profited from the hints, vague as they may appear, of the noble marquess, there is abundant testimony. The first on the list was Sir Samuel Morland, a man of some note in his day, not only for his feats in mechanics, but in politics also, having been employed by Cromwell both diplomatically and as under-secretary to Thurloe, and at the same time by Charles II. as a spy, on which account he is termed by Hollis, 'a dexterous hypocrite.' He certainly contrived matters so well as to be pensioned by one party, and to procure a knighthood and a baronetcy from the other; and yet this crafty man, who, from his works, appears to have been somewhat of a scholar, and a great dabbler in the arts and philosophy of the time, afforded, towards the close of his life, a melancholy instance of how little avail philosophy and the sciences may be to their followers, when they quit the line of their pursuits, and engage in the common dealings and occurrences of mankind; he having suffered himself to be entrapped into a second marriage with a low and artful woman, in a way that could scarcely have deceived an idiot.*

It

* His own letter on this subject to Mr. Samuel Pepys will best show what a gudgeon this learned man was.

'About three weeks or a month since, being in very great perplexities, and almost distracted for want of money, my private creditors tormenting me from morning till night, and some of them threatening me with a prison, there came a certain person to me, whom I had relieved in a starving condition, and for whom I had done a thousand

 kindnesses;

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It seems, however, that his expectations from Charles having at length failed him, he had recourse to his skill in hydraulic machines to improve his circumstances; and he prevailed on that monarch, as he tells us, to send him over to the King of France, to carry into execution a scheme he had invented for certain water-works, on which he had expended large sums in England, without being reimbursed even to the extent of his outlay. The scheme was to raise water by the agency of steam; and though the same proposal, almost *verbatim*, was contained in the '*Century*' of the Marquess of Worcester, and published about twenty years before, neither one nor the other seems to have excited the smallest degree of curiosity or attention in England. In 1683, however, Sir Samuel had the honour of exhibiting his discovery before Louis the Fourteenth at St. Germain's. What the effect of the experiment was does not appear, but what its pretensions were, are on record, in the Harleian Collection of MSS. in the British Museum, (No. 5771.) It is written on vellum and richly illuminated, and proves that the source from which Morland drew it was no other than the Century of the Marquess of Worcester.

'Les principes de la nouvelle force de feu; inventée par le Chevalier Morland, l'an 1682, et présentée à sa Majesté très Chrestienne, 1683.

'L'eau éstant évaporée par la force de feu, ces vapeurs demandent incontinent une plus grande espace (environ deux mille fois) que l'eau n'occupoiet auparavant, et plus tost que d'être toujours emprisonnées, feroient crever une pièce de canon. Mais êstant bien gouvernées selon les règles de la statique, et par science réduites à la mesure, au poids, et à la balance, alors elles portent paisiblement leurs fardeaux (comme des bons chevaux) et ainsy seroient-elles du grand usage au genre humain, particulièrement pour l'élévation des eaux selon la Table suivante, qui marque les nombres des liuvres qui pourront êstre levées 1800 fois par heure, à six pouces de levée, par des cylindres à moitié remplies d'eau, aussi bien que les divers diamètres et profondeurs des dits cylindres.'

This is, in fact, almost in the very words of the sixty-eighth

kindnesses; who pretended in gratitude to help me to a wife, who was a very virtuous, pious and sweet dispositioned lady, and an heiress who had £500 per annum in land of inheritance, and £4000 in ready money, with the interest since nine years, besides a mortgage upon £300 per annum more, with plate, jewells, &c. The Devil himself could not contrive more probable circumstances than were layd before me; and when I had often a mind to inquire into the truth, I had no power, believing, for certain reasons, that there were some charms or witchcraft used upon me; and withal believing it utterly impossible that a person so obliged should ever be guilty of so black a deed, as to betray me in so barbarous a manner. Besides that, I really believed it a blessing from heaven for my charity to that person; and I was, about a fortnight since, led as a fool to the stocks, and married a coachman's daughter not worth a shilling, and one who, about nine months since, was brought to bed of a bastard; and thus I am both absolutely ruined in my fortune and reputation, and must become a derision to all the world.' (Pepys Corres. vol. ii. p. 78.)

scantling,

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scantling, what the Marquess of Worcester proposes to do. Sir Samuel Morland was undoubtedly an ingenious mechanic, and is mentioned as such by Evelyn, but at the same time, as the history of his life, written by himself, evinces, a man quite capable of adopting the discoveries of others as his own. But, whatever his engine may have been, the drawing or model of which he says he exhibited to the King of France, there can be little doubt that we are indebted to Captain Savery for having discovered, and first reduced to practice, the power of atmospherical pressure obtained by the *condensation* of steam, whose *expansive force*, it is equally certain, he had previously learned from the 'Century of Inventions;' nor can the merit be refused to him, jointly perhaps with Newcomen, and one John Cawley, a common, or, we should rather say, an uncommon glazier of Dartmouth, of having first combined the two powers and applied them to the steam-engine. Dr. Desaguliers, however, has somewhat ungenerously attempted to rob him of the merits justly due to his important invention. Savery, he says, denied having taken the suggestion from the Marquess of Worcester, and, the better to conceal the matter, bought up every copy of the marquess's book that he could find in Paternoster Row and elsewhere, and burned them in the presence of the gentleman who gave the doctor his information. This would certainly have been, to use Lord Orford's expression, 'an amazing piece of folly,' for the marquess's book was perfectly well known at that time. But the doctor further accuses him of having invented the following story to make people believe that he found out the power of steam by chance—if so, it was, to say the least of it, taking a wrong way to enhance the merit of the discovery:—Having drunk a bottle of Florence wine, and thrown the empty flask upon the fire, he observed that the small quantity of wine left in the bottom had filled the flask with steam. Taking it in his hand he placed the neck in a basin of cold water, when he observed the water to rush into the flask, being driven up by the pressure of the air. This, he says, is Savery's account of the matter; there is a copy of Savery's book in the British Museum; the title of it is, The Miner's Friend, or an Engine to raise Water by Fire described, &c.; and certainly in this book the author relates no such story, nor indeed gives any account of the manner of his invention. However Desaguliers learned the anecdote, and whether, in fact, if Savery ever told it, it be true or false, it is quite clear that there is nothing in it which he could have taken from the Marquess of Worcester, that applies to the *condensation* of steam, and therefore, it was not necessary for him on that account to invent the story. But when Desaguliers further asserts, that Savery never made such an experiment either

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either then or afterwards, and gives the following as the proof of his assertion, we cannot hesitate to say that he lays himself open to the charge of having drawn a rash, unphilosophical, and unwarrantable conclusion. 'I made,' says he, 'the experiment purposely, with about half a glass of wine in a flask, which I laid upon the fire till it boiled into steam; then putting on a thick glove to prevent the neck of the flask from burning me, I plunged the mouth of the flask under the water that filled a basin, but the pressure of the atmosphere was so strong, that it beat the flask out of my hand with violence, and threw it up to the ceiling,'—and this he says *must* have happened to Captain Savery, had he ever made the experiment, who would not have omitted so admirable an embellishment to his story!—an inference just about as conclusive as if he were to say that, having witnessed the bursting of the boiler of a high-pressure steam-engine, the boiler of every steam-engine *must* necessarily burst.

It may safely be concluded, we think, from the total silence in the course of these discussions between Savery and Desaguliers, respecting the pretended discoveries of Sir Samuel Morland, that they ended in smoke; and that, though in fact he could raise water by different kinds of pumps, he never practically effected it by means of steam.

The French have set up pretensions to the discovery of the steam-engine, as they have also done to that of steam-vessels,* and their claim to both stands pretty nearly on equally untenable grounds. The invention of the engine is by them ascribed to M. Papin, who, when in London in 1680, produced his *digester*, in which he dissolved bones by incarcerating the steam and increasing the heat by preventing evaporation. It was eighteen years after this, before he was employed by the Landgrave of Hesse to raise water by the expansive power of steam; and his experiments were conducted on the principle described by the Marquess of Worcester, in which he had very little success, until he had received from Leibnitz, then in England, a draft of Captain Savery's engine. The account of Papin's experiments was not published till 1707, nine years after Savery's engine had been completed and a patent obtained for it, bearing date July, 1698. Papin therefore cannot have the slightest pretensions to this important discovery.

Next to the article on the steam-engine, Mr. Partington has bestowed most labour on his 'Note' upon No. 32.—'How to compose an Universal Character;' but Wilkins, Bacon, Becker, and

* We have shown that Jonathan Hulls was unquestionably the discoverer of the mode of applying the steam-engine to boats. See Vol. XIX. p. 354.

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so many others have treated on this subject, that little new is likely to be said upon it. His note on Telegraphs, (Nos. 6. and 7.) is meagre; and the ship-destroying engine (Nos. 9. and 10.) might have been extended beyond the torpedos of Fulton and Buonaparte.

There is nothing very wonderful in the various methods of 'secret writing' suggested by the Marquess, nor in his 'significant seals and cyphers,' most of which are, at best, but *difficiles nugæ*. To signify words and hold discourse by the 'jangling of parish bells' would be as easy as it is useless. The wonderful wheel described in No. 56, which is, as the Marquess says, 'a most incredible thing, if not seen, but tried before the late king of happy memory, in the Tower, by my directions,' is an attempt at what has been tried by thousands, and which will yet be tried by thousands more. The failure of such a number will not deter others from wasting their time and substance to no purpose in the discovery of a *perpetual motion*—a property the power of which is vested solely in the Great Author of the universe, and exists only, as far as we know, in the arangement of the planetary system. No charge of quackery, however, can fairly be laid against the Marquess on this score, as the wisest men of his time, and both before and after him, have split upon the same rock. Now at last, however, the squaring of the circle, the finding of the longitude, and the discovery of perpetual motion are the stumbling-blocks mostly of feeble minds, set in action by that dangerous thing, 'a little learning.'

Of the eight or nine different suggestions for discharging balls out of pistols, carabines, muskets, harquebusses, sakers, musquetoons, &c., however ingenious they may have been considered in the seventeenth century, there is not now a gunsmith in the kingdom that would not outdo all on the principle of a common magazine pistol. The 'brazen head' of the marquess, (No. 88.) which, 'though a man speak never so softly, and even whispers into the ear thereof, will presently open its mouth, and resolve the question in French, Latin, Welsh, Irish or English, in good terms,' is explained by Mr. Partington by a description of the invention of the 'Invisible Girl,' the secret of which he unfolds in a clear and satisfactory manner.

The 'Artificial Horse' (No. 91.) is another automaton, which, like those of Vaucanson, Kempelen and Maelzel, is a most ingenious piece of mechanism; but such trifles are neither worth the labour and time expended in their construction, nor possess the least degree of interest from the moment that their secret is explained; and we know of none that has not been explained, except that of the chess-player, which, though now at least of fifty years standing,

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ing, is, we believe, as little understood as when first invented. Yet when it was originally brought over to England, Maelzel told Sir Joseph Banks that it would soon be discovered, and that whenever this took place, men would be surprized that they had so long been kept in ignorance of the principles of a machine of such extreme simplicity.

There are a few, but not many, of the 'scantlings' which may justify Lord Orford's ill-natured remark—for instance, No. 25. which runs thus:—'How to make a weight that cannot take up an hundred pounds, and yet shall take up two hundred pounds, and at the self-same distance from the centre; and so on, proportionably, to millions of pounds.' This is, at least, in its present state unintelligible. It is, as Mr. Partington observes, 'paradoxical,' and so completely contrary to every established principle or rule in science, that we may fairly set it down among the number of those inventions which, by partaking so highly of the marvellous, have contributed to bring the whole 'Century' into disrepute. Mr. Partington's little volume will, however, prevent this; and we hope it may be the means of stimulating some other ingenious mechanic to favour the world with a more copious commentary on an author who, small as his work is, ought not to be considered as undeserving a niche in the chamber of the temple of British literature consecrated to scientific discoveries.

ART. VI.—1. *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, &c.* By H. Brougham, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. 19th Edition. London. 1825.

2. *Mechanics' Magazine.*

3. *Wilderspin on the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor.* London. 1824.

4. *A Reply to Mr. Brougham's Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, addressed to the Working Classes and their Employers.* By E. W. Grinfield, M.A. Minister of Laura Chapel, Bath. London. 1825.

WE are living in a singular if not a critical state of things; with almost universal peace abroad, and a more than common contentment at home, engines of great power, for good or for ill, are set in action, and there is a general stir through all the elements of society; the whole appearance of things affords room for much reflection; but no reflection, we think, can enable any man to foresee the end of them. We at least, notwithstanding the proverbial hardihood of our craft, will venture to predict nothing, without the qualifying clause, *quicquid dicam, aut erit, aut non.* In the

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the meanwhile, however, if we try to form an opinion of rising plans by their apparent merits as dispassionately and collectedly as we can, adhering to general principles, and fearing neither the reproach of liberalism on the one hand, or of bigotry on the other, we may perhaps, without aspiring to be prophets, arrive at some conclusions not without their practical use to the public as well as to ourselves.

In the year 1800, Dr. Birkbeck, at that time professor in the Anderson College at Glasgow, announced a course of lectures on natural philosophy and its application to the arts, for the instruction of mechanics.

'I had frequent opportunities,' he says, 'of observing the intelligent curiosity of the "unwashed artificers," to whose mechanical skill I was often obliged to have recourse; and on one occasion, in particular, my attention was arrested by the inquisitive countenances of a circle of operatives, who had crowded round a somewhat curious piece of mechanism, which had been constructed in their workshop. I beheld, through every disadvantage of circumstances and appearance, such strong indications of the existence of the unquenchable spirit, and such emanations from the "heaven-lighted lamp in man,"' (why, in the name of common sense, should plain truths require these holiday flowers of speech?) 'that the question was forced upon me,—why are these minds left without the means of obtaining that knowledge which they so ardently desire; and why are the avenues to science barred against them, because they are poor? It was impossible not to determine that the obstacle should be removed; and I therefore resolved to offer them a course of elementary philosophical lectures. For three successive seasons I had the satisfaction of lecturing to 500 mechanics; and an audience more orderly, attentive, and apparently comprehending, I never witnessed.'—*Mechanics' Magazine*, vol. i.

Twenty years elapsed before this idea was followed up; but in 1821, a few gentlemen at Edinburgh, who were disposed to encourage the experiment, 'circulated a prospectus among the mechanics, announcing the commencement of a course of lectures on mechanics, and another on chemistry, with the opening of a library of books on the same subject, for perusal at home as well as in the room; the hours of lecture to be from eight to nine in the evening, twice a week for six months; and the terms of admission to both lectures and library fifteen shillings a year.' 'When 400 mechanics had purchased tickets, the two courses of lectures were delivered by Dr. Forbes and Mr. Galbraith; with the addition of one on architecture and one on farriery, and of a class for architectural and mechanical drawing during the summer recess.'*

In 1822, the editors of the Mechanics' Magazine invited the attention of their readers to these institutions.

* Practical Observations, p. 19.

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'We are desirous,' they say, 'of seeing a London Mechanics' Institute established by the mechanics of the metropolis themselves. It is so obvious that it will be for the interest of the mechanics, if, instead of assembling at a pot-house in an evening, besotting themselves with the fumes of tobacco and draughts of porter, stupifying their minds and bringing disease on their bodies, rendering themselves more abject than the circumstances of society, which are painful enough, will render them; we say it would be so much for their interest, if they were to meet in large and well-aired rooms, and endeavour to acquire a knowledge at a cheap rate of the elements of science; that we do not doubt their ultimately, and of themselves, establishing the London Mechanics' Institute.'

The formation of a society soon followed this address; and in the course of the year 1824, as we learn from Mr. Brougham's pamphlet, lectures were delivered by Mr. Phillips on chemistry, Mr. Dotchin on geometry, Dr. Birkbeck on hydrostatics, Mr. Cooper on the application of chemistry to the arts, Mr. Newton on astronomy, Mr. Tatum on electricity, and Mr. Black *on the French language*, to great and increasing numbers of workmen. About a thousand now belong to the Institution, and pay twenty shillings a year.*

Similar institutions are at the present time established, or on the point of being established, in almost every town in England whose population reaches 10,000, and in some of much smaller numbers. Publications intended for the use of mechanics, and unintelligible without some knowledge of natural philosophy and mathematics, have a wide and increasing circulation. Every thing indicates a growing spirit of inquiry, an increased desire, and with it an increased power of acquiring knowledge. What Mr. Coleridge has said in a deeper sense of all orders of created beings may be applied to the lower orders of our population; 'All things strive to ascend and ascend in their striving.'†

What will be the effect of this movement on the surface of society? As might have been expected, it has given occasion for much dispute, and various anticipations: and while some have hailed the appearance as the commencement of a glorious æra, to be distinguished by the triumph and universal empire of MIND, others consider it as a portentous cloud in the political horizon, big with sedition and trouble. We are inclined to treat both these opinions as greatly overcharged: we neither expect a golden, nor dread the approach of an iron age; we think that both the probable benefits and the probable dangers of these associations have been alike exaggerated.

If, indeed, we were to regard only the foolish and intemperate

* Practical Observations, p. 21. † Aids to Reflection, p. 112.

language

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language attributed not merely to the mechanics themselves, but their more blamable patrons, at public meetings and tavern dinners, we should undoubtedly see good cause for the alarm which many persons have expressed, whose judgments we respect, and the purity of whose intentions admits of no reasonable doubt. But a great measure of this kind ought not to be so judged: some allowance must in reason be made for the vapouring of uncultivated men, who, in a moment of exaltation, naturally declaim upon the most easy of all subjects, the faults of their superiors, and the existing inequalities of society; these are the appropriate and prescriptive themes of vulgar minds; and if this be done with coarseness of allusion, and intemperance of language, it is no more than might have been anticipated. What is said at such a time ought not to be taken as an accurate measure of the deliberate feelings even of the orators themselves, still less of those who listen to, and applaud them. And even if it might be so taken, it would remain to be proved, as we shall presently see, that these feelings are attributable to the institutions in question, or will be fostered, or brought into action by them.

Much, undoubtedly, of the alarm which these institutions have occasioned, and of the opposition they have experienced, is to be attributed to the patronage and advocacy of the gentleman whose Practical Observations are at the head of our paper. It is his singular infelicity to prejudice every cause which he undertakes to advance:—with all the zeal, industry and pertinacity,—all the power of labour, endurance and privation, mental and bodily,—all the self-confidence and versatility which Sallust attributes to his hero, and far more than all his talent, information and eloquence, he is yet confessedly the most unfit of all distinguished public men of the present age to lead a party, or to conduct the struggle for any great and opposed measure. By some remarkable ingredient in his character, he is morally sure to cool the ardour of friends, and to import division into their counsels; to invigorate and concentrate the opposition of enemies, and to fill their ranks with determined recruits from all who were at first only timid, suspicious or neutral. And no wonder—to conciliate by unimportant concession, to re-assure by patient explanation, to reason with his adversary as an honest and sensible, though mistaken man; these are methods of advancing his cause which he either disdains or knows not how to use: the weapons of his argumentation, so familiar in use as to seem almost natural to the user, are, commiseration of besotted ignorance, sarcasm on interested motives, assumption of measureless superiority. It would be strange indeed in the infirmity of our nature if this did not make cold followers out of zealous co-operators, and

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and turn opponents in argument into personal enemies. Mr. Brougham has been so long, and so frequently a public speaker, and is gifted with such real power both of reasoning and eloquence, that it would be wrong to suppose him actuated by the pitiful desire of pointing periods for the momentary applause, without the real approbation of his hearers. But it is extraordinary, that in fact every thing, which in his sober judgment he must think most important, is sacrificed to the effect of an instant. No matter how deep the wound in others, or how bitter and lasting the regret to himself; all private feelings, all public considerations, the force of his argument, the success of the cause for which he pleads, and the interest of his party, seem to weigh but as a feather against the indulgence of this unhappy vein. Looking, as we do, with much interest upon some of the schemes to which Mr. Brougham is devoted, we see, with no unfriendly exultation, but with great regret, this capital defect in his composition as a public man. It is not, however, because a particular individual advocates a measure, and imputes bigotry, selfishness, or ignorance to those who oppose it; it is not because they who should know better, suffer or encourage improper language in others, or disseminate improper opinions themselves; it is not because they would (if they would; of which we have no proof, and which, without strong proof, we ought not to impute) pervert these institutions to improper purposes; that the thing itself is necessarily to be opposed, or consequences, which may arise from independent causes, to be attributed to it. The measure itself should be quietly canvassed—the balance of good and evil resulting from it weighed, both in respect of quantity and probability—it should be seen how much of both is necessarily inherent, how much contingent, and how much capable of being produced or averted by discreet and honest management.

Mr. Brougham, in his Practical Observations on the Education of the People, points out three methods in which the instruction of mechanics may be carried on; cheap publications on scientific objects; societies for promoting conversation; and the institution of lectures.

The two last of these proposed methods evidently require regular meetings; and these regular meetings, whether for conversations or lectures, are contemplated with suspicion. Men who come together, professedly to discuss the mystery of their own craft, may digress into the mystery of politics, or the more serious mysteries of religion; and a public lecturer, who is so inclined, will find no difficulty in insinuating, together with his geometry or chemistry, the elements of infidelity and sedition.

To deny the possibility of this, would be to argue in the face of known and lamentable facts; and perhaps with recent examples before

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before our eyes, we shall not be thought warranted in considering it as improbable. Things however which may be possible and even easy, are not always actually done: we have no right, and we should be unwise, to impute to these lecturers *as a class* the desire to propagate dangerous opinions; and we cannot but think it probable that the publicity which must attend a lecture-room, and a salutary fear of general opinion, even in the absence of better and higher safeguards, may prove sufficient guarantees against any such abuse of opportunity.

But the great thing to be considered is, that mechanics' institutes are not necessary to enable men to combine, nor accredited lecturers to mislead them. Every one knows, and with reasonable alarm, that there is scarcely a trade in the whole country which has not its union, its committee, its club, its benefit society, or some other means of carrying a common resolution and a complete combination into effect. The evidence given before committees of the House of Commons, during the two last sessions, proved a system of organization which no new measures can possibly render more powerful or universal. And if organization may exist, independent of allowed or stated meetings, so also may *lectures* of the most pernicious kind. The oracle of an alehouse, the president of a club may retail the contents of a blasphemous treatise or factious newspaper with far more effect than can ever be produced by the disputation of a reading-room, or the insinuations of the most artful lecturer, who has not entirely lost caste in society.

In truth, the occasion of the evil is mistaken, and the blame is laid at the wrong door. People are aware of these extensive combinations, and hear of mischievous tracts widely disseminated; and they compare the careless, vacant, uninquiring clown of fifty years ago, with the busy, restless politician of the present day: they think the change is for the worse, and impute that change to EDUCATION. Many fall into this error who have no wish or intention to check its progress, but who still believe that danger attends its course, and evil follows in its train.

Education, however, has nothing to do with this alteration of character; happily it has accompanied it, and affords the means of a corrective. We must accuse the progress of wealth, the increase and condensation of population, the facilities of loco-motion, the quick circulation of intelligence. We must accuse commerce, manufactures, steam-boats, stage-coaches, newspapers: these are the real cause of the change in the community. Let those who entertain a doubt upon this point compare the different parts of the same country; let them compare the manufacturing with the agricultural counties; let them compare the towns even of the

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same county with its villages; or let them compare a retired village, which has little intercourse beyond its nearest market, with a village on some high road; and they will soon perceive in what the difference of character really originates. Is it that schools have place in towns and manufactories, and are excluded from the villages? No: we have yet to learn that manufactories are favourable to learning; and, thanks to the exertions of our clergy, schools are in operation in the village no less than in the town, and in the retired village no less than in the thoroughfare: and a larger proportion of the whole population will be included in the school of the village, and fewer will be grossly ignorant. If then education were the mischief-worker, it would be equally mischievous in both situations; and yet in the one will be too often found, it is to be feared, a leaven, more or less pervasive, of discontent and restlessness; in the other, a spirit content to go forward in the beaten path; or if querulous, complaining only of the unequal administration of laws designed to relieve, but practically creating distress.

Besides, has it been remembered how small a measure of education is required, in order that the ignorant may be misled, or truth perverted? Suppose but a single publisher, determined upon gain and not scrupulous of the means, with talent enough at his command to calumniate religion and the laws; suppose but a single person among fifty of those who frequent the resorts of low debauchery, active enough in a bad cause to retail the dose of weekly or monthly poison to the audience around him; and without going further, without attempting to trace the ramification of the evil, a thousand copies of a single publication, regularly administered through such channels, are sufficient to confuse the sense of religion and social right and wrong in fifty thousand of our countrymen. And shall we attribute this to education? No more education is necessary than that one man in fifty should be able to read with fluency; the more ignorant the audience, the better will the lecturer succeed.

We must refer, then, to the state of society as the cause of corruption, if the minds of the people are corrupted: a state which collects numbers together, gives them the opportunity of wasting their leisure and their earnings at the haunts of vulgar dissipation, and facilitates the diffusion of periodical sedition from one corner of the kingdom to the other.

'Hinc labor ille domûs, et inextricabilis error.'

Certainly, therefore, we are inclined rather to hope for good than to anticipate evil, from any new objects of interest which may tend to withdraw men out of the seminaries of depravity, and engage

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engage them in better things. These institutes are an experiment of this kind; on the success of which we dare not be enthusiastic, and yet are not willing to speak the language of discouragement. We are told indeed, and truly told, that the best place for a workman whose daily labour has been discharged, is the bosom of his family, his own fireside. And if we believed that the practical effect of these lectures would be to detach men from their homes and break up their domestic comforts, we should deem the argument against them insuperable. But it is notorious that the habits of these workmen are not generally domestic. Their 'sweet colloquial pleasures are but few.' They have hitherto sought for relaxation abroad, and taken it mixed with moral poison. Whatever tends to elevate the man will be a boon to the family. We apprehend no petitions against the institutes from wives or children.

The magazine from which we have before cited, contains so gratifying an illustration of the improvement of character which may possibly result from these institutions, that we shall give it to our readers in the words of a letter from Mr. Bannatyne.

'The Gas-Light Chartered Company of this city (Glasgow) employ constantly between sixty and seventy men in their works. Twelve of these are mechanics, and the remainder furnace-men and common labourers of different descriptions, forming altogether a community not very promising as a body to be incited to adopt measures for their own intellectual improvement.

'A little more than three years ago, our manager at the works, Mr. James B. Nelson, proposed to these men to contribute each a small sum monthly, to be laid out in books to form a library for their common use; and he informed them that if they agreed to do this, the Company would give them a room to keep the books in, which should be heated and lighted for them in winter, and in which they might meet every evening to read and converse, in place of going to the alehouse, as many of them had been in the practice of doing. That the Company would further give them a present of five guineas to set out with; and that the management of the funds, library, and every thing connected with the measure should be entrusted to a committee of themselves, to be named and renewed by them at certain fixed periods.

'With a good deal of persuasion Mr. Nelson got fourteen of them to agree to the plan, and a commencement was thus made. For the first two years, until it could be ascertained that the members would have a proper care of the books, it was agreed that they should not take them out of the reading-room, but that they should meet there every evening to peruse them. After this period, however, the members were allowed to *take the books home;* and *last year they met only twice a week at the reading-room* to change them, and converse on what they had been reading. The increase of the number of subscribers to the library was at first very slow, and at the end of the second year, the whole did not

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amount to thirty. But from conversing with one another twice a week at the library upon the acquisitions they had been making, a taste for science and a desire for information began to spread among them.

'They had a little before this time got an atlas, which, they say, led them to think of purchasing a pair of globes; and one from among themselves, Alexander Anderson, by trade a joiner, who had had the advantage of attending two courses of the lectures in the Andersonian Institution, volunteered, about the beginning of last winter, to explain, on the Monday evenings, the use of the globes. Finding himself succeed in doing this, he offered to give them, on the Thursday evenings, an account of some of the principles and processes in mechanics and chemistry, accompanied with a few experiments. This he effected with a simplicity of illustration and usefulness of purpose that was delightful. He next, and while this was going on, undertook, along with another of the workmen, to attend in the reading-room during the other evenings of the week, and teach such of the members, as chose, arithmetic.

'For the business of the present season, the members of the society (who conduct every thing themselves) have made a new arrangement. The individuals of the committee have come under an agreement to give in rotation a lecture, either in chemistry or mechanics, every Thursday evening; taking Murray for their text-book in the one, and Ferguson in the other. They intimate, a fortnight before, to the person whose turn it is, that he is to lecture from such a page to such a page of one of these authors. He has, in consequence, then fourteen days to make himself acquainted with his subject, and he is authorised to claim, during that period, the assistance of every member of the society in preparing the chemical experiments, or making the little models of machines required for illustrating his discourse.

'The effect of all that I have been relating has been most beneficial to the general character and happiness of these individuals; and we may readily conceive what a valuable part of the community they are likely to become, and what the state of the whole of our manufacturing population would be, if the people employed in every large work were enabled to adopt similar measures.

'The Gas-Light Company, seeing the beneficial consequences resulting from the instruction of their work people, have fitted up for them, this winter, a more commodious room to meet in for their lectures, with a small laboratory and workshop attached to it, where they can conduct their experiments and prepare the models to be used in the lectures. The men last year made for themselves an air-pump and an electrifying machine, and some of them are constantly engaged during their spare hours in the laboratory and workshop.

'The whole of the workmen, with the exception of about fifteen, have now become members of the society; and these have been standing out on the plea that they cannot read; they are chiefly men from the remote parts of the Highlands or from Ireland: but the others say to them, "Join us, and we shall teach you to read;" and I have no doubt of their persuading them to do so.

'The rules of the society, which have been framed by the members themselves,

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themselves, are simple and judicious. Every person, on becoming a member, pays *7s. 6d.* entry money. This sum is taken from him by instalments, and is paid back to him should he leave the gas-works, or to his family or heirs, should he die. Besides this entrance money, each member contributes three half-pence weekly, two-thirds of which, by a rule made this year, go to the library, and one-third to the use of the laboratory and workshop. By a rule made at the same time, which I think a curious indication of the state of feeling produced in these men in the short period since the commencement of the society, the members may bring to the lectures any of their sons who are above seven and under twenty-one years of age.

'The books now amount to above three hundred volumes, and consist of elementary works of science, and of history, voyages, and travels; some of the standard poets, a few of our best novels, and Shakspeare's works. The selection of the books purchased by the library funds is, in general, creditable to the members of the society. They admit no books on religion. The members say that there are among them men of a variety of persuasions—Presbyterians, Seceders, Methodists, Church of England men, and Roman Catholics; each of whom would be for introducing books connected with their particular opinions, and thus give occasion to endless unprofitable disputes.'—*Mechanics' Mag.* iii. p. 263.

This is undoubtedly a remarkable statement. It suggests obviously how very much must depend upon the books which are introduced into these new libraries. Persons who are only beginning to learn cannot be expected to have the information requisite for the selection. Here therefore an honorary committee might interpose with advantage: they would probably have made a better choice for the gas-light workmen at Glasgow. A zealot will, perhaps, observe upon this, that we are afraid of free discussion and liberal principles. But what we are afraid of is, *a little knowledge*, which we have always understood to be a dangerous thing; and still more we dread unsound and unprincipled views. We deprecate, for all orders, the higher as well as the lower, the receiving misrepresentation for truth, and fancying themselves informed when they are worse than ignorant. How much better, for example, is it not to know that there ever were Romans or Athenians, than to be taught, as a paper circulated among the lower classes proposes to teach, '*the wonders performed by the radicals of ancient times.* The radicals of Athens held up their hands, and decided by a majority on every important measure of peace and war. The radicals of Rome assembled in the forum,'—&c. &c. The readers of this author will never learn from him how three-fourths at least of the inhabitants of these *free* countries were employed while the radicals *were holding up their hands.* He has forgotten to state that they were SLAVES.

Mr. Brougham agrees with us on the importance of this point;

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for he regrets, speaking of Hume's History, that 'any edition of this popular work should come to be printed *without notes*, to warn the reader of the author's partiality when moved by the interest of civil and ecclesiastical controversy, and his careless and fanciful narrative when occupied with other events.' This seems tantamount to condemning the work altogether, a sentence in which we readily concur, having long thought it one with which neither youth nor ignorance ought ever to be trusted. No commentary can obviate the effect of that heartless and sneering levity with which religious subjects and religious men are treated throughout the history.

But though we are afraid of falsehood professing to be truth, we have no apprehension of real history; because we are convinced, that real history will show that no country has ever enjoyed more prosperity, and no people more useful liberty than are at present the blessed lot of Great Britain. We should not be afraid of politics, sound and impartial politics, if it were possible that the mass of the people could ever be instructed in them; on the contrary, we heartily wish that every individual in the country had a more just acquaintance with them than they can derive from Wooller or Cobbett, and fairly understand what is, and what is not, in the power of government. Nothing would contribute more to render them quiet and contented members of the state. But certainly we dread their being told, that if they are ignorant, government is in fault which has not taught them; if they are profligate, government is to blame for putting temptations in their way; if they are ill paid, government is the cause by its unwise regulations. Certain popular writers often remind us of Tertullian's too just complaint: Si Tiberis ascendit ad mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues—statim *Christianos ad leonem.*

No. So far are we from grudging the people information on these points, that we regret the obstacles which exist in the way of their attaining it; from the want, at present, of familiar treatises to instruct them, and from their own inadequate leisure. It would be a real blessing if the working classes could be made acquainted with some of the fundamental principles of Political Economy; such as the laws of population; the causes of the inequality of mankind; the circumstances which regulate the market of corn, or the market of labour. They would then perceive that inequality does not originate in the encroachments of the rich or the enactments of the powerful, but has been necessarily coeval with society itself in all its stages; they would learn that the recompense of labour is governed by definite principles, and must be determined, on the whole, by the number of candidates for employ. We sincerely

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sincerely wish them to understand these things fully, and are grateful for any measures which may tend to diffuse such knowledge. The perplexity, which the system of poor laws has introduced in England, makes a subject, never very simple, doubly intricate; and has practically tended to involve domestic economy with public government, and to connect the idea of private distress with the administration of the laws. He would do the state good service, who would put these matters into a popular intelligible form; and the knowledge thus disseminated would be an excellent preliminary to a measure never to be lost sight of, the gradual abolition of some of those objectionable parts of the poor laws, which are equally condemned by reason and experience, and by which no one is ultimately more aggrieved than the operative workman himself.

After saying all this, shall we seem inconsistent in expressing less confidence of the effects of these institutions than the most sanguine of their supporters? At least we ought to give our reasons. And our reasons are, that we find these lectures on natural philosophy, and these books on science, treated by their advocates as *the education of the people:* whereas, in fact, these are but a part of education, and comparatively an unimportant part; i. e. a part that may be better spared than some other acquirements of which no mention is made. The man may have attained a knowledge of geometry or chemistry surprizing in his station; but if he has attained nothing else, he is very far from being trained up to be a happy man, or a good citizen. These arts *perish in the using;* man returns to his dust, and then all his thoughts perish: we wish to see him possessed of thoughts which shall not so perish. He is an heir of immortality; we wish to see him disciplined for an eternal existence, and instructed in something beyond the wisdom of the world. We desire him to live as a good Christian; and to prove himself such, by loyalty as a subject, by uprightness as a member of society, by tenderness and fidelity in all his relations as a husband and a father of a family. And we shall be sorry to see any thing considered as education, which does not tend to create and cherish these qualities in the people:*

But, we shall be told, that if these lectures do not teach religion, which is no part of the business of Dr. Birkbeck or his coadju-

* Mr. Brougham will smile if we confess, that we are not very favourably impressed by a slight circumstance, which he regards with much pleasure, 'that temporary accommodation for the London Institution was provided at the chapel in Monkwell Street, formerly Dr. Lindsey's; and if upon such a subject we might make any account of omens, surely a scheme for the improvement of mankind could not be commenced under more *unhappy* auspices than in the place once occupied by that rash and inconsistent misinterpreter of Scripture.'—(*Prac. Observ.* p. 21).

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tors, they do not unteach it; while the habits of attention and sobriety, and the general elevation of mind which may be thus promoted, will be favourable to the mechanic's character, and dispose his mind towards religion. We are willing to believe this. We are aware that there is no barrier against religion so strong as that opposed to it by personal habits of vice and the recklessness which grows out of them; and that, when a man is in any way raised above these, a most important step has been gained. We grant that religious instruction, as it is not the aim, so neither is it the concern of the teachers, or other promoters of this scheme. Still it is their duty, if not to teach religious principles, to keep in view that there are such principles, and that they are all important; and, that what a man is in relation to his Creator, is the only thing which will signify at the last. Philosophy may be so taught, as to become subservient to the highest purposes of religion; and it may be so taught, as to convince the hearers that it is every thing in itself, even without saying so in express words. A favourite science may be so exalted, and advancement in it may be treated as of such paramount importance, that it shall appear to be the only object worth living for. And in various declamatory speeches in which we have heard these institutions panegyrized, we certainly find it assumed, that the purposes for which they are formed are the highest purposes; the chief end of man: and that if their object is attained, the man *is made*.

Here probably we shall be thought to show the cloven foot not so much of bigotry as of the policy which would make religion subservient to its own purposes. Why may we not as justly complain, it will be asked, of any of our great philosophical or literary societies, that they have no religious tendency? Why must religion be mixed up with every thing in which the *lower* classes are concerned any more than with the higher?

In answer to this, let us first say, that our observations are not applied exclusively to the lower orders; every mode of instruction, for whomsoever intended, which so teaches learning, science or art, as to make them seem all in all, and fails to connect them with the higher object of all education, the fitting man for his ultimate destiny, we consider to be both incomplete and pernicious. But the reason for pressing this remark at this time, and on this occasion, is plain—that the short intervals of leisure afforded to the lower orders, give them less opportunity for variety of pursuits and diversity of attainments than their superiors enjoy; and therefore it is far more important to occupy that leisure in matters indispensable.

And this suggests another consideration, which not only prevents our looking forward with any very sanguine hope to the expected regeneration of society by means of these institutions, but detracts much

much from the positive good which might be anticipated from them even to the individuals who are within their reach. Not merely their profitableness, but their harmlessness in some measure depends upon their universality; what may be innocent or beneficial if it extends to all, may, by possibility, be very pernicious if it reaches only to a few. But it is clear that an infinitely small proportion of the class, for which they are designed, can have time to take advantage of them. Look at the case of the workmen in our manufactories. Their circumstances are detailed, in a feeling manner, by the letter of a Cotton Spinner in a recent number of the Mechanics' Magazine.

'It is notorious, in the cotton manufacturing districts, that persons therein employed are confined in an atmosphere polluted by their own respiration, by effluvia from their own bodies, and by impurities thrown off from the cotton and floating about in the room. In this situation, so little calculated for much bodily exertion, the spinners are kept in a state of continued activity, which necessarily produces fatigue; and, by daily repetition, this fatigue becomes excessive, and the vigour of the body is gradually exhausted; hence, debility, coughs, hoarseness, affections of the lungs, asthmas, consumptions, and rheumatic complaints, are so common, that it is remarkable to see a person working in a factory who does not labour under one or more of the above disorders. Callous must that man's heart be who can contemplate such scenes of human suffering and misery, and behold the spinner exerting himself, beyond his natural strength, from five in the morning till eight at night, and in some factories in this town and neighbourhood, as also at Low Moor, near Clithero, till nine at night. To see him not only so degraded as to work like a horse, but eating his meals like one! snatching a bite and a sup of his meals at intervals from the floor, or a board fixed at his wheels to hold his scanty allowance, as he runs from one wheel to the other, half naked, and reeking with perspiration! I say, callous indeed must that man's heart be who can contemplate such scenes with a stoical indifference. The benevolent and humane will shudder on contemplating the wretched and humiliating manner that the piecers are treated;—compelled to be unremittingly assiduous in their attention to their work—to eat their meals when cold and covered with dust, &c. for three or four days in the week—required to assist the spinners in cleaning the machinery during the intervals allowed for dinner time, and, in most factories, not allowed a spare moment to go to their breakfast.

'Equally injurious, pernicious, and baneful, are the effects of this system on the morals of persons labouring under the aforesaid tyrannical yoke and present insufferable barriers to intellectual improvement! For how can it be expected that a man, after labouring incessantly fourteen or fifteen hours, with the exception of the intervals allowed for meals, can be in a capacity to spend any time in reading and writing, or endeavouring to acquire a knowledge of any of the useful sciences? Even allowing that he is able to read, and has the means in his power for self-cultivation, it is an axiom generally (perhaps universally) admitted, that the

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the mind is so intimately connected with the body that one cannot suffer, but the other feels; therefore, when the man gets home at night, after he has eaten his supper, his body is so fatigued that he is overcome with drowsiness, all the powers of his mind lay dormant, and he feels inclined for nothing but tired Nature's kind restorative—balmy sleep.

'But, from experience and observation, I have every reason to believe there is not one in ten that can read tolerably, nor one in fifty that ever makes any proficiency in writing and arithmetic. Indeed, how can it be expected, when it is considered that, before the passing of Sir Robert Peel's Bill, in 1819, they commenced working at the factories before they were six years of age, and the major part before they were nine years, as was proved in evidence.

'And even now, even since that beneficial and solitary Act began to operate, many children, to my certain knowledge, do commence working in the factory before they are six years of age. Their parents not being able to keep them at home longer, on account of wages being so low, assert that the child is above nine years of age, in order to get them employed; and though, in most cases, a reference to the register for a certificate of baptism would prove that assertion to be false, the master or foreman is satisfied, and does not scruple to employ them.*

'There are, undoubtedly, a few individuals among the operative spinners who have been so fortunate as to obtain a little education, and, prompted, by reading a few useful books, especially the "Mechanic's Magazine," to study the principles of their trade, acquire a more perfect knowledge of useful arts and sciences, &c. But these have to rise early, perhaps at three or four o'clock every morning, in order to spend an hour in the improvement of their minds.

'Such persons I have the honour to be acquainted with, but they are looked upon as something singular in a cotton factory. I do not hesitate to avow myself one of the number, having commenced working in a cotton factory when only five years of age, and continued in that occupation ever since, which is now above thirty-two years, (sixteen of which I have been employed as a mule-spinner); and when I state that I have worked as an operative spinner at Manchester, Warrington, Bolton, Preston, Chorley, and Burnley, you will presume that I have something more than a mere superficial knowledge of the subject which I have been treating on. A COTTON SPINNER.'

It is true, the writer of this detail has educated himself successfully. But he is one of a thousand. Taking men as they are, we cannot expect that an hour's leisure, caught with difficulty in a week of such labour, will be thus employed; the exhausted spirits require different aliment. Perhaps, indeed, the excessive dissipation, which is the bane of the manufacturing class, may be ascribed to previous excessive exertion; it is the recoil of the bow which has

* It is one of the objects of the statute passed in the last session, (6 G. 4. c. 63.) to prevent this abuse; but, in all other respects, of the hours of labour, time for meals, &c. it leaves the observations of the Cotton Spinner untouched, as its operation is confined to persons under sixteen years of age.

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been bent too forcibly. At all events, the cause and effect are alike melancholy and alike provoke a smile of sadness at the pleasing picture drawn by the *Practical* Observer.

'In the first place, there are many occupations in which a number of persons work in the same room; *and unless there be something noisy in the work,* one may always read while the others are employed. If there are twenty-four men together, this arrangement would only require each man to work one extra day in four weeks, supposing the reading to go on the whole day, which it would not; but a boy or a girl might be engaged to perform the task, at an expense so trifling as not to be felt.'—*Practical Observations,* p. 8.

We may conjecture, too, from this statement, how probable it is that masters in general will 'allow an hour on the days when the meetings are holden; or, if that is too much, they may allow the men to begin an hour earlier on those days; or if even that cannot be managed, they may let them have an hour and a half, on condition of working half an hour extra on three other days.'* We suspect that they have, too generally, other views, and will continue to be best satisfied with their men, while their men are satisfied with remaining as machines. Education and saving banks have found but few advocates among master-manufacturers. We wish that the respectable name which occurs in the letter last quoted stood less singular.

These are our grounds for fearing that the advantages of mechanics' institutes will stop very short of the expectation of their patrons. But, although these benefits may not extend far, and although they are not, in our opinion, so great as has been assumed, as far as they go we are ready to consider them as benefits, and to trust, that what they fail to give, will be supplied from other sources at present in operation.† Let not politics and party, the

* Pract. Observ. p. 8.

† One of these sources obvious and already prepared may be found in the Parochial and Lending Libraries for the use of the Poor, formed by the assistance and under the direction of the excellent Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It is somewhat extraordinary that Mr. Brougham, whose information as to reading-rooms and libraries in every part of the kingdom is so minute and detailed, should be in entire ignorance (which we infer from his total silence) of the existence of these admirable institutions. He will be delighted to hear that so long ago as 1820 the attention of the Society was drawn to the subject; in their report of that year we find rules laid down for their formation; and in the year 1822, anticipating his views, they say—'The education now given to the poor naturally excites among them a taste for reading. They are no longer satisfied with the mere rudiments of knowledge, but are gradually learning to inquire into the history of past times, and to speculate on subjects of which their ancestors had no conception. This increased appetite for information must be gratified to a certain extent, and unless it be supplied with wholesome and nutritious food, it will probably devour those poisonous productions of infidelity, which are still disseminated with unwearied diligence through the remotest districts of the land.' The work of education is incomplete, or its advantage is at least precarious, if no effort be made

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the bane of English discussions, be introduced into such a question as this; let not Mr. Brougham, on the one hand, inculcate an unwise, an unfounded jealousy of the higher orders; let him not labour to alienate those, on whom he would confer a great blessing, from their best friends and appointed guides; nor to raise a spirit of which (he may be sure) he could neither allay the fury nor direct the course, and before which he would certainly fall an early victim. On the other hand, let not the gentry and the clergy be moved by insinuation or insult, which they have a good right to treat with contempt; nor listen to fears which we believe to be unnecessary, but which, whether grounded or not, should lead neither to inactivity nor opposition; let them not decline from the proper duties, nor neglect the proper influence of their station. The sails are set, and the vessel has her way; and whether it be this wind, or one a point on either side, some gale, we may be assured, will carry her forward; let those whose rank, experience and education entitle them, be at the helm. Is the present desire of instruction attributable to the impulse given by the national schools? If so, principles are there inculcated better suited to guide a man through life, and do him lasting good, than the elements of chemistry or mathematics; and we are willing to hope, that those impressions will not be obliterated, but grow up into a conviction, that to serve God, and keep his commandments, is the first duty of man.

On the same grounds which make us hesitate about the value of these institutions for adults, we look with more unmixed satisfaction towards another less important creation of the present eventful age, the infant schools. There is something so artificial in a plan which removes a child of two or three years old from its parent's care, and trains it after a system, and teaches it to follow a prescribed track, that the first impression is almost uniformly against them. We can also readily imagine, that a prejudice will exist against the supposed confinement and restraint to which the children are subjected. No one, however, will urge this, who has been eye-witness of the cheerfulness which animates these infant

made to render the knowledge which has been acquired, a real and permanent source of truth, happiness, and edification.'—p. 29. We have taken some pains to ascertain the progress which has been made in the formation of these libraries, and we believe we may confidently state their present number at 1200, with the gratifying fact that every week adds to the list. Upon looking to the catalogue of the books furnished for them, we are glad to observe that it has been gradually enlarged, and that some of the best popular treatises on the sciences are among the new books. We need not suggest to the Society the propriety of continuing to keep pace with the times, by adding to their list as liberally as is consistent with the due caution which marks, and should mark, all their proceedings. Mr. Grinfield some years since published and distributed a list from which some useful works might be taken.

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prisons. Examination will soon prove, that all compassion on this head may be spared; unless it be supposed, that a quarrelsome, squalid animal, pining in a garret, or fighting in a street, is in a better condition, moral and physical, than when removed to an airy room, and taught at once to play without dispute or selfishness, and to learn all of good that its tender age is capable of. With regard, indeed, to the instruction given thus early, we do not value it very highly; it is a subordinate concern, though still no burthen; but we do most highly value the moral superintendance and control, and are inclined to think that, if these schools become general *in large* towns, and if the plan on which they are conducted becomes sufficiently understood to find its way throughout the country, they may prove of considerable benefit to the lower orders. It is natural to say that the parent is the proper guardian of the child, who should never be withdrawn from this its appointed protection; and an interesting picture may be sketched of maternal assiduity and domestic tenderness, which it would be cruel to destroy. But practically, what is the fact? In the country, for more than half the year, the mothers are engaged in field-work; and the children, too young for the parochial school, are huddled together under the care of some old woman who, because she is unfit for any other labour, is charitably supposed to be fit for this, to which, however, she is in truth most of all unsuited, both in temper and accommodation. In towns, a thousand occupations employ the mothers away from home during the greater part of the day; and the children are left under the nominal care of some neighbour or of an elder child, who is probably detained from school for that very purpose, at the age when instruction is most valuable: in many cases they are left to run wild, and become experienced thieves at six years old. Can we doubt their being happier, can we doubt their being better under a gentle system of restraint, directed by a person fitted for the employment, and selected because so fitted?

But another question remains which is of serious importance; how far it can be safe or wholesome for the community to relieve parents from the care of their children. We are decidedly of opinion that this could not be ventured upon without great danger; and that such a practice becoming general, would increase the effects, already sufficiently bad, of interference with the laws of nature which are the laws of God, and which impose on every parent the burthen of his child. Therefore infant schools should never be gratuitous. We may, perhaps, (though even that is questionable,) educate children from seven to fourteen gratuitously, because our object then is *education* properly so called, a paramount object, and worth some sacrifice of political economy:

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nomy: and also because a child of that age is seldom expensive to the parents, sometimes even profitable if he be not withdrawn from his labour to the school. But the case of infants is different; and the parents ought uniformly to be compelled to pay weekly the real expense of their schooling. If, by the better economy of the new schools, they have less to pay there than they would otherwise expend upon worse superintendence, this is an advantage which belongs to our state of society, and may fairly be given in.

We are aware of one objection which may appear plausible; that, on this plan, those would be neglected whom it is most important to provide for, the children of thoughtless and reprobate parents, who will make no sacrifice for their benefit. To this, it might be enough to say, that such unfortunate children will not be in a worse condition than at present; but they form an exception, and may be *paid* for by *individual* charity, which can no way be more usefully bestowed: but the principle should not be allowed to go out of sight; and let subscriptions or donations in general be only used to meet the first expenses of a school, or to increase its size and comforts. The conscientious and humane need be under no alarm lest the avenues to charity should be closed, because so much evil has been found to result from its indiscreet exercise. That charity can do no harm, we would rather say, can only do unmixed good, which does not interfere with the supply of what are strictly the necessaries of life, and which attempts nothing further than to provide the poor with comforts which they could not otherwise enjoy. We may improve their accommodations, we may alleviate the distresses of illness, we may furnish the superfluities of clothing; in these and in a variety of other instances which will occur to those who are in the habit of visiting the poor, there is sufficient room for the exercise of benevolence, and no danger of contingent mischief. There will never be a state of things in which there shall be no place for well-directed charity, or when well-directed charity will cease to be beneficial.

We have before intimated that the infant schools strike us as of minor importance; even, however, if they rank but as a very superior kind of nursery, it is worthy the attention of the benevolent to encourage their formation, and watch over their regulations and management. It occurs to us, that the form in which they may be established most economically and most beneficially in every respect, is, by attaching them to the national school in each parish. In this way they will require a smaller sacrifice of time from the clergyman and visitors for the purpose of inspection, and may be provided with rooms, and masters or mistresses, at a comparatively small expense.

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ART. VII.—*The Diary of Henry Teonge, Chaplain on Board his Majesty's Ships Assistance, Bristol, and Royal Oak, Anno 1675 to 1679. Now first published from the Original MS.* London. 1825. pp. 327.

IN the year 1675 the Assistance frigate, commanded by Captain Houlding, sailed from the Thames to reinforce Sir John Narborough, who had been dispatched some months before on an expedition against the Barbary States. The Assistance carried out as her chaplain, Henry Teonge, whose notes on this and a subsequent voyage compose the present volume. His manuscript, we are told,* 'had been in the possession of a respectable Warwickshire family for more than a century,' and 'had descended as part of an old library, from one generation to another, without attracting any particular observation. It was at length accidentally offered to the publisher for sale, as a curious volume that might interest some collector;' and we are thankful for the chance which has thus brought into notice a very amusing work of its kind.

As a book of observations on foreign countries the Diary contains little that may not be better learned from other publications, and is, indeed, rather amusing for its strange blunders, than valuable for its information; its notices of political affairs and of the feelings they excited in those with whom the author was conversant, are slight, though occasionally interesting; but the great charm of the work undoubtedly lies in the character of the good chaplain himself, which is artlessly drawn by his own hand, with such effective and natural touches that the picture is almost worthy of Fielding's pencil.

Henry Teonge, when he entered on naval life, was in his 55th year, and rector of Spernall in Warwickshire; he had lately vacated the living of Alcester. He was married, and the father of several sons. Of his early history we are only so far informed, that he is in one place said to be 'an old cavalier;' and it is with all the jolly hardihood of that character that he first presents himself leaving house, wife, and family in his advanced age, to encounter unknown difficulties in a new and perilous scene of existence.

'*Thursday, May* 20, 1675. *Deus vortat bene!*

'This day I began my voyage from my house at Spernall, in the county of Warwick; with small accouterments, saveing what I carried under me in an old sack. My steede like that of Hudibras, for mettle, courage, and colour, (though not of the same biggnes:) and for flesh,

* Introduction, p. iii.

one

one of Pharaoh's leane mares, ready to cease (for hunger) on those that went before her, had shee not been short-winged; or rather leaden-heeled. My stock of monys was also proportionable to the rest; being little more than what brought me to London, in an old coate and britches of the same; an old payre of hose and shooes; and a lethern dublett of 9 yeares olde and upward. Indeed (by reason of the suddenness of my jurney,) I had nothing but what I was ashamed of; save only

> 'An old fox broade-sword, and a good black gowne;
> And thus Old Henry cam to London towne.'—p. 1, 2.

The cause which drove him from home was probably the same which rendered that home uneasy to him when he returned, in 1678, almost as poor as he had gone abroad; for it should seem that the chaplain had acquired, among the cavaliers, their characteristic slovenliness in pecuniary matters.

'Though I was glad,' says he, (on revisiting Warwickshire) 'to see my relations and old acquaintance, yet I lived very uneasy, being dayly dunnd by som or other, or else for feare of land pyrates,* which I hated worse than Turkes; though I was sufficiently provided for them if they had made any attempt.'—p. 228.

On the 26th of May Teonge reached London, where his captain and Lieut. Haughton welcomed him 'with bottells of claret, &c.' 'And now,' he says, 'a small sea-bed is my *unum necessarium*, (though I wanted almost every thing else,) a thing that I could not bee without; nor knew I how to compas it.' Some complicated operations of pawning and borrowing are then detailed, and by leaving his cloak in pledge for forty shillings, and raising twenty-six more upon his mare, saddle, bridle, boots and spurs, the poor divine at length became master of a 'a small bed, on pillow, on blanket, on rug;' to which, in about eleven months, he was able to add the luxury of sheets.

Other portions of his outfit were supplied in a manner somewhat mysterious. We cite his own words, exhorting the reader to receive them with the same simplicity of spirit in which they are given.

'And here I might tell you what Providence putt into my hands; which though littell worth of themselves, yet were they of greate use to him that then wanted almost every thing. Early in the morning I mett with a rugged towell on the quarter-deck; which I soone secured. And, soone after, Providence brought me a piece of an old sayle, and an earthen chamber pott: all very helpfull to him that had nothing.'—p. 7.

Teonge appears to have been a genuine landsman at his first

* We are afraid that by this inauspicious term, Teonge designates some rather unpopular ministers of the law. For the learned profession, in general, he seems to have entertained no very charitable feelings; thus, in one place he says, 'wee have a small gale, and goe on as lawyers doe to heaven.'

embarkation;

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embarkation; 'punch,' (with which indeed he familiarized himself with the speed and facility of natural genius,) 'the Boy in the Nore,' and 'the greene water, were very strainge' to him. Even, however, before the ship had reached the 'greene water,' he observes,

'Wee begin our warlike accheivements, for seeing a merchant man neare us without takeing the least notice of a man of warr, wee give him a shott, make him loare his top-gallant, (id est, pull off his hatt to us,) and our gunner presently goes on board of him, makes him pay 6*s.* 6*d.* for his contempt; abateing him 2*d.* because it was the first shott.'—p. 6.

On the 13th of June he commenced his preaching on shipboard, where he could not stand without 'holding by boath the pillars in the steareage;' he boasts, however, that he was not sick, 'only giddy.'—p. 9.

'June (20th). No prayers to day. Wee are makeing ready to sayle; and are under sayle after dinner; yet we drink a health to all our friends behind us, in a good bowle of punch; knowing now that wee shall goe not only to Trypoly, but to convoy the Syppio fraught with 27,000 dollars, to Scanderroonde.

'And now you may see our mornefull ladys singing *lacrimæ*, or *loath to depart;* whilst our trumpets sound, *Mayds where are your harts, &c.* Our noble capt. (though much bent on the preparation for his voyage,) yet might you see his hart full of trouble to part from his lady and his sonne and heire; whoe though so younge, yet with his mayd to leade him by his dading sleeves, would he goe from gun to gun, and put his fingar to the britch of the gun, and cry Booe; whilst the mother, like a woman of greate discretion, seems no whit troubled, that her husband might be the less so. But our lieutenant's wife was like weeping Rachell, or mornefull Niobe; as was also the boatswaine's wife: indeede all of them like the turtle-doves, or young pigions, true emblems of mourning. Only our master's wife, of a more masculine spirit, or rather a virago, lays no such grieve to her hart; only, like one that hath eaten mustard, her eys are a little redd. Σίναπι παρὰ τῶν σίνεσθαι τοὺς ὠτας.'—p. 12, 13.

It is waggishly intimated, however, that some of the ladies were merrier when out of sight; and, says Old Henry, 'I could tell with whom too, were I so minded.'

On the Sussex coast, Captain Houlding, 'taking the prospective' (*glass*), discovered a Dutch man of war, and gave orders to tack upon her, no doubt hoping that an occasion of quarrel might arise from the Hollander's refusing the honour of the flag so amply conceded to England at the peace of 1674. But the Dutchman, says Teonge, (who appears already inoculated with the pride of his new service,)

'like a cowardly dogg that lys downe when he sees one com that he fears, loares not only his top sayle, but claps his sayle to the mast, and lys

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lys by. This satisfys us as unworthy of so pittiful an onsett; and we keepe on our course as before. Yet I can not forget the words of our noble captain, viz., I wish I could meete with on that would not vaile his bonnett, that I might make woorke for my brethren at White Hall; meaning officers that were out of imployment.'—p. 16, 17.

And now, being fairly committed to the seas, effectually cut off from the troubles and perplexities of his land-life, relieved from every care beyond those of the day, and happy in the combined enjoyments of fine weather, sanguine spirits, and a firm stomach, our chaplain thus expresses his contentment.

'Wee goe to prayers at ten, and to dinner at twelve. No life at the shoare being comparable to this at sea, where wee have good meate and good drinke provided for us, and good company and good divertisments; without the least care, sorrow, or trouble; which will be continued if wee forget not our duety, viz. loyalty and thankfullnes.'—p. 17, 18.

In passing Plymouth, our voyager bestows a bitter remembrance on 'that rebell Essex' who escaped thither from Fowey in 1644. Entering the bay of Biscay, the Assistance and her companions 'lite of' a Virginia man, and press three seamen. The ships now do wonders; for, says Teonge, 'whereas we ran *but* four knots in a *minute* before, we run seven now, and with *less sayle* abroade!'—p. 27. To carry any sail while running at the rate of 420 knots an hour, was a feat worthy of the Flying Dutchman, and we can scarcely wonder at what follows: that

'very often the seas breake over our wask, and com in at our scuttles, and do us some small injurys. Now our table and chayres are lashed fast to the boards; our dishes held on the table, and our bottles of wine held in our hands. Many in the ship are casting up their reckonings, and not able to eate or drinke.'—p. 27.

On the 14th of July the ships entered the straits, and on the 15th anchored before the then celebrated fortress of Tangier. Teonge, with the captain and 'doctor,' went on shore to view the town. He bestows but cool commendation on this key of the Mediterranean, as it was then expected to prove, in comparison with the praises drawn from him by the regale of the commander, Captain Charles Daniell, with whom they drank 'several bottells of wine,' and who sent them away loaded with cucumbers, musk-melons, onions, and good wine, under the escort of a corporal, charged to see them safe to their pinnace. Whether it was the Captain's claret, or any fear of the Moors, which made the corporal's escort necessary, is not stated; but 'such a harty entertaynment,' says the chaplain, quite pathetically, 'I never saw before from a meare stranger; nor never shall againe till I returne to the prince-like Captain Daniell.'—p. 32.

On

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On the top of Ape's Hill 'lives a Marabott wizord or inchanter; and what vessell soever of the Turks goes by, gives him a gun as she goes, to beg a fortunate voyage. There every on that hath not yet beene in the straites pays his doller, or must be duckt at yard arm.' p. 33. Gibraltar, which he calls Gibletorre,* and Malaga, are passed with slight mention; Alicant is described more at length, and we are told of Orlandoe's Gapp, that it is so called from a tradition respecting 'one Sir Orlando Furioso.'

On the first of August the ships arrived at Malta. A boat came off to inquire if they had 'a bill of health for prattick, viz. entertaynment,' to which Captain Houlding answered, that 'he had no bill but what was in his guns' mouths.' On their anchoring within the harbour, some delay was experienced in obtaining permission to land, because the captain 'would not salute the cytty except they would retaliate.' These points being at length arranged, 'our captain,' says Teonge, 'tooke a glasse of sacke and dranke a health to King Charles, and fyred 7 gunns: the cytty gave us five againe; which was more than they had don to all our men of war that came thither before.' p. 46. Probably the English captain might pique himself the more on gaining this point, as the Maltese had maintained it with great spirit against other nations, and successfully waged a contest of this kind with Louis XIV. only two years before. Teonge's account of Malta is animated and amusing; but his details (no doubt given in perfect good faith) exceed a little on the side of magnificence, as where he says the inhabitants have storehouses and other 'vacant places in the towne, in which they have constantly corne and all other provisions beforehand for *three hundred thousand* men for *three years!*'

The grand master, Nicholas Cotonier, behaved to the English during this expedition with great courtesy, and the same friendly spirit appears to have prevailed in the inhabitants. Frequent visits were interchanged between the Assistance and the shore; knights and cavaliers came on board 'six at on time, men of sufficient courage and friendly carriage, wishing us good success in our voyage.' Teonge was their 'only entertainer,' because he could speak Latin, for which, he says, he was highly esteemed and much invited on shore. The Assistance made a gallant display to her visitors; 'all our ports are opened, and all our gunns thrust out as though wee were going to fite; and our ship cloathed through out with new wast cloaths, and new sayles.'

* Gebel Tharek, i. e. Mount of Tharek, one of the leaders of the first Moorish invasion of Spain.

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And now the Assistance, being

—— 'new rigg'd, well stor'd with pigg and ghoose a,
Hens, ducks and turkeys, and wine call'd Syracoosa,'

steered 'poynt-blanke' for Tripoli. On Sunday morning (August the 8th) the 'Barbarian coasts' appeared; the enemy's ships were seen lying in harbour close under the castle and city, and an English frigate cruising. The next day Captain Houlding came up with Sir John Narborough's squadron, amounting, with the Assistance, to eight vessels. It was, however, a period of comparative inaction; and the only exploit which the timidity of the enemy afforded an opportunity for performing, while Captain Houlding remained with the expedition, was the destruction of a small vessel by the ships' boats, in presence of an opposing force; Teonge, who seems by this time to have become the laureate of the fleet, composed a very seamanlike lyric on the event. Nor does he rest his fame solely on courting the Muses and defying the Turks. Like the renowned Abraham Adams, he is far from being unconscious of talent as a preacher. At his first sermon after joining the fleet, he intimates that 'many gentlemen of other ships were on board.' Throughout both his voyages he never fails to record the Sunday's text; and these notices are sometimes whimsically enough combined with other matter; as—'No wind. I preacht a sermon; Exod. viii. 2. A small gale now.' 'I preacht on the old text: and wee can see no land as yet.' 'A fayre day, and a crosse wind. I preacht a sermon; the last on that text.' Off Tripoli he commenced a course which lasted with scarcely any interruptions all the way up the Mediterranean, and part of the voyage back; its subject being the Plague of Frogs.

In the beginning of September some of the enemy's ships escape to sea under the cover of mists, brought on for that purpose by the 'Marabott' sorcerers. Sir John Narborough, therefore, 'strips himself to his shirt' by detaching three vessels from his small armament to pursue the Turks. One of these was the Assistance, also destined for Scanderoon. Our captain's absence, says Teonge, was much lamented, 'but non so fitt for such a dangerous voyage as he.' This departure is celebrated in the following lines:—

'This morn wee bid adue to Trypoly,
Whoe rather like our roome then company.
But have you seene the gentle turtle-dove,
How shee laments the absence of her love?
Or have you seene the glorious morning sunn
Tryumphing joyfully his course to runn?
So stands our fleete, foure mournfull Heroclites—viz.
Our admirall and those his worthy wites.

But

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But the Assistance, Dragon, Dartmouth, make
A squadron stout, and to the Arches take
Their course with joy (like Rome's Trium-viri),
Not feareing all the force of Trypoly.
Our Captaine's presence (like the morning sunn)
Makes us rejoyce—his absence strikes them dumb.
Thus Israel's pillar, thus Epyrus' spring
To us gives light—to them doth darknes bring.'—p. 69.

Between Candia and Cyprus two sail were seen ahead, and supposed to be the Turks. Every man seemed 'joyfull of an incounter': all was made ready, 'our mayne-yard and fore-yard slung with chaines; quarter-deck armed.' 'Our captaine commaunds to put out our ancient, jack, and pendent: says he, we'el shew them what wee are.' They opened a passage; 'wee, with our trumpetts sounding and hayling them, steard our course directly between them.' At this moment their white cross discovers them to be Maltese, who in the excess of courtesy, sālute the Assistance with three guns, 'bulletts and all.'—p. 81.

About the middle of October the Assistance anchored in Scanderoon Road, and was visited by Mr. Low, the English consul, who, some time after, entertained the captain, chaplain, and some other visitors, with a

'prince-like dinnar; and every health that we dranke, every man broake the glasse he drank in; so that before night wee had destroyed a whole chest of pure Venice glasses; and when dinner was ended, the consull presented every on of us with a bunch of beads, and a handfull of crosse, for which he sent to Jherusalem on purpose, as he tolde us afterwards.' —p. 96.

Much alarm had been excited by the escape of the vessels from Tripoli, and rumours were perpetually arriving of their depredations. Early in December, therefore, the Assistance sailed again, on a westward cruise; but before leaving Scanderoon, Teonge describes at some length the remarkable features of that place, and makes a geographical circuit of Asia Minor (as he elsewhere does of other countries) 'much after the manner of Herodotus.'

In endeavouring to make the island of Candia the vessels encountered 'a very greate tempest. Wee never had the like as yet. The seas com often over our quarter-decks; wee are all squandered on from the other, and can see no ship but our owne, and shee extreamly tossed.' It was Saturday night; the good chaplain seldom fails, in his journal, to notice the convivial observances of that evening in some such phrase as 'wee remember our friends'; 'wee end the day and weeke according to our oulde custom'; 'wee ly on the deck and drink healths to the King, and

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our wives, in boules of punch': but on this occasion he crowns the picture of distress with the melancholy intimation, 'No thinking of friends'!

Soon after their second arrival at Malta Sir John Narborough came in from Tripoli, and was received by the Maltese with thunders of welcome. The Assistance sailed back with him to the Barbary coast, where Teonge's old enemies, the 'Marabotts,' renewed their conjurations; but, says the Chaplain, 'God is above the Devill': and early in March the Tripolitans found themselves compelled to accept humiliating terms of peace, which being concluded, the Assistance once more departed for Scanderoon, and arrived there in about a month.

On the 29th April, Teonge, accompanied by Captain Harman of the 'Gynny' (Jenny), with a Janizary and two servants attending them, commenced a journey to Aleppo, joining themselves to a caravan, which consisted of 600 carriers, escorted by fifty soldiers. At night the travellers were accommodated with a tent and carpet, but, being deprived of sleep by the noise of frogs and jackalls, and the attacks of fleas and other 'cattell,' as the Chaplain terms them, 'of which the Turkes have great store,' 'wee sat up,' he says, 'and drank wine and brandee, of which wee brought good store with us; and there I did eat polloe (pillaw) with the Turkes.' Next morning they traversed the grassy plains of Antioch, 'full of *fish* and strainge foules,' where they met with buffaloes, and 'thousands' of pelicans, which Teonge at first mistook for 'greate flocks of sheep.'

A number of gentlemen from Aleppo came thirty miles to meet the expected visitors, and conducted them into the city in procession, all the Franks accompanying them to the English factory, where Teonge was courteously received and lodged by the consul. Here he passed nearly three weeks, exchanging visits, entertained with sumptuous feasts, such as he more than once declares he never saw before, and well received, as indeed he appears to have been on most occasions, by the persons of best note and condition.

Many were the 'noble dinners' of which he partook during this visit; but the consul's providing so outdid all other outdoings, that he has thought it worth commemorating by a special programma; which, that we may teach Beauvilliers, and all such gastronomists, that they are but men, we extract entire.

'A dish of turkeys.

A dish of gellys.

A dish ot geese

A plate of sauceages.

A bisqé of eggs.

A dish of tarts.

A dish of gammons and tongs.

A dish of biscotts.

A plate

A plate of anchovies.

A dish of hens. A venison pasty.

A plate of anchovies.

A dish of biscotts. A dish of green geese.

A great dish with a pyramid of marchpane.

A dish of tarts. A dish of hens.

A dish of hartichocks.

A pasty. A dish of marchpane in cakes.

A dish of sauceages.

A dish of gammons. A dish of biscott.

A plate of herrings.

A dish of geese. A dish of turkeys.

A plate of anchovies.

A dish of marchpane. A pasty.

Hartichocks.

A dish of hens. A dish of gellys.

A pyramid of marchpane.

A dish of biscott. A dish of gammons.

* * * * Anchovies. * * * *'

In the middle of May, Teonge paid his farewell visits, an observance not merely ceremonious, as he received presents from many of the Franks, at the rate of five dollars a piece; and he was dubbed by the consul, in presence of the English gentry, a Knight of the Malhue, or Valley of Salt. This appears to have been a piece of innocent buffoonry, which perhaps might rank with the ceremony of 'swearing at Highgate.'

In the mean time, orders had been issued prohibiting the departure of the English.

'Our noble consull, attended with most of the English in towne, went to the caddee, (who is in the nature of a Ld. Chiefe Justice,) to know the cause of our restraint. There was a greate chayre richly gilt, carryed by 2 men, before the consull all along the streete; and when wee cam to his house the chayre was carryed up into the roome, and placed just against the caddee, who sate like a tayler on his carpetts, with a boy leaneing on a pillow closse by him on his right hand, and 2 more with him like counsellors. The caddee had on his head, instead of his turbate, a globe, neatly covered with fine linnen, which lay all in very neate pleats, very exactly done, and was neare of the compas of a strike or bushell. Our consull presently sate downe in his chayre, with his hatt on, and cockt; and haveing dranke a cup of cocolate, and had his beard perfumed (as is their custom, in token of his honour,) he propounds our case very briefly, but by an interpretor. The caddee by his interpretor gives his answer, and pleades ignorance in the buisnes. But in coms an old Turke, in poore cloathes, stroaking his longe beard a wry, with his nether lipp and chin quivering, holding out his left arme at its full length, with the 3 foremost fingers stretched out, and his thumb and little finger cluncht together in the middle of his hand; and pulling one of

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the little buttons that were on the bosum of his delaman, with the forefingar and the thumb of his right hand, (all which are signes of verity of speach;) and alleages that a Maltee cursare had taken a syke, which was laden with his goods, and that the English were accessary to it, and had bought many of his goods; and he proferd to make oath of this, though it was a very lye. After a little examination, his oath would not be taken; and the caddee told us that wee might goe when wee pleased. Notwithstanding all this, at on a clock a messenger was sent to deny Captaine Harman's passage.'—pp. 169, 170.

This and other obstacles being interposed, a messenger was dispatched to the English ambassador at Stambole, (Constantinople,) and the consul, with 'a greate traine of brave Englishmen, and som Dutch and French, went bouldly to their seraglio, a very gallant place,' to expostulate with the chief officers of the city.

'After the ceremonys before specifyd were over, our consull began with greate courage to charge them with breach of articles, and to demand satisfaction for our false imprisonment; and told them that if he could not be heard there, he would goe with lights to Stambole, and make the Greate Turke acquainted with the buisness. This dispute grew higher and higher for at least halfe an hower; the old Turke aggravating what he had alleaged, with a greate deale of earnestnes and confidence; I might say, impudence. In the heate of all this discource cam in a packett from Stambole to our consull, which he commaunded to be opened before them all; for, says hee, there may be in it somthing may concerne our buisnes: and so it proved; for there was an order or expresse to the Mussellem from the Grand Seniour, to confirm and establish all the commaunds and priviledges that were formerly made concerning the English. At the sight of which, the Turks lookt very dijectedly on upon the other, and presently gave us all our liberty without paying so much as an asper: the Mussellem speakeing these words in their languag, "The order is good, and must be observed by my head;" makeing all of them a low bow to us all.'—pp. 171, 172.

The very next morning they wisely took their departure, with a number of Europeans, destined for Scanderoon, and attended in their outset by at least 200 of the resident English, French, Dutch, and Venetians. Their journey was painful, and in the course of it Teonge turned aside to see, and describes with some minuteness, remains of ancient buildings, and ranges of mountain sepulchres, which may be found since mentioned by Pocock and Burckhardt. Soon after their arrival at Scanderoon they sailed for England. The voyage commenced with awful omens. May 31st, 'at 9 o'clock, a crickett sang very merrily in the foote of our mizon, and was also heard a little the night before; there was also a death-watch heard in the gunn roome. *Deus vortat bene!*'

During his voyage home, Teonge preaches indefatigably on the first

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first clauses of the Lord's Prayer; and adds to his Journal a geographical survey, or, as he terms it, 'a small relation' of Africa, wherein he states that the overflow of the Nile is regulated by certain 'dams and sluices' in Prestar John's country; and that the Greate Turk having, 'not long since,' withheld the tribute usually paid for maintaining these works, John cut the dams and drowned Egypt, or great part of it, for three years, so that the Turk was forced to begg his peace with him, and give not only the old tribute, but a great summ of monys also more for the repayre of the damms and sluices. p. 193. We are also assured that

'In the south parts of Africa is scarce any thing remarkable, save that there are men and beasts of strange shapes; as som men with heads like doggs or hoggs, som with no head; some with only one large legg and foote; as there are the same strange shapes in the north parts of Europe and Asya.'—p. 205.

On the 16th and 17th September the Assistance was nearly lost in a storm off the coast of Portugal. 'I never saw such a Sunday,' says the chaplain, 'and I hope shall never forget to give God thanks for this day's deliverance.' He notices the anniversary of the escape, with similar expressions of piety, two years afterwards. While the vessel was disabled by the sea, they were in danger of being attacked by an Algerine, but this peril also was averted, and, on the 25th October they arrived safe in Falmouth Roads.

Sunday, November 12th, they were in the river. 'No prayers —half our men are on shoare.' 14th. 'Honest Mall Walker, Anne, and John, cam to see mee, and wee were very merry.' 'Friday, the 17th of November, wee are payd off at Dedford; where we leave the rottenest frigot that ever cam to England. And here our voyage ends.'—p. 218.

We have little space left for the journal of the second voyage. Having in his former trip 'gott a good sum of monys, and spent greate part of it,' he now resolved to make another expedition and to keep all he could get. It seems, however, that his star refused to shine on thrifty projects, for the voyage begins in disappointment and proceeds in constant disaster. On Sunday, March 31, 1678, having administered the sacrament to his parishioners, Teonge rode, with his wife behind him, to Warwick, departed thence in the 'coach-waggon,' with his son and two other passengers, and was conveyed in less than three days to London. He had engaged himself as chaplain to Captain Anthony Langston, of the Bristol man-of-war; but on arriving in London, found that another chaplain had 'gotten the King's warrant'

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warrant' for his ship, and it was not without difficulty that he procured a warrant for himself.

Before his departure, Teonge visited Whitehall, 'where,' he relates,

'After a little stay in the Long Gallery our capt. came to mee and told mee I should kisse his majesty's hand. He had no sooner sayd so but the king cam out: my capt. presented mee to the king, saying, An't please your majesty, this gentleman is an old Cavalier, and my chaplain. I kneeled downe; he gave mee his hand. I kist it, and said, pray God blesse your majesty! He answered, God blesse you boath together! twice; and walked along the gallery his *woonted large pace*,' —p. 232.

Having gone through various hardships and difficulties, trifling in themselves, but lamentable as befalling an aged man, a scholar and a clergyman, the chaplain finds himself established on board his ship, with sixpence in his pocket. One of the first employments of the Bristol was to transport soldiers from Harwich to Ostend; these passengers Henry terms 'lobsters,' a name which, from being applied to Sir Arthur Haslerig's cuirassiers in the Civil War, had been afterwards transferred to the 'red-coats.' Teonge had embarked in hopes of a voyage to Virginia, but the Bristol was now unexpectedly ordered to the Straits, which occasioned not only great disappointment to our author, but strong discontent in the crew, many of whom deserted. Cross winds, ill health, perverse accidents, and evil auguries, become his continual theme, and, with all his cheerfulness and patience, we find him now and then growing splenetic and quarrelsome: the following instance is amusing, and illustrates not only his character but that of a more distinguished personage. Lord Mordaunt, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, at this time about twenty years old, came on board the Bristol, at Portsmouth, about the end of September. Nov. 3d our author writes thus:

'The Lord Mordaunt, taking occasion by my not being very well, would have preacht, and askt the captain's leave last night, and to that intent sate up till four in the morning to compose his speech, and intended to have Mr. Norwood to sing the psalme. All this I myselfe heard in agitation; and resolving to prevent him, I got up in the morning before I should have done, had I had respect to my owne health, and cam into the greate cabin, where I found the zealous lord with our captaine, whom I did so handle in a smart and short discourse, that he went out of the cabin in greate wrath. In the afternoone he set on of the carpentar's crew to woorke about his cabin; and I being acquainted with it, did by my captaine's order discharge the woorke man, and he left woorking; at which the reverent lord was so vext, that he borrowed a hammar, and busyed himselfe all that day in nayling up his hangings; but being done on the sabbaoth day, and also when there was no necessity,

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sity, I hope the woorke will not be longe lived. From that day he neyther loved mee nor the captaine. No prayers, for discontent.'—pp. 261, 262.

November 26. 'The Lord Mordaunt hath left us, and is gon into the Rupert, and his Sunday's worke is com to nothinge.'—p. 266.

The winter was passed in cruising between the Straits and Minorca. We find the chaplain passing his time in the usual variety of employments; he registers the incidents of the day, plays a lesson occasionally on the vyall, reads prayers, preaches a sermon on the word Our,* (p. 254.) writes stanzas on Phyllis and Amaryllis, pens Latin couplets, makes cartridges, mends a scabbard, shoots game on shore, and fires upon the French at sea, drinks healths on Saturday night, and does the honours of the ship to strangers. Unhappily, a very frequent occupation is that of paying funeral offices to the crew, and at last he is called upon to execute this sad duty for his good friend and patron the captain, who, after removing from the Bristol to the Royal Oak, expired in Alicant roads, on the 19th of March, 1679. 'Brave Captaine Antony Langston dyed a very little after 10 a'clock this night. I stood by his bed syde when he breathed his last.' p. 291. March 22. 'By 9 wee are under sayle, and for England, God willing. God send us well thither, for now our myrth is past the best!' p. 293. On the 13th of May they arrived 'in the king of England's dominions,' within Cape 'Phinister;' and they had not yet made the Land's End when they were informed of the commotion raging in England on account of the 'papists' damnable plott.' They entered the river in June, and Teonge went to Rochester, where he found his son and cousin, 'whoe cam so far to welcom mee home.' After being 'demurd' some time for his 'groats and twopences,' he was at last paid off, and returned safe to Spernall.

'Hic modus lasso maris et viarum
Militiæque.'

If some parts of the narrative should have appeared inconsistent with poor Teonge's professional character, we may perhaps set him right in the estimation of many readers, by extracting his lines on the death of Captain Langston, which, although harsh, have in them an earnestness of feeling, and a masculine spirit of devotion, which raise them above mediocrity.

'Sharpe was the day, and bitter was the night,
And boath were tedious, cause thy paines were stronge;
Now Christ is come, and brings to thee his light,
Dispelling sinn's dark night, though that were longe:
Now neyther griefe torments, nor pains offend;
Now rest is come; such rest as hath no end.

* It is worth observing, that a sermon seems never to have formed part of the service, if the captain from any cause was unable to attend.

Now

Now hast thou heaven for earth: O happy change!
For griefe thou now ay-lasting joys hast gott,
Thy soule amidst the blessed troops doth rainge,
Although thy bones in boystrous billows rott.
Happy thy life, whoe liveing livdst to Christ;
Happyer thy death, who dead, livst with the Highst.
Then why should mournfull teares bedew thy tombe?
Full sweetly now thou sleepest in the Lord,
Untill shrill-sounding trump at day of Doome,
Doe raise all flesh according to his word:
Sweete 'tis to beare God's yoake, though't bee som paines:
Thou didst; the fight is past, the crowne remaines.
HENRICUS TEONGE, Mœstissimus'—p. 292.

ART. VIII.—1. *J. Miltoni Angli de Doctrinâ Christianâ libri duo posthumi, quos ex Schedis MSS. deprompsit et Typis mandari primus curavit* C. R. Sumner, A.M., Biblioth. Reg. Præf. Cantabrigiæ. 1825. 4to. pp. 544.

2. *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone, by John Milton.* Translated from the Original, by C. R. Sumner, A.M., Librarian and Historiographer to his Majesty, &c. &c. Cambridge. 1825. 4to. pp. 711.

THE authenticity of this work appears indisputable; were the history of the manuscript less satisfactory, the internal evidence would be conclusive. The mind of Milton is stamped on every page. Not only are the known opinions of this remarkable man maintained with the usual seriousness of his character, but the manner in which he arrives at certain newer tenets, adopted by him at a later period of life, bears the same unquestionable impress of his peculiar way of thinking. In the tone all is grave, earnest, and solemn; in the matter there appears not merely a disdain of human authority, but a jealousy of all received doctrines; and finally, to whatever conclusions his arguments may lead, Milton fearlessly pursues and implicitly adopts them. Indeed the more extravagant tenets developed in this work are but the necessary consequences which result from his principles, and at once illustrate most clearly and refute most conclusively the reasonings from which they are deduced. It is not an uncommon case, especially in theology, for those who advance erroneous opinions, when pushed with dangerous consequences as their necessary result, to disclaim the inferences which themselves have not drawn. But Milton was too severe a reasoner, and too honest a man, to disavow or shrink from the avowal of all legitimate inferences from his own opinions. He was therefore neither appalled

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appalled nor shaken by the view of his system as a whole; which, however it admits the expediency, and even the duty of uniting in a particular church, would inevitably produce in its result the isolation of every individual, and the dissolution of every religious community.

The fate of the manuscript itself is curious, as a piece of literary history. It was well known that such a treatise had been written by Milton. His biographers had also recorded, that it had been in the possession of Cyriack Skinner, whose name appeared on the envelope of the parcel which contained the manuscript. Whatever was the fate of Cyriack, whether, according to the theory of Mr. Lemon, he became a member of the Benedictine order, or the more plausible opinion of Dr. Sumner, that he maintained his civil and religious principles, in either case he would have been an object of suspicion to the government. The seizing the papers of suspected individuals was no uncommon practice in that period of jealousy and misrule; and in this manner, probably, the manuscript in question came into the possession of the secretary of state, who either left it in his office or bequeathed it, with other papers, to the same quarter.

But, although the internal evidence is so conclusive as to its authenticity, the work in question affords a singular contrast to the rest of Milton's prose writings. It is equally without their peculiar faults and their peculiar beauties. There is nothing of the coarse and virulent abuse of his antagonists, the savage personalities, the fierce and ungovernable fury, with which not merely, as Dr. Sumner observes, 'he exhausted the powers of language in the bitterness of his invective,' but bent and moulded the unpliant and untractable Latin tongue, to the expression of his hatred and contempt.' There is none of the solemn grammatical trifling, nor the unwieldy attempts at wit, with which the sturdiest republican must allow Milton to have degraded the high and important subjects on which he wrote. On the other hand, there are none of those splendid passages which display the vigour and imaginative sublimity of Milton's mind, and rivet our attention not less by their intrinsic beauty, than by the profound interest which they possess, as throwing light on the character of the great religious poet of the Christian world. There are none of the bold and more than poetic impersonations of abstract ideas; nor of those high, sustained and impassioned arguments which appear to transport us to the region of pure intellect, while they are clothed in language most vividly figurative, and with a long-drawn solemnity of rhythm, in strict harmony with their exalted tone. There is nothing, in short, like the affecting, though haughty, allusion to his

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his blindness, or the characters of Bradshaw and Cromwell in the Second Defence; the description of religious zeal in the answer to Bishop Hall; the passage in the History considered by Warburton only inferior to that at the close of Sir Walter Raleigh's; almost the whole of the Areopagitica; or lastly, the sort of prophetic anticipation of his own divine poem.

We can indeed conceive no moral spectacle more sublime, than Milton, after the turbulence of the eventful times in which he had been engaged, retreating, as it were, to the serene and majestic sanctuary of his own intellect; girding up all his mental energies; and solemnly devoting and setting himself apart for the accomplishment of his three great meditated works, the complete History of his country; his immortal epic; and a summary of Christian theology. If his old passions still occasionally forced their way into his retirement; if the swell of that stormy sea on which he had been tossed did not so entirely subside, as to leave his mind in a state of impartial, philosophical, or rather Christian equilibrium, it is impossible not to admire the severity with which he seems to repress his nature, and the earnest dignity with which he endeavours to seclude himself from these internal enemies. In all his works his old prejudices will occasionally break out; from those of a certain description, indeed, in Paradise Lost, he disburthens himself into the Limbo of Fools; as if he would expatiate in Heaven and earth with an untrammelled imagination, permitting nothing allied to old animosities to desecrate the sublimity of his conceptions in the former, the holy beauty of his thoughts and images in the latter. Even there, however, as elsewhere, some of those more singular tenets which had incorporated themselves with his moral being, appear from time to time, when least expected by the reader, probably when least perceived by the author. It is impossible not to trace, in his picture of Eve, his rigid notions as to the subordination and inferiority of the female sex; and occasionally he adopts the spirit as well as the ideas of his favourite Euripides; as in the memorable passage—

> '——————— O, why did God,
> Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
> With spirits masculine, create, at last,
> This novelty on earth, this fair defect
> Of nature, and not fill the earth at once
> With men, as angels, without feminine!'

There is a still more curious exemplification of his feelings in the History of England. We should have supposed that the heroic resistance of Boadicea to the enslavers of her country would have rousedthe indignation, the barbarity of her sufferings touched

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touched the generous sympathies of a mind like Milton's. This is the contemptuous manner in which he relates her history:

'A woman also was their commander-in-chief. For Boadicea and her daughter ride about in a chariot, telling the tall champions, as a great encouragement, that, with the Britons, it was usual for women to be their leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lashed, how her daughters were handled, things worthier silence, retirement, and a veil, than for a woman to repeat, as done to her own person, or to have repeated before a host of men. The Greek historian sets her in the field on a high heap of turves, in a loose bodied gown, declaiming; a spear in her hand, a hare in her bosom, which, after a long circumlocution, she was to let slip among them, for luck's sake: then praying to Andate, the British goddess, to talk again as fondly as before; and this they do, out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their history with the strangeness of our manners, not caring in the meanwhile to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, as if in Britain women were men, and men women.'—*Hist. of England*, Book ii.

But if his rooted prejudices betray themselves in his poem, and in his history, it might have been expected that, in a theological treatise, they would be obtruded in a manner more repulsive and objectionable. It is remarkable, therefore, and highly to the credit of Milton, that, while he maintains all his opinions with unbending rigour, the animosities, the jealousies, the violence with which they were naturally associated in his mind, are entirely dismissed and forgotten. He denies episcopacy, but without rancour; he disclaims other articles of the Church of England, but without bitterness: opportunities perpetually occur, in which he might renew, with apparent advantage, his former controversies, or assail the characters of his former antagonists; but he abstains with dignified self-command; makes no allusion to the civil or ecclesiastical institutions of the country; and, as Dr. Sumner judiciously observes, 'no single expression is employed, which can expose him to the charge of substituting the language of the polemic for that of the divine; or of forgetting the calmness befitting the character of an inquirer after religious truth, to indulge in a second triumph over a political adversary.'

In strict conformity with the spirit of Protestantism, Milton announces his design of adapting his opinions rigidly and exclusively to the Scripture, and the Scripture alone,—a principle, as far as articles of faith are concerned, unquestionable by any member of a reformed church. The reverential awe with which he approaches the sacred volume, the humble deference which he professes to its authority, his solemn assertions of his conscientious search after truth, are expressed in the preface in the tone and language of perfect sincerity, and with that

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that solemn religiousness of manner, if we may so speak, peculiar to Milton. When, therefore, we inform our readers, that the result of the whole work is a system of theology, not merely in discordance with the Church of England, but with every sect by which we are divided; an incoherent and conflicting theory, which combines arianism, anabaptism, latitudinarianism, quakerism, and we know not what to add, on account of his opinions on polygamy, but mahometanism: we anticipate much serious apprehension from the pious and devout; many will deprecate the appearance of a work, so full, they will consider, of dangerous matter; lament the liberality with which his Majesty decided upon the publication of the treatise; and even deplore the great and confessed ability with which Dr. Sumner has executed his double office of editor and translator. For if such an intellect as Milton's, solemnly and exclusively dedicated to the study and developement of the scriptures, shall nevertheless have arrived at such conclusions, how shall humbler minds escape being blown about with every wind of doctrine, unless they forfeit their religious independence, and servilely addict themselves to the authority of their teacher? The sense of the scripture itself will appear dubious, if it shall have eluded the research of such a mind, so earnestly bent and devoted to its pursuit. We apprehend, however, that it will not be difficult to furnish as well a key to the peculiar opinions of Milton, as a test of their truth, which will at once counteract the danger, and elucidate the principle of the work before us. The high, abstract, imaginative Christianity of Milton is not that of the scripture, because it is totally unadapted to the mass of mankind. The sign and seal of the divinity of the Gospel is its universal applicability. If the Law consulted the hardness, the Gospel condescends to the infirmity of men's hearts. While it holds up a model of perfection, which even the mature candidate for immortality through Christ's redemption can never attain to the fulness of, it yet adapts itself with the tenderness of prescient mercy to every, even the humblest class of believers. Milton, habitually severe, and abhorring licentiousness; devout in his nature; entirely convinced of the truth and authority of the holy scriptures, measures mankind by his own standard. Devoid himself of self-apprehension and mistrust, he does not provide for his weaker, less instructed, less exalted brethren. He cannot perceive the utility of many among those provisions which Christians of all ages have considered, from their extensive practical influence, of divine appointment, as means of grace; because he does not perceive the absolute necessity of them in his own case. Milton, joining in no form of public worship, rejecting the observance of the Sabbath, acknowledging no authority in any public ministers

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ministers of the Gospel, remained nevertheless a devout and religious man; what would be the general effect of such a contempt of these wise and indispensable provisions for the advancement of piety, all humbler and more cautious minds will intuitively perceive. We say not that Christianity would come to an end; that there would not be, here and there, an individual, whose mind, as has been nobly said of Milton's,

'would be like a star, and dwell apart,'

preserving all the exalted spirituality of the true Christian; but in how many would the divine spark be obscured, in how many entirely extinguished, unless fanned and supported by these secondary assistances of the faith! A remarkable instance of Milton's contempt for the usual precautions with which humbler men are content to guard their religious principles, occurs in the Areopagitica. Not only on the principles of civil liberty does he defend the unlicensed publication of all writings whatever, but urges the general and promiscuous reading of what is false and seductive, because our virtue will thereby be more fully and rigorously tried.

'He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.'

It is evident that he is here writing for the few exalted natures like his own, without any consideration of the effect to be produced on mankind in general. In the same spirit, when he declares that the Holy Spirit prefers

'Before all temples, the upright heart, and pure;'

when he denies that one day or one place is more holy than another; when he rejects all forms of divine adoration; we acknowledge our security in his devout character that, as far as he is concerned, the worship of God will be neither neglected, nor suspended; but when we remember the levity and worldliness of men in general, and observe the ordinary influence of consecrated places of worship, of stated times, seasons, and forms of prayer, and the sanctification of the Sabbath, we feel that these things are convenient and even necessary for the infirmity of human nature, and our conviction is strengthened that they are in accordance with the Divine Word and Apostolic usage. The same sort of reasoning applies to Milton's peculiar opinions on divorce and polygamy. Even though he may have been originally incited to the discussion of the former question, and imperceptibly biassed to a partial decision by his own do-

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mestic circumstances, that he was conscientiously convinced of the truth and integrity of his opinions, we have not the slightest doubt. The sort of Christian Platonism with which he declares the harmony of minds to be the essence of the contract rather than the union of bodies, was believed with as much sincerity, and advanced with as much seriousness, as any other article of his creed. The uniform and severe purity of his practice precludes any suspicion that he was influenced by low or licentious motives. From the slightest relaxation of the moral discipline of the country, Milton would have shrunk with abhorrence. But in the high estimate of human nature in general, which he formed from a constant reference to his own individual constitution, he entirely lost sight of the profligacy and misery which his doctrine would practically produce in the mass of mankind. And yet its total want of success at a period when novel, and specious, and high-sounding opinions rarely wanted proselytes, and the general outcry which was raised against it by all religious parties, clearly proved, that the common sense of the country anticipated those necessarily resulting evils. What might be comparatively harmless in his Christian Utopia, he recommends fearlessly to the world at large; though it would assuredly have been more consistent with his own exalted views, to have supposed that real Christianity would have superseded the necessity of such indulgence, harmonizing, by their common sympathies, and by the meekness of their common religion, those tempers, which could only become incompatible from the violence of worldly and unchristian passions. In the same way Milton's reasoning in favour of polygamy, on the authority of the Old Testament, which we are not inclined gravely to controvert, is also strongly illustrative of his mind, and of the principle from which his errors originated. Haughty as his views were, as to the independent self-government of man without the control of human law, he carried his notions of domestic authority very high, and maintained most zealously the great inferiority of the female sex. The bitterness and frequency of his reproaches against Salmasius for his submission to the tyranny of his wife, are absolutely ludicrous. Hence, therefore, the two simple arguments with which the plain Christian would have confuted this opinion; its being, in the first place, diametrically opposite to Christian self-denial, 'for therein is excess;' and secondly, its tendency to degrade the whole female sex, would have been rejected by Milton; the former, by a feeling of his own purity from licentious motives; the latter, by an avowal of the asserted superiority of man over woman. On the whole, the same ideal and impracticable principles pervaded the religious and the political opinions of Milton. His exalted and imaginative

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native mind had formed the scheme of a republic, the civil polity of which was to be maintained, not by the authority of laws, and the vigilance of the executive, but by the stern and severe rectitude of every individual; the morals were to be guarded by no legislative provisions with regard to marriage, the sacredness of which was to be left in trust with the conscience of each particular person; the religion was to be superior to every formal establishment, receiving neither provision nor protection from the state; yet nevertheless intended to be the universal, internal, animating principle of the whole system, the bond of this disjointed frame-work, the great, immutable law which was to restrain, regulate, balance and control the public will, by its operation on the character of each individual. This was a splendid dream, but unreal as his master Plato's, and certainly far less within the bounds of probability than the equally beautiful system of Aristotle's perfect king.

Every generous mind feels a profound interest even in the errors which flow from a noble and generous principle. Never may that enthusiasm be extinct, which is misled by estimating too highly the possible improvement of human society! It is the nurse of devotion to the public service, of self-sacrifice, of Christian public spirit. The wiser and more cautious benefactors of human society, who are bounded in their views by what is practicable, will neither disdain it as a coadjutor, nor refuse their ardent admiration to the pure source from which it springs. They will not, however, cease to watch its excesses with anxiety, and point out its dangers with dauntless but liberal and dispassionate sincerity. They will revert to the lesson of Milton's life, as the best commentary on the consequences of this disposition of mind. Its danger is, that the imagination, entirely occupied with the splendour of the end, examines with carelessness or partiality the means by which it is to be obtained. Hence Milton, in the bold and unprincipled usurpers of an authority more lawless and imperious than that which they had overthrown, in Bradshaw and Cromwell, beheld only the agents of Divine Providence to advance the establishment of his visionary republic. Hence, the more awful delusion—a mind impregnated with the spirit of the Bible, like Milton's, became the fierce and willing advocate of a crime, deep as the murder of Charles, and trampled on the memory of that unfortunate monarch with savage triumph and unmanly exultation. That he was sincere, disinterested, entirely conscientious, no man, who has studied his character, can doubt; whence, then, his crime, but from the fatal propensity of imaginative men, once convinced of the sublimity of their own views, to overleap every obstacle, and treat all inter-

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mediate considerations as subordinate, and unimportant, provided the great end be but advanced and accelerated?

Erroneous, however, as we esteem the doctrines of Milton in many parts of the summary now under consideration, we by no means feel our respect for his character lowered, or our admiration of the depth and vigour of his intellect lessened. We shall therefore proceed not to a close and perfect analysis of the work, but a rapid sketch of its form, and a brief developement of the more remarkable opinions which it contains. We would, however, previously state, that Dr. Sumner has executed his different tasks, as editor and translator, with great fidelity and judgment. The translation is manly, close, and generally accurate; he has not overloaded the work with illustration; the notes which he has subjoined being chiefly designed to trace the progress of Milton's mind on the different topics. Without entering into controversy, he has contented himself with references to the standard theological works in which the most satisfactory refutation of his author's erroneous opinions is to be found, a mode of proceeding equally creditable to his modesty and to his erudition.

The distribution of the original work is remarkably simple and luminous. 'Christian doctrine is comprehended under two divisions, Faith, or the knowledge of God; and Love, or the worship of God.' The first of these divisions occupies by far the larger and more curious portion of the work; the latter is perhaps the most useful, because it is the least original. The second chapter of the first part is entitled God, and details the more common arguments upon the existence and nature of the Deity, with no peculiar display of talent, and without deviating from the equable tone of the whole work into any peculiar sublimity of thought, or majesty of language. His remarks, however, on what is called anthropopathy, that is, describing the Deity as in a human form, and under the influence of human passions, are striking, especially as coming from the author of Paradise Lost.

'There is no need then that theologians should have recourse here to what they call anthropopathy—a figure invented by the grammarians to excuse the absurdities of the poets on the subject of the heathen divinities. We may be sure that sufficient care has been taken that the Holy Scriptures should contain nothing unsuitable to the character or dignity of God, and that God should say nothing of himself which could derogate from his own majesty. It is better therefore to contemplate the Deity, and to conceive of him, not with reference to human passions, that is, after the manner of men, who are never weary of forming subtle imaginations respecting him, but after the manner of Scripture, that is, in the way in which God has offered himself to our contemplation; nor should we think that he would say or direct any thing to be written of himself, which is inconsistent with the opinion he wishes us to entertain of

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of his character. Let us require no better authority than God himself for determining what is worthy or unworthy of him. If *it repented Jehovah that he had made man*, Gen. vi. 6. and *because of their groanings*, Judges ii. 18, let us believe that it did repent him, only taking care to remember that what is called repentance when applied to God, does not arise from inadvertency, as in men; for so he has himself cautioned us, Num. xxiii. 19. *God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent.* See also 1 Sam. xv. 29. Again, if *it grieved the Lord at his heart*, Gen. vi. 6. and if *his soul were grieved for the misery of Israel*, Judges x. 16, let us believe that it did grieve him. For the affections which in a good man are good, and rank with virtues, in God are holy. If after the work of six days it be said of God that *he rested and was refreshed*, Exod. xxxi. 17. if it be said that *he feared the wrath of the enemy*, Deut. xxxii. 27, let us believe that it is not beneath the dignity of God to grieve in that for which he is grieved, or to be refreshed in that which refresheth him, or to fear in that he feareth. For however we may attempt to soften down such expressions by a latitude of interpretation, when applied to the Deity, it comes in the end to precisely the same. If God be said *to have made man in his own image, after his likeness*, Gen. i. 26. and that too not only as to his soul, but also as to his outward form, (unless the same words have different significations here and in chap. v. 3. *Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image;*) and if God habitually assign to himself the members and form of man, why should we be afraid of attributing to him what he attributes to himself, so long as what is imperfection and weakness when viewed in reference to ourselves be considered as most complete and excellent whenever it is imputed to God? Questionless the glory and majesty of the Deity must have been so dear to him, that he would never say anything of himself which could be humiliating or degrading, and would ascribe to himself no personal attribute which he would not willingly have ascribed to him by his creatures. Let us be convinced that those have acquired the truest apprehension of the nature of God who submit their understandings to his word; inasmuch as he has accommodated his word to their understandings, and has shown what he wishes their notion of the Deity should be.

'To speak summarily, God either is, or is not, such as he represents himself to be. If he be really such, why should we think otherwise of him? If he be not such, on what authority do we say what God has not said? If at least it be his will that we should thus think of him, why does our imagination wander into some other conception? Why should we hesitate to conceive of God according to what he has not hesitated to declare explicitly respecting himself? For such knowledge of the Deity as was necessary for the salvation of man, he has himself of his goodness been pleased to reveal abundantly. Deut. xxix. 29. *the secret things belong unto Jehovah, but those things which are revealed belong unto us.....that we may do them.*

'In arguing thus, we do not say that God is in fashion like unto man in all his parts and members, but that as far as we are concerned to know, he is of that form which he attributes to himself in the sacred writings. If therefore we persist in entertaining a different conception

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of the Deity than that which it is to be presumed he desires should be cherished, inasmuch as he has himself disclosed it to us, we frustrate the purposes of God instead of rendering him submissive obedience. As if, forsooth, we wished to show that it was not we who had thought too meanly of God, but God who had thought too meanly of us.'—pp. 17—19.

As a specimen of Dr. Sumner's manner of illustration, we subjoin his note on this passage.

'The Humanitarians held that God was to be understood as having really a human form. See Clarke's *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 26. fol. edit. The drift of Milton's argument leads him to employ language which would appear at first sight to verge upon their doctrine, but it will be seen immediately that he guards himself against the charge of having adopted one of the most ignorant errors of the dark ages of the Church. The reasoning of Milton on this subject throws great light on a passage in Paradise Lost, put into the mouth of Raphael:

'.....What surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best; though what if Earth
Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?

'Here Newton observes the artful suggestion that there may be a greater similitude and resemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagined, and supposes it may have been intended as an apology for the bold figures which the poet has employed. We now see that his deliberate opinion seems to have leaned to the belief that the fabrick of the invisible world was the pattern of the visible. Mede introduces a hint of a similar kind in his tenth discourse, as Newton remarks.'—p. 18.

The author proceeds to distinguish between the internal and external efficiency of God, that is, his decrees, and his execution of them. According to his Arian principles, the internal decrees are taken into consideration previously to discussing the generation of the Son, or the procession of the Holy Spirit. The consideration of the divine decrees leads the author necessarily into the great and mysterious question of predestination. But while he

——————————'reasons high
On Providence, foreknowledge, will and fate,
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,'

his conclusions are remarkably temperate and judicious. He is decidedly opposed to the presumption either of the Calvinist, or the Pelagian, and occupies that high, neutral ground, on which the great writers of the modern English church have taken their stand. On the divinity of the Son of God, his opinions approximate to the highest Arianism, and though we may regret that, upon

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upon this vital and practical point, such a man is not altogether with us, they will afford no cause of triumph to the modern Socinian. The only point which Milton questions is the eternal filiation, acknowledging the atonement and satisfaction for sins in the fullest sense; and this point down to his days had not been discussed, as Dr. Sumner observes, by the erudition of such men as Bull and Waterland. In their masterly writings, every one of his arguments, as far as our memory will bear us out, has been, as it were, anticipated; every text which he has adduced, amply, candidly, and satisfactorily considered. The chapter on the Holy Ghost is equally inconclusive; he asserts decidedly the inferiority of the Spirit to the Father, and to the Son; but as distinctly avows his belief in his personality.

The next chapter, 'on the Creation,' plunges us deep into those metaphysics, which the author perpetually abjures. Matter he considers to be formed not only by God but from God, (non solum a Deo sed ex Deo sunt omnia,) hence matter is eternal and imperishable. On this principle he builds his peculiar notions as to the nature of man, and the inseparability of the soul and body, which, in a subsequent chapter, the thirteenth, leads him to regard death not as a dissolution of the several parts of the human being, but a sleep or suspension of the vitality of the whole until the general resurrection. The tenth chapter, on the special government of man before the fall, including the institution of the Sabbath and of marriage, carries us still farther afield from the highway of common opinion. The former question in this place is treated cursorily, and we shall only observe that Milton denies the institution of the Sabbath to be binding on Christians: though he admits, in a subsequent part of the work, the convenience of setting apart a seventh day 'in compliance with the authority of the church,' 'for the voluntary assembling of its members, wherein, relinquishing all worldly affairs, we may dedicate ourselves wholly to religious services.' His opinions on the marriage contract are stated more at length; and he concludes that, as marriage may be lawfully dissolved, if the prime end and form of its institution be violated, and as love and mutual help through life are its prime end and form, therefore the perpetual interruption of these by differences and unkindness must be a sufficient reason for divorce.

The author's Arian opinions, as he proceeds, cause him some embarrassment, and throw him back upon his metaphysics; but on the redemption, the satisfaction, the mediation of Christ, he is clear and judicious: as on the regeneration of man, and justification by faith, he is, for the most part, consistent, and in accordance with the general principles of the Reformation.

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His view of the abrogation of the moral as well as the ceremonial law, the decalogue as well as the services of the temple, will probably not give so general satisfaction; but he has guarded this opinion with great rigour, considering the moral law rather superseded by the higher and purer law of faith, than in fact abolished.

'Hac tamen legis abolitione, re quidem verâ non abrogatur Lex, id est, summa legis, sed finem suum assequitur in dilectione illa Dei et proximi, quæ ex fide per Spiritum nascitur. Hinc vere Christus legem asseruit Math. v. 17. ne existimate me venisse, ut dissolvam legem aut prophetas, sed ut impleam, &c. Rom. iii. 31. legem igitur cassam reddimus per fidem? absit: immo legem stabilimus. et viii. 4. ut jus illud legis compleatur in nobis qui non secundum carnem ambulamus, sed secundum Spiritum.'—p. 308.

Milton is equally cautious in guarding the doctrines of assurance of salvation and the perseverance of the elect, asserting uniformly and distinctly the free-will of man, and his co-operation, in some way or other, in the work of his salvation.

On the external signs of the new covenant Milton departs again most widely from the creed and practice of our church; he denies the lawfulness of infant baptism, and advocates the propriety of baptism by immersion. On the Lord's Supper he is extremely strong against both the popish and the Lutheran opinions; but his own are not very clearly laid down. And here begin some of those anomalies and inconsistencies with regard to the visible church, the appointment of ministers, and the internal discipline of particular assemblies of the faithful, which we have in vain attempted to reconcile. In one place he appears distinctly to avow the doctrine that every man may be his own priest; in another, he admits the apostolic and scriptural institution of priests and deacons, to whom, however, he leaves no peculiar office; for the Sacraments may, in his opinion, be as efficiently administered by private individuals; the intervention of the priesthood at burials and marriages he decidedly reprobates; and ecclesiastical discipline is to be administered by the whole church collectively. His notion of a religious assembly is thus expressed:

'The custom of holding assemblies is to be maintained, not after the present mode, but according to the apostolical institution, which did not ordain that an individual, and he a stipendiary, should have the sole right of speaking from *a higher place*, but that each believer in turn should be authorized to speak, or prophesy, or teach, or exhort, according to his gifts; insomuch that even the weakest among the brethren had the privilege of asking questions, and consulting the elders and more experienced members of the congregation.'—p. 498.

Milton

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Milton admits decisively the duty of every individual to join himself *if possible* to a particular church. His own practice during the latter period of his life was probably not in strict conformity with this principle. Dr. Sumner quotes with deserved approbation Mr. Hawkins's liberal and judicious construction of his conduct on this point. 'The reproach that has been thrown upon him of frequenting no place of public worship in his latter days should be received, as Dr. Symmons observes, with some caution. His blindness and other infirmities might be in fact his excuse; and it is certain that his daily employments were always ushered in by devout meditation and study of the scriptures.' It is difficult however to conjecture with what congregation Milton could satisfactorily have associated himself; as none ever existed in the infinite variety which have divided the country, with which he would not have been at issue on points of the highest moment. He seems to have thought that each individual was to wait till his reason was mature, his conviction of the truth of Christianity established, his regeneration at least commenced, and then to look abroad, and if he found an assemblage of Christians, whose opinions were sufficiently conformable with his own, to enrol himself a member of their church. Now on the Calvinistic principle of rigid personal election, upon which every one of the elect at a particular period of life receives his irresistible call, is at once converted, and must of necessity persevere in the faith, this is at least intelligible. But Milton had decidedly rejected the groundwork of this whole system; he is openly in favour of universal redemption, of an election and perseverance clearly anti-calvinistic, and he denies repeatedly and positively his belief in irresistible and indefective grace. On how precarious and unstable a tenure, then, was that Christianity to rest in the Utopia of Milton, which nevertheless was to be the soul of the whole system, the great pervading, animating, and actuating vital principle! It was to disclaim all assistance, all countenance from the state, that is, from the community at large; it might be served, indeed, by its own ministers, and urged upon the people by its own peculiar advocates, but they were to adhere to the apostolic example, and literally work for their daily bread; for Milton decidedly prefers this plan, to the maintenance of a ministry even by the voluntary contributions of the flock. It was to be guarded from vulgar irreverence by no outward honour or appearance of public estimation; the erudition which was to illustrate, the eloquence which was to advocate, the argumentative powers which were to defend it, were to be fostered, trained, and emancipated from the common cares of life by no public provision; in a lukewarm and indifferent age it was to struggle for its existence by its own

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own inherent power, with no extrinsic dependence but on the casual support of the righteous few! and when it would attempt to reanimate the slumbering zeal of its children, it would have to reckon on none but untrained, uninstructed, and untried advocates; no body of men was to be prepared, who would feel not only the incentive common to all pious Christians, of solicitude for the glory of God, and good will towards men, but something besides this, and concurrent with it, the obligation of a sacred, self-imposed, and peculiar duty. That we may depend on the Spirit of God for the imperishable existence of true religion on earth is unquestionable; but the usual way by which that Spirit operates is through the prudence of wise and good men, who establish permanent and extensive provisions for the maintenance of Christ's church upon earth.

We cannot anticipate the extensive or lasting popularity of this treatise. The prose works of Milton are little read, notwithstanding their occasional sublimity both of thought and diction. In the present work, when the curiosity which its discovery has excited shall have subsided, there is little to attract, little to keep alive a greater degree of interest, than in other divinity of that age. Milton's theology, indeed, will be studied in Milton's poetry. The excess of splendour, which encircles a name like his, throws back into comparative obscurity such of his writings as are less striking and captivating. We shall still continue, we trust, to dwell so long and so entirely on his more exquisite early poems, of which every word is painting and every line music; on the combination of all that is fanciful and romantic with all that is chaste and noble in Comus; on the severe and masculine dignity of Samson; above all, on that great work, which raises English poetry to an equality at least with that of any country, ancient or modern; that we shall only revert to his other works as illustrative of the history, and as assisting to develope the character of our great poet. In the plenitude and abundance of his fame as the author of Paradise Lost, Milton must be content to merge his claims upon public attention as the writer of a summary of theology: if in the latter department he must cede the dignity of an acknowledged master in English divinity to Hooker, Barrow, Taylor, and Bull, to those whose judgment is equal to their erudition, whose wisdom is as eminent as their piety; in his own sphere he shines, and will shine, alone and unapproachable; and should the mother tongue, not merely of our own island, but of vast continents and regions peopled and to be peopled 'from our loins,' become extinct in the vicissitudes of ages; to Milton, more than to any but one, and that one Shakspeare, will our native speech owe its second life and future immortality; for their sake destined

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tined to become the perpetual and devotional study of all whose minds expand under the influence, and whose hearts are touched by the spell of untranslateable poetry.

ART. IX.—*A Tale of Paraguay.* By R. Southey, Esq., &c. &c. London. 1825.

WE can hardly expect that our readers should remember the opinion which we expressed ten years since of Mr. Southey's 'Don Roderick;' but we confess we look back upon it with some pleasure; for, flattering as it was, it did not go beyond the concurring suffrages of the best poets, as well as the ablest critics of that day; and the public voice, not hastily nor capriciously uttered, has with remarkable steadiness ever since continued to assent to our judgment. We cannot wonder at this; for, setting aside the skill with which many of the details are managed, the originality, and sustained consistence of the principal characters, the stately melody of the versification, and the perfect appropriateness of the diction to the solemn character of the story; the story itself appeals to such deep feelings of the heart, and calls them out by the exhibition of such noble characters and touching incidents, that it seems impossible for unsophisticated hearts of ordinary tenderness not to be deeply affected by it; and if the true poet wrote for fame alone, the author of Don Roderick might have well declined all further competition, and rested satisfied with the rank which that poem indisputably secured to him. But the truth is, that poetry to the real genius is the outpouring of the heart, it is the natural air and exercise in which the faculties delight and have their healthful being; the poet sings in the first instance not to please others, but to relieve and indulge himself—his heart and mind are full, and the feelings within must have vent—no success, no applause, not even that deep assurance of immortality, which gives present glory its highest zest, and takes the sting out of present disappointment, is so full of delight to him as that moment of 'the fine frenzy,' when the glorious ideas that have been fermenting in the brain, begin to assume distinct shapes and glowing apparel; to fall into harmonious order; and then finally to float as it were into this lower world, on the wings of language, scattering, in their descent, bright pictures to the eye, and pouring sweet music upon the ear.

Mr. Southey, however, seems to have been aware that the public is jealous in its fondness for its favourites; and on the present occasion he has accordingly chosen a story so soon told, and so simple in all its incidents and characters, that it is impossible to draw

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draw the two poems into a comparison one with the other. So far from possessing the complication and deep romance of Don Roderick, when we lay before our readers the facts, which form the 'Tale of Paraguay,' the wonder will be, how they have been made capable of exciting interest at all. Yet it will be seen that he has not chosen his story amiss; it is of a kind which often places him on strong ground: and if he has failed of complete success, we attribute it to causes which we will hereafter notice; and not to the scantiness or rudeness of his materials.

The scene is laid in a land with which we should have said that Mr. Southey was particularly well acquainted, if he had not shown himself equally familiar with the scenery, the people, the customs, and superstitions of almost every region of the globe. A feeble Guarani tribe on the Empalado has been attacked by the small-pox, and a single pair, Quiara and Monnema, are the sole survivors of its ravages. At first their own sickness, and the dreadful visitation which they have witnessed, produce the natural effect, a heartless languor and reckless indifference to all things. But

> 'That palsying stupor past away ere long,
> And as the spring of health resum'd its power,
> They felt that life was dear and hope was strong.
> What marvel! 'Twas with them the morning hour,
> When bliss appears to be the natural dower
> Of all the creatures of this joyous earth;
> And sorrow fleeting like a vernal shower
> Scarce interrupts the current of our mirth;
> Such is the happy heart we bring with us at birth.'—p. 27.

We quote this pleasing stanza, because it is in such stanzas as these, sometimes exhibiting the cheerful and warm-hearted creed of the author, sometimes minutely tracing the birthspring and developement of the tenderer affections, and sometimes realizing before us in vivid pictures the gentle happiness diffused by the charities of domestic life, that the main charm of this, and almost all Mr. Southey's later poems, consists. No one seems to feel these things more deeply than himself; no one has exhibited them with less glare and pretence, nor with more warm and individual truth; and, he has adopted, we think most happily for his purpose, a diction much softened down and moderately antiquated; with stanzaic metres of different kinds, but all of that smooth and equable, yet varied flow, which suit particularly well both the diction and the class of ideas conveyed.

Quiara and Monnema become man and wife, and in due time are blessed with a boy, whom they call Yeruti. The change which this birth produces in their feelings, the consolation to think that the

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the death of one will now not leave the other alone in the world, their daily increasing happiness as the child improves in strength and beauty, the delight with which they watch his progress, and the hopes which begin to arise that they may in time become the founders of another tribe, are all described with the same skill and power,

'Oh bliss for them when in that infant face
They now the unfolding faculties descry;
And fondly gazing trace—or think they trace—
The first faint speculation in that eye,
Which hitherto hath roll'd in vacancy!
Oh bliss in that soft countenance to seek
Some mark of recognition, and espy
The quiet smile, which in the innocent cheek
Of kindness and of kind its consciousness doth speak.'—p. 39.

Five happy years pass away, and Monnema is about to become a second time a mother, when Quiara, pursuing his usual occupation of hunting for their sustenance, is destroyed by a jaguar. Monnema survives the heavy blow; and her child is born, a girl. So much of the interest of the poem turns upon this beautiful creation of the poet, that we cannot do better than transcribe his own account of her, which will put the reader more fully in possession of what she is intended to be, than a much longer and more laboured description of our own.

——————'always did the eye
Of mercy look upon that lonely bower.
Days past and weeks—and months and years went by,
And never evil thing the while had power
To enter there. The boy in sun and shower
Rejoicing in his strength to youth-hed grew;
And Mooma, that beloved girl, a dower
Of gentleness from bounteous nature drew,
With all that should the heart of womankind imbue.

'The tears, which o'er her infancy were shed
Profuse, resented not of grief alone:
Maternal love their bitterness allay'd,
And with a strength and virtue all its own,
Sustain'd the breaking heart. A look, a tone,
A gesture of that innocent babe, in eyes
With saddest recollections overflown,
Would sometimes make a tender smile arise,
Like sunshine breaking through a shower in vernal skies.

'No looks but those of tenderness were found
To turn upon that helpless infant dear:
And as her sense unfolded, never sound
Of wrath or discord brake upon her ear.

Her

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Her soul its native purity sincere
Possess'd, by no example here defil'd;
From envious passions free, exempt from fear,
Unknowing of all ill, amid the wild
Beloving and beloved she grew, a happy child.

'Yea where that solitary bower was placed,
Though all unlike to Paradise the scene,
(A wide circumference of woodlands waste)
Something of what in Eden might have been,
Was shadowed there imperfectly I ween
In this fair creature: safe from all offence
Expanding like a sheltered plant serene,
Evils that fret and stain being far from thence,
Her heart in peace, and joy retained its innocence.'—p. 49.

What Monnema could teach her children, she did, in their evening conversations; she described to them the scenes of her youth, the habits of her tribe, their feasts and sports, and cruel wars. She told them of their father, and that led to questions whither he was gone, and whether he ever would return. Of course her accounts of the future state were wild and unsatisfactory; at length she happened to recall a tradition she had heard in childhood—

'How there appear'd amid the woodlands men
Whom the Great Spirit sent there to convey
His gracious will; but little heed she then
Had given, and like a dream it now recurr'd again.

'But these young questioners from time to time
Call'd up the long forgotten theme anew.
Strange men, they were, from some remotest clime,
She said, of different speech, uncouth to view,
Having hair upon their face, and white in hue.
Across the world of waters wide they came
Devotedly the Father's work to do,
And seek the red men out, and in his name
His merciful laws and love, and promises proclaim.'—p. 69.

The Jesuits presented a religion not only intelligible to the apprehension, but delightful to the imagination, of savages such as these; and Monnema could recollect and paint to her children a beautiful Virgin, who sate upon the crescent moon, and had the sparkling stars for her coronet; who fed at her breast a divine babe, the future judge of all the world; who sometimes came down from Heaven to bless her faithful servants, and who would protect them from all unhappinesses now and hereafter. Tales such as these excited new feelings in the hearts of Yeruti and Mooma, and they both became possessed with a longing desire to

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to see one of these good men, to follow him from the woods, and to become the happy servants of the Virgin.

The wish was soon accomplished; some Spaniards, employed in procuring the herb of Paraguay, had crossed the river Empalado, and happened to light on the trace of Yeruti's feet. In alarm at the supposed vicinity of a savage tribe they dispatched a messenger to the nearest Jesuit mission for aid. The Spaniards by their cruelties to the native tribes had provoked an hostility, from which at the period in question they suffered most severely; even their towns were not secure from formal attacks of united bodies of savages; and the settlers, as they followed their occupations in the country in small parties, were constantly destroyed. The exertions of the Jesuits were that alone to which they looked for protection, and those exertions, at whatever hazard to themselves, these zealous men never refused. Whoever has read the History of the Brazils will be prepared to follow Mr. Southey in the deep interest with which he here commemorates the exertions and laments the downfall of the order in South America.* The system of the Brethren was imperfect, and their work has passed away, but never let the positive good which they effected, nor the zeal which animated their labours, be forgotten.

In obedience to the present request, Dobrizhoffer, with a small band of Indian converts, had set out from the mission of St. Joachim in search of the supposed tribe in the woods. For some time the search was in vain; at length the party were startled by a female voice singing, a wild melody, blending the notes of all the wood birds into one rich strain, but unaccompanied by any words.

'A little way alone into the wood
The father gently moved toward the sound,
Treading with quiet feet upon the grassy ground.

'Anon advancing thus, the trees between
He saw beside her bower the songstress wild,
Not distant far, himself the while unseen.
Mooma it was, that happy maiden mild,
Who in the sunshine like a careless child
Of nature, in her joy was caroling.

* We are glad to have this opportunity of mentioning, as we pass, the History of the Brazils, because, owing to circumstances, over which we had no controul, we have delayed to give any account of the concluding volume so long, that it would be now superfluous to notice it in a separate article. The complete work is full of information, which it would be in vain to look for elsewhere, and to which the events of every succeeding day add interest and importance. It is gratifying to think, that when in future ages, literature, science and the arts, shall have spread through the vast continent of South America, and the attention of the inhabitants be turned to the antiquities and history of their country, it will be in the English library that will be found the most authentic, perfect, and eloquent account, to which they can have recourse.

A heavier

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A heavier heart than his it had beguiled
So to have heard so fair a creature sing
The strains which she had learnt from all sweet birds of spring.

'For these had been her teachers, these alone;
And she in many an emulous essay,
At length into a descant of her own
Had blended all their notes, a wild display
Of sounds in rich irregular array;
And now as blithe as bird in vernal bower,
Pour'd in full flow the unexpressive lay,
Rejoicing in her consciousness of power,
But in the inborn sense of harmony yet more.

'In joy had she begun the ambitious song
With rapid interchange of sink and swell;
And sometimes high the note was raised and long
Produced, with shake and effort sensible,
As if the voice exulted there to dwell:
But when she could no more that pitch sustain,
So thrillingly attuned the cadence fell,
That with the music of its dying strain
She moved herself to tears of pleasureable pain.'—p. 97.

* * * *

'When now the Father issued from the wood
Into that little glade in open sight,
Like one entranc'd beholding him, she stood;
Yet had she more of wonder than affright,
Yet less of wonder than of dread delight,
When thus the actual vision came in view;
For instantly the maiden read aright
Wherefore he came; his garb and beard she knew:
All that her mother heard, had then indeed been true.

'Nor was the Father filled with less surprize:
He too strange fancies well might entertain,
When this so fair a creature met his eyes.
He might have thought her not of mortal strain,
Rather as bards of yore were wont to feign
A nymph divine of Mondai's secret stream
Or haply of Diana's woodland train:
For in her beauty Mooma such might seem,
Being less a child of earth, than like a poet's dream.*

* Mr. Southey has adopted part of Dobrizhoffer's own description of Mooma; 'the daughter had so fair and elegant a countenance, that a poet would have taken her for one of the nymphs or dryads.' But he has omitted what he might have made very picturesque; 'not to go unattended, she commonly had a little parrot on her shoulder, and a small monkey on her arm, unterrified by the tigers that haunt that neighbourhood.'—*History of the Abipones*, vol. i. p. 92.

'No

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'No art of barbarous ornament had scarr'd
And stain'd her virgin limbs, or 'filed her face;
Nor ever yet had evil passion marr'd
In her sweet countenance the natural grace
Of innocence and youth: nor was there trace
Of sorrow or of hardening want and care.
Strange was it in this wild and savage place,
Which seem'd to be for beasts a fitting lair,
Thus to behold a maid so gentle and so fair.

'Across her shoulders was a hammock flung,
By night it was the maiden's bed, by day
Her only garment. Round her as it hung
In short unequal folds of loose array,
The open meshes, when she moves, display
Her form. She stood with fix'd and wondering eyes,
And trembling like a leaf upon the spray
Even for excess of joy.'—p. 98.

Our readers are prepared to be told, that the good Father found no great difficulty in persuading this little family to leave their woodland hut, and accompany him in his return to St. Joachim's. This brings us rapidly to the concluding and most painful part of the story. The change was always dangerous from shady wood, and dark morass to the open air and glaring sun of the plains; and scarcely less so from the wild habits and food of savage life to regular diet, the quiet subordination, and almost collegiate monotony of the Jesuit missions. Beside this, Mr. Southey has drawn with great force, and yet not given more than due weight to the mental agitation produced by the flood of new ideas, new sights, and new sounds, which, continually agitating the new-comers, disturbed their sleep with frightful dreams, broke their rest, took away their appetites, and finally wasted away their feeble frames.

It is a melancholy tale to follow out. Monnema first sunk.

'They laid her in the Garden of the Dead.
Such as a Christian burial-place should be
Was that fair spot, where every grave was spread
With flowers, and not a weed to spring was free;
But the pure blossoms of the orange tree
Dropt like a shower of fragrance on the bier:
And palms, the type of immortality,
Planted in stately colonnades, appear;
That all was verdant there throughout th' unvarying year.'—p. 120.

Mooma and Yeruti had followed their mother to the grave;—the service of the dead, the promises it contained, and the unconditional manner of the missionary's teaching, had produced its full effect on their undoubting childlike minds; the happiness of

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heaven, and the immediate passage to it, if they died in the church, had been so impressed on their minds, that it swallowed up all other ideas—every thing else had lost its importance, almost its reality, in their eyes—and they were both in that state of body and mind most fit to be acted upon by the bodily disease which attacked them.

Mooma's frail frame was the next to yield. Her decline and death are exquisitely told, and copious as our extracts have already been, our readers would scarcely pardon us for omitting what follows:

'Thenceforth she droop'd and withered like a flower,
Which, when it flourish'd in its native shade,
Some child to his own garden hath convey'd,
And planted in the sun, to pine away.
Thus was the gentle Mooma seen to fade—
Not under sharp disease, but day by day,
Losing the powers of life in visible decay.

'The sunny hue, that ting'd her cheek, was gone;
A deathy paleness settled in its stead;
The light of joy which in her eyes had shone,
Now, like a lamp that is no longer fed,
Grew dim; but when she raised her heavy head,
Some proffered help of kindness to partake,
Those feeble eyes a languid lustre shed;
And her sad smile of thankfulness would wake
Grief, even in callous hearts, for that sweet sufferer's sake.'—p. 123.

Vows were made and prayers offered for her recovery by all the inhabitants of the mission; for herself she prayed not to be restored to life; her heart was in Heaven, longing to meet her mother in Paradise:

Sometimes she spake, with short and hurried breath,
As if some happy sight she seemed to see;
While, in the fulness of a perfect faith,
Even with a lover's hope, she lay and longed for death.'—p. 126.

Feebly, however, as long as she could, she used to sing her evening hymn, when the vesper bell sounded.

'At such an hour, when Dobrizhoffer stood
Beside her bed, oh how unlike he thought
This voice to that which, ringing through the wood,
Had led him to the secret bower he sought.
And was it then for this, that he had brought
That harmless household from their native shade?
Death had already been the mother's lot;
And this fair Mooma, was she doom'd to fade
So soon; so soon must she in earth's cold lap be laid?

* * * *

—— Who

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'————————Who could dwell
Unmoved upon the fate of one so young,
So blithesome late? What marvel if tears fell
From that good man as over her he hung,
And that the prayers, he said, came faltering from his tongue!

'She saw him weep, and she could understand
The cause, thus tremulously that made him speak.
By his emotion moved, she took his hand;
A gleam of pleasure o'er her pallid cheek
Past, while she looked at him with meaning meek,
And for a little while, as loth to part,
Detaining him, her fingers, lank and weak,
Play'd with their hold; then, letting him depart,
She gave him *a slow* smile that touch'd him to the heart.

'Mourn not for her! for what hath life to give
That should detain her ready spirit here?
Thinkest thou that it were worth a wish to live,
Could wishes hold her from her proper sphere?
That simple heart, that innocence sincere,
The world would stain. Fitter she ne'er could be
For the great change; and now that change is near,
Oh, who would keep her soul from being free?
Maiden, belov'd of Heaven, to die is best for thee.'—p. 127.

Yeruti alone remained. During the illness, and for some time after the death of his sister, he had been himself so severely ill, that her state had never been allowed to reach his ears. He had been spared the pain of seeing her fade, who had been 'the playmate of his youth,' his darling thought by day, his dream by night. But when he recovered, he received the intelligence with seeming indifference; to him, indeed, the dead were not lost; he reckoned soon to follow them; he longed to be with them; the idea of them so haunted him, that even in open day, if he closed his eyes, they seemed to visit and converse with him: and at night, assuming a more distinct shape, and a more definite purpose, he said that they visited him; that they bade him tell the Father not to defer his baptism, or delay his soul longer upon the earth.

This is a strange but not unnatural state of mind; Yeruti performed all the tasks imposed, attended all the services, and was quietly cheerful; time only seemed heavy to him, and the close of every day to please him as bringing him nearer to his release. Nightly the visitation came as he reported it to Dobrizhoffer, and earnestly begged for baptism. Unwillingly, and doubtingly, the old man performed the office; but to Yeruti it seemed to give perfect happiness; he lay down on his bed at the accustomed hour; and exclaiming, ye are come for me, yes I am ready now, instantly died.

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What we think of this tale, must appear from the number of the extracts which we have made; and the space which we have allowed ourselves in our notice of it. But the extracts will speak for themselves; and we will only assure our readers, that through the whole poem they will find the same clearness of narration, the same idiomatic purity of style, the same easy flow of versification; and, where the subject admitted of it, the same pathetic tenderness. It would be improper, however, to close our commendation without noticing the opening stanzas in which the volume is dedicated by the poet to his daughter. We would gladly have transferred them entire to our pages, if our limits had permitted us; but we cannot bring ourselves to injure their effect by partial citation. They appear to us to be in their kind among the most exquisite pieces of English poetry; the language and the rhythm are so happily adapted to the ideas, that there is scarcely a line or a word which we could wish to see altered; and the ideas have such a solemn tenderness, and stir up in us such feelings of affection for the living, and of pensive regret for the dead, that we have found it quite impossible to read them without being deeply moved.

In our opening remarks, however, we have intimated our opinion that Mr. Southey has failed of complete success; in spite of many beauties, the poem has the fault of being occasionally languid. For this we can assign two reasons; the author, in one sense, is perhaps the most learned man in England, that is, he has read, and mastered, the greatest number of books as well of merit as curiosity; and though this undoubtedly adds a great value to all he writes, and not less to his poetry than to his other productions, (giving to his manners and scenery a perfect reality, as well as furnishing him very frequently with the groundwork of striking adventures,) yet it sometimes exercises a prejudicial influence over both. We do not suppose him actuated by the unworthy vanity of displaying his knowledge, but he is certainly sometimes too desirous of communicating it, and too apt to consider that as valuable which is only curious, at least in the place in which it is introduced. In this way he has overlaid this poem with accounts of Guarani habits, customs, and superstitions, of the Spanish ravages, of the Jesuit missions; none of which were necessary in such detail to the understanding of the story, and only serve to impede its progress, and weaken its interest.

A similar fault is produced much in the same way. Mr. Southey is a great moralist; he cannot but feel conscious of having been one of the most influential moral writers of the day: and we have no doubt his mind has acquired a habit of making every incident the groundwork of some formed train of reflection. We think that he has suffered this to appear too largely in the present

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present poem. In this case, as in the last, the question is one of degree only: it is not every observation which arises naturally from the subject, that is to be drawn out at length in narrative poetry; something should be left to be suggested to the reader by his own mind; and above all, a poet should never forget that instruction, though it may often be the real, should never be the ostensible object of a poem.

To these faults we must add, that we have been offended with one or two instances of what we would call, if the term be allowed us, nude domesticity; and that here and there are marks of a carelessness of composition, in which no man can safely indulge. The boldness of a successful poet will naturally increase, but his carefulness can never wisely be diminished. We have now balanced the defects and beauties of the poem, and will close our remarks with the explicit avowal of a sincere wish that it may be generally read and warmly admired. For it is of import to the public, that such poems as this should have wide diffusion, and exert powerful influence; like all Mr. Southey's, the 'Tale of Paraguay' has an object beyond the passing interest of the story. It is his evident and uniform aim to withdraw our admiration from that which is merely brilliant and glaring, from the pleasures of sense, and still more from morbid misanthropy and discontent, (food for the mind which poisons while it stimulates,) to what is true, and pure, gentle, cheerful and kind. He lays before us a happy faith, he makes us see beauty and a principle of improvement in all around us, and discloses to us sources of blessing and comfort in ourselves; the gentler virtues which all may practise, the domestic charities, within the pale of which all may enter, are displayed by him in the most attractive forms; and the tendency of all that he writes is to produce dispositions and qualities which would most surely realize the happy pictures he draws; to make our men bold, honest and affectionate, and our women meek, tender and true.

ART. X.—1. '*Who wrote* ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?' *considered and answered, in Two Letters addressed to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.* By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. &c. London. 8vo. pp. 413. 1824.

2. *Documentary Supplement to* '*Who wrote* ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?' By the Rev. C. Wordsworth, D.D. &c. London. 8vo. pp. 50. 1825.

THE Letters of Dr. Wordsworth, and the Supplement since published, afford the fullest and most satisfactory view that has yet been given, of a subject equally interesting as it regards

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literature, and important as it is connected with history. For more than a century and a half the authenticity of King Charles the First's Meditations has been, from time to time, impugned and vindicated with alternate triumph; the discoveries of new evidence have furnished new topics of dispute; and even Dr. Wordsworth's essay, elaborate as it is in argument and copious in proof, has not exhausted the question, nor removed all its difficulties.

The 'Portraiture of His Most Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings' was prepared for publication with a secrecy which the suspicion and violence of his enemies rendered indispensable, and with a timely dispatch which the zeal only of his friends could have procured; it is said to have been produced on the very day after the fatal 30th of January. Its wide and instant circulation, and the impulse it gave to the public feeling are well known. Of a work appearing under such circumstances, and with such results, the genuineness must have been an immediate subject of speculation; and those who dreaded the influence of the book were of course willing to diminish its credit by declaring it spurious. Early in 1649, an anonymous writer, stating himself to have been one of the attendants on the late king's person, published a pamphlet under the quaint title of 'The Princely Pelican,' for the purpose of contradicting reports then circulated by the party in power, that the work ascribed to King Charles had, in fact, been composed by one of his household chaplains. An answer to this and a reply* had followed, before Milton produced his Iconoclastes, in which the former insinuations were repeated, but with no increase of confidence or precision; on the contrary, Milton speaks seldom, and in doubtful terms, of the 'household rhetorician,' the 'secret coadjutors' whom 'some scruple not to name;' and in the outset of his work, he professes to take up a king's gauntlet.

About the end of the year 1691, Milton's work was reprinted at Amsterdam, with a memorandum said to have been made by the Earl of Anglesey and discovered five or six years before, in which that nobleman states himself to have been informed by Charles the Second and his brother, that Dr. Gauden, the late bishop of Worcester, and not Charles the First, had written the Icôn Basilikè.

In 1692, Walker (formerly curate to Dr. Gauden) confirmed this report, by a circumstantial narrative. His statement and that of Lord Anglesey were combated in several pamphlets, (particularly by Dr. Hollingworth, and Dr. Long, prebendary of Exeter,) and supported by a writer assuming the name of Ed-

* Βλὼν Ἀληθινὴ and Βλὼν ἡ πιστὴ.

mund

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mund Ludlow, who, in the beginning of 1693, gave a severe check to the disputants on the King's side, by a work called 'Truth brought to Light, or the Gross Forgeries of Dr. Hollingworth' —'detected;' containing an inventory of certain documents in the possession of Mr. North, a merchant, and brother-in-law of Charles Gauden, son of the bishop. The death of Mr. Gauden had thrown these papers into the hands of Mr. North, and they were found to consist of a letter to the bishop from Secretary Nicholas; copies of letters from Dr. Gauden to Lord Clarendon urging claims to preferment on the ground of services darkly but significantly alluded to; an answer in Clarendon's own hand, acknowledging that a secret has reached him, of the nature intimated by Gauden, and which, when divulged, will please none but Mr. Milton; two papers purporting to be addressed by Gauden to Charles II. and the Duke of York; a letter from Mrs. Gauden (the bishop's wife) to her son, speaking of the Icôn as a jewel by which her husband had hoped to make his fortune; and a paper by the same lady, containing a history of the work from its first origin to its publication and ultimate consequences.

Dr. Hollingworth, after inspecting these documents, had still courage to renew the contest; but it remained for Mr. Wagstaffe, a non-juring clergyman of some celebrity, to re-establish the royal cause, by his Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, first printed in 1693, an elaborate treatise, in which the whole question is ably discussed and illustrated by new evidence of considerable importance. A few years later, Toland, in his life of Milton, recurred to the subject, connecting it with speculations, after his manner, on theological forgeries. He was assailed on both heads by Blackall, (afterwards Bishop of Exeter,) and he at once replied to this adversary, and entered into controversy with Wagstaffe, in a pamphlet called 'Amyntor, or a Defence of Milton's Life.' Wagstaffe answered at great length; and, in 1703, Mr. Young, of Plymouth, brought forward 'Several Evidences' on the royal side, which had not before been promulgated. From this time, till the latter end of the century, we are not aware that any material weight was thrown into either scale; except that the Vindication was reprinted with large additions, and that Burnet, in the first volume of his History, published in 1724, represented James duke of York as having made a declaration to him like that reported by Lord Anglesey. The dispute continued to be occasionally noticed as a matter of curious and difficult inquiry, and writers of ability and reputation still drew opposite conclusions from the same accumulated evidence.

But in 1782 an unexpected light was thrown upon the question, by the appearance of some letters from Gauden and his

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widow, published in Dr. Maty's New Review, from manuscripts (themselves copies) among Dr. Birch's papers in the British Museum. Several of these, addressed to the Earl of Bristol, and soliciting his patronage, were conceived in terms which, although the Icôn was not expressly mentioned, left no reasonable doubt of the writer's meaning. And, to remove every shadow of uncertainty, there appeared, in 1786, a third volume of the Clarendon State Papers, in which the letters to Bristol were republished, and their import fully illustrated by six others, addressed to Lord Clarendon, and belonging to the same correspondence which had been partially exhibited in Mr. North's collection. The letters now produced were taken from originals in the Bodleian Library, and one of them mentioned the Icôn in direct terms.

But these disclosures did not now acquire the notoriety, or excite the lively sensations which would have attended them a century before. Mr. Laing, indeed, in his History of Scotland, referred to the Clarendon Papers as decisive against the royal claim; but Dr. Symmons argues on the same side of the question, in two editions of his Life of Milton, without appearing to have heard of the modern discoveries; Gauden's twice published letters to Lord Bristol were thought worthy of republication and a formal digression by so experienced an antiquary as Mr. Todd, in the Life of Bishop Walton, published only four years ago; and this republication, even without adverting to the far more important letters to Lord Clarendon, was at once hailed by our brethren in the North with somewhat of characteristic eagerness, as a new discovery, which 'decided' the controversy, and 'detected one more Tory attempt to falsify English history.'*

Meanwhile the contest on behalf of the King appears to have been gradually abandoned; and authors of credit have of late treated the pretensions on that side as no longer maintainable. It is under these circumstances that Dr. Wordsworth enters the lists, to make good against all opponents that the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική is indeed a king's portraiture, designed by his own hand. One interesting result has already followed his enterprize. The papers formerly distinguished as Mr. North's, after being for a time displayed to the inquisitive, had been laid aside and forgotten, till it became doubtful whether they were any longer in existence: these have been once more brought to light, and authenticated; and are now, for the first time, printed at large in the 'Documentary Supplement,' which contains also the letters to Clarendon and Bristol, from the Bodleian and Lambeth collections.

We shall now endeavour, as shortly as possible, to pass in review

* Ed. Rev. No. LXXI. p. 17.

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view the leading points of the controversy, adopting generally the arrangement suggested by Dr. Wordsworth, and advancing, on each head, either the reasonings with which he supplies us, or those which occur to ourselves. According to this plan we shall first examine the 'external' and direct evidence, to prove, on the one hand, that Gauden, on the other, that King Charles was the author of Εικων Βασιλικη; in the second we shall investigate the 'antecedent probabilities' on each side, as deduced from the respective characters and qualifications of the king and prelate, and inquire how far the work itself corresponds, in its general tenor and in particular points, with the history, the known writings, the moral and the intellectual character of either claimant.

The 'external evidence' on Gauden's side may be divided into three principal heads: 1. The narratives of his wife and curate. 2. His own letters to Clarendon and Bristol; Clarendon's reply; and the petitions to Charles II. and the Duke of York. 3. The declarations of these two personages, as recorded in Lord Anglesey's memorandum, and elsewhere.

It will be as well to commence by extracting the principal part of Mrs. Gauden's statement, which is the most positive and circumstantial of the testimonies on that side.

'My husband understanding the great valeu and esteme which the generality of the people had of Cromwell and of divers others in the army, occasioned by the high opinion which they had of there parts and piety, hee being also well assured that one of the maine designes of those wicked politicians was to eclips his Ma: that then was, as much as might be and to give a fals representation of him to the worl hee then that so hee might doe his Magisty right did pen that Book which goes by the name of the King's Booke, [*here three lines are crossed out,*] hee did beleave his great worth, extraordinary merits, and admirable endowments did deserve: and when my husband had writ it, he shewed it to my Lord Capell, who did very highly approve of it, there was then also an Epissel before it, as from one that by an extraordinary chanc and providenc did light upon those papers which hee knowing to be his Magisty's, thought not fit to cónseall, and the title which hee gave it then was *Suspiria Regalia:* now though my Lord Capell did think it would have done very well to have had it printed, yet hee said it was not fit to doe it without his Magisty's approbation; and to come to speake to his Magisty in privat, was then impossible in regard of the strickt gard which they then keept about him: now immediately after this there was a treaty with his Magisty at the isle of wight; wher upon my husband went to my Lord Marquis of Harford that then was, and to him deliverd that manuscript, and hee deliverd it to his Magisty at the Isle of Wit: he lickwise tould his Magisty who the author was: now when my Lord Marquis did returne, my husband went to my Lord againe, who tould him that his Magisty having had sume of those Esays read to him by Bishop Duper, did exceedingly aprove of them; But, says his Ma-

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gisty, could it not be put out in another name: No, says Bishop Dupper, the designe is that the world should take it to be your Magisty's: wherupon his Magisty did seme to desier time to conseder of it, and this says my Lord is all the account that I can give of it, for what is become of the manuscript I know not, and what now will become of his Magisty God knows; whereupon my husband tould my Lord Mar: that in his opinion ther was no way so probable to save his Magisty's life as by indeavoring to move the harts and affections of the people as much as might be towards him, and that he was also of the opinion that that Booke would be very efectuall for that purpos; then my Lord bid my husband to doe what he would in regard the case was so desperat, so then imediatly my husband did resolve to print it with all the sped that might be, for hee had a coppy by him of that which he had sent to the King, and that which hee printed was just the same, only hee then added the Esay upon denying his Ma: the atendance of his chaplins, and the Meditation upon Death; after the votes of nonadress, and his Magisty's closs imprisonment in Carisbrook Castell: now the instrument which my Hus. imployed to git it printed was one Mr. Simons, a Devine; which person had also bin a very great sufferer for his Magisty, and he got one Mr. Royston to print it: which Royston never knew any thinge but that it was of his Magisty's one pening: my husband did also then alter the title of the Booke, and caled it Icon Basilice: in regard it signifies a Kingly Portrature: now when it was about halfe printed they that were in power found the press where it was printing, and lickwise a letter of my husband's with a shet which hee sent up to the press, whereupon they destroyed all that they found then printed: But they could not find out whenc the letter came in regard it had no name to it: now notwithstanding all this, yet my husband did attempt the printing of it againe, but could by no meanes git the Booke finished till some few days after his Magisty was destroyed: now when it was come out they that were in power were not only extremely displeased that it was come forth, but lickwise infinitely sorlisotus to find out the author: for as they thought it very improbable that his Magisty should writ any of it in regard of the great disturbances and many troubles which for many years his Magisty had suffured, so thay knew it to be altogether impossible also for him to writ it all, for after the attendance of his chaplins was denyed him, and after his closs imprisonment at Carsbrow Castell, thay well understood that hee could not writ any thing without there discovery, they took lickwise that very manuscript which my husband sent to his Magisty, and so they saw that it was not writ with his Magisty's owne hand; wherupon they apoynted a private committy for searching out of the business.'

Mrs. Gauden then states that her husband, alarmed at these proceedings, made arrangements for going abroad, but that Symmons, who had been taken, died without having undergone examination, and the committee being baffled in their researches, Gauden remained in England.

'Now,' she adds, 'if thes circumstances be not enouf to assert the truth

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truth of what I affirme, I can then produce a letter from a very eminent person in the kingdome to my husband, which I am sure will put it out of all disput.'—*Documentary Supplement*, pp. 43—45.

For Walker's history of the same transactions, we must refer to his own tract, or to Dr. Wordsworth's book, (page 23. note 9.)

On statements like these the first questions naturally are, what means the parties have of knowing, and what interest in disguising the truth. To begin with the latter inquiry: Mrs. Gauden, like her husband, evidently regarded the 'arcanum,' of which they had or pretended to have the keeping, as an instrument for making money and forcing preferment. Her feelings on this subject are strongly described in Gauden's letters of solicitation to Clarendon, in which he speaks of her 'sad reflections,' and inability to 'bear with any temper the streights' to which her family is reduced by his insufficient promotion. It was one of her first cares, after his death, to perpetuate such interest at court as his secret had obtained; and she looked upon her narrative as part of the title-deeds by which a family property was to be secured. Her views, in this respect, are fairly disclosed in the letter to her son, of which we have already spoken.* Dr. Walker's testimony, however, is far less assailable on the ground of interest. It is true that he published it under the influence of strong provocation, and in defence of his character. He had been forwardly, perhaps unscrupulously talkative on the subject of his intercourse with Gauden, and his knowledge of that prelate's secret; the attack of Hollingworth had not only piqued his self-love, but wounded his reputation; and it therefore highly concerned him to maintain his former assertions. Yet neither these considerations, nor the alleged discrepancies between his own pamphlet and the narrative written by Dr. Goodall from his verbal communication, nor the parade of penitent impulses constraining him, after many years of silence, to divulge the 'pious fraud,' the object of so much public curiosity, furnish, in our opinion, sufficient grounds for rejecting, as wholly and designedly fabulous, a testimony sealed with awful asseverations by a clergyman of advanced age, and who actually died while his work was passing through the press. But he wrote at an interval of more than forty years from the events recorded; he wrote to confound an adversary and to defend himself; that which the tongue had accustomed itself, however loosely, to report, would flow but too familiarly from the pen; doubts, if they arose, would accommodate themselves to the wished for conclusion; and errors would creep in most readily where their presence would be most advantageous.

* Documentary Supplement, page 42.

Mrs.

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Mrs. Gauden, if we believe her narrative, must have known, by her own observation, many circumstances connected with the progress of her husband's work; and she is even said by him to have 'had a hand in disguising the letters of that copy' which was sent to the king at Newport, (*Gauden to Clarendon—Supplement*, p. 16.) Yet the lady, as far as we have yet quoted her, does not utter a word necessarily implying personal knowledge; all that she tells may, and the greater part must, have been supplied by another. Nor does Walker supply any fact of the slightest importance (with perhaps one exception) that does not rest ultimately upon the credit of Gauden. And it is remarkable that both, as if unsatisfied with their own representations, and feeling that they have rather stated a case than delivered a testimony, prop up their report with indirect and inferential proofs, the one referring to 'a letter from a very eminent person,' (most probably Clarendon,) the other fortifying his story with what he calls 'probable arguments.' It may also be worth notice, on this point, that Mrs. Gauden, though she appeals to a letter for the truth of her statement, never vouches any person as a witness to impeach or confirm her account, and omits even to mention Walker, who nevertheless ranks himself with her, and a Mr. Gifford, as the individuals who had the 'best reason and fairest opportunities to know the truth,' and describes all three as habitually speaking of Gauden's work, both in his presence and in his absence, without the least doubt of his being the true author. Gifford, however, it should be observed, appears to have spoken of the Icôn as genuine from the pulpit.

Mrs. Gauden's story contains some striking improbabilities. Who and what her husband was, that he should undertake, or that Charles should accept at his hands, the highly delicate service of composing, in his name, such a work as the Royal Portraiture, is a question of which we shall say something hereafter. It was a strange project, to vindicate the king's 'parts and piety' by a spurious work imposed upon the world with his connivance; nor is it a modest supposition that Lord Capel and the Marquis of Hertford, men of heroic honour, should have lent themselves without hesitation to a trick which Walker scrupled at in his youth, and repented of in his old age. The time fixed by Mrs. Gauden for the interview between her husband and Capel on the subject of the manuscript is 'immediately' before the treaty of Newport; that is, during the siege of Colchester, or afterwards, when Capel was a prisoner; both seasons when Gauden was somewhat unlikely to make his way to him, or he to listen to the lucubrations, or participate in the projects of the dean of Bocking. In the conversation represented as passing between

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between Charles and Duppa, when some of the essays had been read, we know not which is most incredible, the dulness implied in the King's suggestion, or the total want of delicacy and conscience in the bishop's answer. Again, Mrs. Gauden relates that while the work was printing for Royston, the bookseller, 'they that were in power' found and destroyed a quantity of the incomplete impression, and at the same time discovered a letter (happily anonymous) from Gauden, with a sheet sent by him to the press. A watchful and unscrupulous enemy having gained such means of knowledge, might surely have detected the manager, if not the author of this obnoxious publication; at least the clue must have led speedily to Royston; and it seems marvellous that the bookseller, thus made known, should have been allowed, within a few weeks, to surprize the ruling party by a successful production of the interrupted work, at a time, too, when suspicion was awake and active on this very subject, and when a committee had sat on the manuscript sent to the King in the Isle of Wight. We add but one further comment on this division of Mrs. Gauden's story. If the regicides 'well understood' that after the king had been deprived of his chaplains, and closely imprisoned at Carisbrook, he could not write any thing without discovery, what infatuation was it in Gauden to publish, in Charles's name, 'the essay upon denying his Majesty the attendance of his chaplains, and the meditation upon death, after the votes of non-address, and his Majesty's close imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle'! And what indolence in the ruling party to neglect acquainting the world with that which, if 'well understood' by all, would have left no doubt that the royal Icôn was, in part, at least, a despicable fabrication!

These objections are the more forcible, as Mrs. Gauden composed her statement at full leisure, within a few years of the events related, and after the amplest opportunities of conferring with him from whom her knowledge was derived. Of Walker we have already said that he wrote at an advanced age, and chiefly on the faith of communications received early in his life from Gauden, whom at that time he was not likely to press with severity on the truth of his statement, or the justifiableness of his practices. Gauden was or had lately been his rector; he was a man distinguished by the parliament, a popular preacher, and a person living (as Walker himself tells) 'at the rate of a thousand a year,' and making 'the greatest figure of any clergyman in Essex, or perhaps in England at that time.' The deference inspired by these combined advantages must have been very great, when the young clergyman, having (as he asserts) presumed to 'stick at the lawfulness' of Gauden's proposed imposture, was silenced by this empty

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empty answer; 'look on the title; 'tis the Portraiture, &c.; and no man draws his own picture.'

Walker's narrative requires little further comment. It does not distinctly appear that he was ever permitted to read with his own eyes the 'discourses' and 'heads of chapters' which his rector *showed* to him. When he accompanied Gauden to the Bishop of Salisbury's house, he had directions from his introducer to withdraw, after a short time; nothing passed in his presence respecting the Portraiture; but Gauden joined him afterwards, and related, in the street, that singular conversation in which Bishop Duppa so familiarly proposed to eke out the Dean of Bocking's book with two chapters of his own. In this manner Gauden appears to have fed his curiosity from time to time with accounts of the progress and success of his work, the young listener (who is reported to have been a weak man*) not doubting their truth, and having probably no means of verifying, if he had entertained, a suspicion. In combating the supposition of fraud on his rector's part, Walker says, 'there is no shadow of appearance why he should put so gross a cheat upon us all.' We are not at this day sufficiently informed to assign motives, but the rector was a man to whom an untruth cost little; and whether it was vanity or wantonness, or the remote anticipation of a time when he possibly might advance a public pretension to the King's book, it appears as likely that Gauden should for any of these causes deceive his wife and curate, as that Bishop Duppa and the Marquis of Hertford should, upon whatever consideration, assist the King in a solemn and deliberate imposture upon the people of England.

To practise on Walker's credulity in the manner we have supposed, Gauden must, however, have had at least some knowledge of the real Icôn. Conjecture and tradition go farther. Dr. Wordsworth, on grounds for which his own work must be consulted, thinks it likely that Symmons, one of the King's chaplains, who was certainly employed in procuring the work to be published, may have used the assistance of Gauden in conveying a revised transcript to the Isle of Wight, and again in securing its passage to the press. We shall not pause to weigh this supposition, as there is good evidence, not indeed inconsistent with it, but accounting in a different manner for Gauden's possession of the yet unpublished work. Mr. Wagstaffe, in his 'Vindication,' communicates, from authorities which there appears no reason to doubt, the declaration of one Allen, a man of great respectability, who had been servant to Gauden, had been confidentially employed by him, and had encountered dangers in his defence. This man's

* Barwick's Life of Dean Barwick. Appendix.

statement

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statement was, 'that Dr. Gauden told him he had borrowed the book, and was obliged to return it by such a time: that besides what other time he might employ in it, he sat up one whole night to transcribe it: that he, William Allen, sat up in the chamber with him, to make his fires, and snuff his candles.' 'I think he said,' continues the clergyman who reports his testimony, 'this book was borrowed of Mr. Symmons, of Raine, one of the king's chaplains.'*—*Wordsworth*, p. 125. n. P.

It does, indeed, appear that on one occasion Walker himself delivered to an agent of Gauden some portion of a manuscript which he considered to be the Icôn, and which was *shown* to him (but in what manner, or for what length of time he does not say) before it was sealed up and delivered into his hands for conveyance. He carried it to its destination, and some time after received 'six books' in acknowledgement of his services. There is a similar story of a print transmitted by his contrivance. The conclusiveness of these circumstances, even in his own relation of them, may be questioned; and, at any rate, the advocates of Charles may resort to Dr. Wordsworth's supposition that Gauden did really give some assistance in conveying or concealing the work when about to be published, and employ Walker as his instrument; or, abandoning the attempt to compromise with the testimony, they may take their stand at once upon the mass of contrary evidence.

There is no portion even of the testimony on Charles's side (which we shall notice hereafter) more contradictory to that of Walker, than some statements of Gauden and his wife. For example: Walker asserts that the manuscript shown him by Gauden was entitled 'The Portraiture, &c.' when first they conferred upon it, and 'some time before the whole was finished.' The name, as we have seen, was to obviate scruples against the work. Mrs. Gauden states the original appellation to have been 'Suspiria Regalia,' and that the present title was substituted after the Newport treaty, and when the book was about to be printed. Walker has related circumstantially, on the authority of Gauden, Bishop Duppa's condescension in supplying two chapters of his own, on 'the Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book, and the denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains;' he has shown by solid reasoning why Duppa should and Gauden should not have composed two such essays; and he states that Gauden 'never pretended to have written these, as he did all the rest.' Gauden, however, declares to Lord Clarendon that the Icôn was 'wholly and only' his 'invention, making, and design;'

* Declarations of Allen to the same effect are adduced in Young's 'Several Evidences.'

and

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and his wife particularizes the occasion when he added the essay on depriving the King of his Chaplains. We have already mentioned the dialogue between Duppa and the King, related by Mrs. Gauden, in which his Majesty approved of the essays, but desired time to consider of their publication; 'and this,' says the Marquis of Hertford, according to the same witness, 'is all the account that I can give of it.' Gauden tells Clarendon that King Charles 'accepted, owned, and adopted' the work 'as his sense and genius, not only with great approbation but admiration,' and 'kept it with him.' And then comes Walker, with his 'True Account,' bearing witness as follows:—

'Dr. Gauden, some time after the King was murdered, upon my asking him whether he (the King) had ever seen the book, gave me this answer: *I know it certainly no more than you.*' And again, 'the violence which threatened the King hastening so fast, he ventured to print it, and *never knew what was the issue of sending it.* For, when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it by enquiry.'

The inference from this conflict of testimony must be, either that Gauden, when he did 'make further noise,' after the Restoration, found cause to new-model his former communications; or that Walker is a witness not to be relied upon in any particular; for although his account be not wholly fictitious, yet, if we believe Gauden and his wife, it is so full of errors, that we cannot in any single instance be certain whether the lottery has yielded blank or prize, falsehood or truth. Difference of times will not reconcile the discrepancy; for Walker describes himself as preserving his intimacy, and conversing with Gauden constantly upon the subject down to a very short time before his death, when he was bishop elect of Worcester; so that he must have had the benefit of all the new information which Gauden might at any time have procured.

The sequel of Mrs. Gauden's narrative is remarkable in itself, and will assist in illustrating the transactions between her husband and Clarendon.

'When his Magisty Charles the Second came to Ingland and was proclamed King, my husband met Docktor Morly who fell into discorce with him how sensible hee was of the great servis which hee had dune his Magisty and his Riall family in composing and setting forth that most exelent booke caled the King Booke;'—'and so advantagious he say'd it had bin to his Magisty, that hee did then assure him that when his Magisty did come into Ingland hee might according to his great merrit have, as to preferment, what ever hee would desier. Hee with all tould him hee had acquainted Sir Edward Hid with it; for hee was then no more, though made sone after Lord Chanseler, he likewise then tould my husband

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husband how much hee did both commend and admier it, but for his Magisty sayes hee, wee did not acquaint him with it, but did assure him that his Magisty did set a most high valew and esteme upon it.'

She then relates that her husband, relying on the carte-blanche offered him by Dr. Morley, expressed to Sheldon ('whom he did conseve was not ignorant that he was the only author of that fore-mentioned Booke,') a wish to be made Bishop of London. Sheldon looked 'very gravely' (this is not incredible) and observed, 'that that was a great leap at first.' Soon after, Gauden, on the solicitation, as he understood, of the Duke of Albemarle, obtained the see of Exeter. Mrs. Gauden then states that her husband, being visited with a dangerous infirmity, thought it prudent to acquaint the King with his secret,—

'In regard not only of the unsertainty of his own life, but the rather because hee could easily parseave that the Chanseler, Shelden and Morly were very willing to have it buryed in oblivion, but that it should be so my husband was not willing in regard my husband had at that time five children living and fouer of them sons, and they he thought might be capable of his Magisty's favor, besides the Duck of Sumerset* was not only dead then, but the Bishop of Winchester was very ill, whereupon my husband was resolved to declare it to his Magisty before his death, I mean Duper's, who was the chef person that was then able to artest it as I have in another paper declared, whereupon my husband having one day an opertunity to speake privately with his Magisty did reveall it to his Magisty, declaring to his Magisty at large what I have in my other paper writ, and for the truth of it hee did apeale to his Majesty's tutor that had bin, the Bishop of Winchester that then was, whereupon my husband and his Magisty had a great deal of discorc about it, and sayes his Magisty I did indeed sometimes wonder how my father in his troubles could have time and privasy to compose so exelent a pease, and me thought indeed it was written lick a scholer as well as lick a King, but his Magisty did then to my husband profess that till then hee knew nothing to the contrary but that it had bin his fathers.'—'After this his Magisty was pleased to promis my husband the revertion of the bishoprick of Winchester the Bishop that then was being not lick to live long; hee expressing an extraordinary sence of that great servis which was in that dune by him for his family: after this my husband went lickwise to his Highness the Duck of York and did lickwise acquaint him with it, who did seme, though not to doubt, yet to wonder much at it, in regard hee did profess that till then hee thought it had bin his father's; my husband replyed that it was without doubt his father's sene, but of his pening, as the Bishop of Winchester, the Chanseler, and Morly who was then Bishop of Worcester were able to testify; nay my lord replyed the Duck I doe beleave you and shall for ever have a very great sene of your extraordinary merrit in it.'—*Supplement*, p. 45—7.

Gauden then requested and was promised the duke's interest

* Marquis of Hertford at the time of the Newport treaty.

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when Winchester should be vacant; but the time came and he was supplanted by Morley. The king, however, gave him Worcester, which Morley had vacated, and Gauden died soon after his promotion. The widow petitioned without success for a remission of the first-fruits, and applied to Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, with no better fortune, though she urged to this prelate, as she declares, the great and yet unrequited service of her husband to the royal family.

Mrs. Gauden, it will be seen, has put into Charles's mouth the vulgar objections to the authenticity of the Icôn; its scholar-like style, and the late King's want of leisure. But Charles had had affecting proofs that his father could write well and largely, even in short intervals of the most anxious and pressing occupations. It is worth remarking, in addition, that the widow contradicts the clearest and most positive statements of her husband and Walker, where she represents the former as obtaining an audience of Charles before his interview with the duke.*

We now proceed from Mrs. Gauden to the evidence derived from her husband's correspondence. There is no part of the present, or perhaps of any historical subject, more curious or more fraught with difficulty than the conduct as well of Clarendon as of Gauden in the business of which these Letters treat. We find the new-made bishop, soon after his arrival at Exeter, addressing Clarendon in a strain of petulant, unpriestly, and unmanly complaint, lamenting the poverty of his see, indignant at the slight passed on him by so inadequate a promotion; in one sentence professing to console himself with the treasure of his own thoughts, and in the next pushing for a commendam. He speaks darkly of services 'known and unknown to the world,' and tending 'to buoy up the honour of the royal family, the church, and episcopacy;' and asks, 'Are these the effects of his' (Morley's) 'liberal expressions, who told me *I might have what I would desire?*' In less than a week (December 26, 1660,) he renews the attack, and Clarendon appears then to have returned an answer, which is not preserved; but we collect from the reply, dated January 21, 1661, that the Chancellor evaded or did not understand his hints at a secret and extraordinary service. 'True,' says Gauden, 'I once presumed that your lordship had fully known that Arcanum, for so Dr. Morley told me at the king's first coming, when he assured me that the greatness of that service was such that I might have *any preferment I desired.*' He then avows his having revealed his secret to the king and duke before he departed for Exeter,† when he saw himself 'not so much considered' in the 'present disposure' as

* See Supplement, p. 16. and Who wrote, &c. p. 25.

† Mrs. Gauden, it will be remembered, assigns quite a different time and occasion to these diclosures.

he

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he had hoped; and he at length openly declares to Clarendon that 'the Portraiture' was 'wholly and only' his 'invention, making, and design,' sent to the late king in the Isle of Wight by means of the Marquis of Hertford, delivered by Duppa, and 'accepted, owned, and adopted' by his Majesty, 'as his sense and genius.' He states, in this letter, as the limit of his desires, an addition of £500 a year to his revenue.—*Supplement*, p. 15. In four days we find him again addressing the Chancellor; again in less than a month; again in a fortnight; complaining, boasting, 'biting his chains,' (we use his own metaphor) and imputing his 'distresses' to the 'suasions and commands' of Clarendon, which had induced him to accept the barren see of Exeter. No answer appears to have been returned to these four communications, till, on the 13th of March, the Chancellor wrote that letter which has become so famous in the present controversy.

'My Lord,

'I do assure you upon my creditt all your letters make a deep impression on me, though it is not possible for me to acknowledge them particularly as I ought to do, being not only oppressed with severe weight of busynesse, but of late indisposed in my health; I am heartily gladd that we are like shortly to meete and conferr togither, and then I doubte not but that I shall appeare very faultless towards you, how unfortunate soever I have beene in contributinge somewhat to your uneasynesse, *which I was far from pressinge upon you when I once founde the overture was unacceptable to you.* I do well remember that I promised you to procure any good commendam to be annexed to that sea, which I heartily desyre to do, and long for the oportunity; and likewise that you should be removed nearer to this towne with the first occasion, for which undertaking I have likewise good authority. If the bishopps who have been made since the King's returne feel no other content than from the money they have yet received from their revennew, I am sure all with whom I am acquainted are most miserable, they havinge not yett received wherewith to buy them breade. I shall be very gladd to finde when we meete that it is in my power to contribute any thing to your lordship's content, in the meane tyme, I do assure you I am more afflicted with you, and for you, than I can expresse, and the more sensibly, that it is the only charge of that kind is layd upon me, which, in truth, I do not think I do deserve. The particular which you often renewed I do confesse was imparted to me under secrecy, and of which I did not take myself to be at liberty to take notice; and truly when it ceases to be a secrett I know nobody will be glad of it but Mr. Milton: I have very often wished that I had never been trusted with it.

'My Lord, I have nothing to inlarge, all I have to say being fitter for conference than a letter; and I hope shortly to see you, when you shall finde me very ready to serve you, as, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most affectionate Servant,

London, Worcester-House, the 13th of March.'

Edw. Hyde, C.

Supplement, pp. 21, 22.

Shortly

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Shortly afterwards Gauden visited London, and something probably took place which prevented any immediate renewal of correspondence. The next letter in Dr. Wordsworth's Supplement is addressed by Gauden to Clarendon, dated December 28, 1661, and written in expectation of the Bishop of Winchester's demise. Its beginning is characteristic.

'My very Honourable Lord,

'The daily reports of my most reverend friend the Bishop of Winchester's death (*decay*) as to bodily strength (whom God preserve and comfort) doth noe doubt give the alarm and watchword to many bishopps, especially those of us who have high racks and empty mangers, as expecting by the vacancy of that great sea some advantageous tide to our little freats (*frigates*): for upon this veinter are we poore bishopps set all our lives: like Pharaoh's leane kine wee look meagerly and eagerly upon the opulency of others,' &c.—*Supplement*, p. 24.

He proceeds indirectly to bid for the succession, by *advising* that the revenue of Winchester should be reduced to one half, and the surplus bestowed on other sees. He again insists upon the hope held out by Morley; and, with his usual indelicacy, observes to Clarendon—'Nor will your lordship (I hope) divert hys Majesties bounty and favour from mee who have had such experiences to yourself.' There is some reason to suppose that this letter was not sent. Another follows, addressed (January 15) to the Duke of York, on the same occasion: this, too, appears to have remained with the writer. About the same time probably was framed a petition to Charles II., in which Gauden speaks of the then dying Bishop of Winchester as having encouraged him in his great work, and received for him the late king's high approbation of it. The draught only of this paper is extant, and it is not known when, if at all, the original was presented. With Clarendon no farther communication seems to have been held: in March, 1662, Gauden was besieging a new patron, the Earl of Bristol, who had intimated a knowledge of his 'Arcanum,' (probably derived from the king,) and had paid him some flattering distinction. His letters to the earl were frequent while the disposal of Winchester was in agitation, and he seems to have preserved the favour of this nobleman till his own death, which happened in the following September. One letter from his widow is extant, in which she attempts to bespeak the earl's interest for her husband's surviving family.

Upon this series of papers two questions arise. First; would Clarendon have so far acquiesced in the bishop's claim if he had not found it unimpeachable? Secondly; would Gauden have been desperate enough to advance a fiction which many men living could expose, and even to name persons of the highest integrity

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tegrity as witnesses of its truth? The first difficulty is somewhat enhanced if it be true that Lord Clarendon has not mentioned the 'Royal Portraiture,' in any part of his works.

These questions appear to us difficult for the advocates of Charles, but not unanswerable. Clarendon, it is plain, could have had no personal knowledge of any fact connected with the publishing of the Meditations, having been always separated, and for a time estranged, from the king during the last four years of his life. He received the book abroad, on its first appearance, and believed it genuine. We are no where informed of his having heard any imputation upon its authenticity, (unless by the vague surmises of the regicide party,) till we find Gauden assuming that he has been acquainted with his 'Arcanum.' Clarendon, in his first and last extant letter on the subject, acknowledges that *the particular was imparted to him under secrecy*, and it becomes a material question, by whom? Gauden, according to his own account, had conveyed his story to the king through the Duke of York, in the interval between his appointment to Exeter and his departure for that diocese; that is, in November, or early in December, 1660; but he states many times in his correspondence (and in his petition to the king) that Morley confessed himself and Clarendon to be 'conscious' of the secret at the king's first coming. Clarendon's expressions in the letter we have quoted, certainly do not explicitly contradict Gauden's statement, but they admit nothing as to Morley, and are void of direct intelligence respecting the time, the author, and the extent of the communication. Yet the words that he '*did not take himself to be at liberty*' to notice the matter, imply that his informant was a person less familiarly known to him than Morley, and whose wishes he could less easily ascertain. Were we to hazard a conjecture on this obscure part of the subject, it would be that Clarendon received his knowledge, not at the time of the Restoration, but after Gauden's disclosure to the king and Duke of York; perhaps from one of the royal brothers; and that Morley, although he may have conversed with Gauden on gracious terms at the king's coming, did not use the language ascribed to him, at least with reference to the Icôn. We ground this last conclusion on the general improbability of the discourse said to have been held by Morley, of which we shall say more hereafter; the uniform absence of any hint on Gauden's part as to the quarter from which that divine could have gained his intelligence; the expressions of Gauden to the King and Lord Bristol, implying a persuasion that his secret can only be learned from him, or those in his confidence, which would not be the case if Morley had obtained his knowledge from an independent source; and lastly, on the circumstance, that of two intimate friends and political coadjutors,

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who are represented as 'conscious' of Gauden's high service, one is said to be all enthusiasm and promptitude to serve the actor of such an exploit, while the other is known to have mentioned it with deep mortification, and wished he had never heard of it.

But at whatever period, or from whomsoever, the Chancellor gained his information, he received it under the obligation of concealment. It was Gauden's convenient yet plausible policy to insist much on the mysteriousness of his great communication; and he therefore, in disclosing his secret to the royal brothers, or to any person before or after them, would of course affect to require the most rigid silence. The king, the duke, or whoever else may have imparted the knowledge so gained to Clarendon, would as naturally exact that he should keep the counsel of his informant. At all events Clarendon appears to have been so restrained, and would consequently hold himself interdicted from communicating on the subject, even with those who might appear as fully instructed as himself, nay, with Gauden, the first author of the disclosure; for the secret to be kept was, not only that certain events had happened, but also that he had become acquainted with them. It certainly rests unexplained on this supposition, (though it is not hard to imagine,) how the bishop guessed or learned that Clarendon had heard of the 'Arcanum.' But every conjecture upon this part of the question is attended with some difficulty. The light we possess, direct it as we will, is not sufficient to illuminate the whole subject at once.

Let us, however, suppose Clarendon relieved from the obligation we have imagined; as he would be, after Gauden, in his impatience and irritation, had himself opened his pretensions unreservedly and in their full extent. The Chancellor will now, at least, it may be said, become active in searching out the truth. We greatly doubt this. The secret was one peculiarly affecting the royal family, though interesting to the whole nation; Clarendon would not presume to move conspicuously in a matter of this kind without the king's sanction; and Charles, inclined (as he afterwards showed himself) to believe Gauden's statements, would probably feel but little good will to a formal investigation of the mystery. We shall not insist on the occupations which at this period thronged upon the Chancellor and all persons in high official station; yet it may be observed that an inquiry, however interesting, which is not practically connected with any present business, is very likely to languish in the daily urgency of public service. Gauden had received his preferment before his correspondence with the Chancellor began; no immediate result of any public importance attended on the verifying of his claim; the impeachment of it, ineffectually attempted, must have produced great mischief;

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mischief; and, if successful, would have been a source of perplexity to the government, and a handle of popular reproach against the restored hierarchy.

But although investigation might not proceed with that high hand and bold spirit which at first seem fitting the occasion, Clarendon would not surely rest satisfied without some inquiry. How, then, was that inquiry to be conducted? By summoning witnesses of inferior degree, servants, transcribers, printers, who might have seen the king's or Gauden's book while yet in preparation? This proceeding must have given the question a publicity which, at least for the time, was above all things to be avoided. By consulting those of more exalted rank, and a higher place in royal confidence? Dr. Wordsworth observes that Juxon, Sheldon, Earle, Barwick, Sir Philip Warwick, Legge, and many other distinguished persons and friends of the Chancellor, were living, and might have been referred to as well as the surviving witnesses pointed out by Gauden. In the opinion of the reverend author, who has treated the question with great acuteness, Lord Clarendon may have been deterred from this course by the mixed feelings of duty to the late king, whose secret, if such really existed, it was not for him to violate; a sullen aversion to the subject; and a dread of the inquiry, as mischievous, whether as tending to detract from the memory of Charles, or to cover a bishop with shame on the first revival of episcopacy. It is more ingeniously, we think, than justly observed, that Clarendon, having himself written many State Papers to be circulated as the king's composition, would naturally incline to suspect a like practice with regard to the Meditations. There is surely a wide difference between the case of a confidential servant expressing the 'sense and genius' of the *king* from his own instructions, in a political manifesto, and that of a stranger, unauthorized and uninformed, attempting to personate the *man* in disclosures of his inmost heart, in ardent prayers, and in solemn attestations of the Almighty.

But was the course of inquiry among Charles's friends so plain as Dr. Wordsworth intimates? It was far from certain that the prelates and gentlemen whom he names had known anything of the Icôn in its imperfect state; and the Chancellor would not proceed so lightly in a delicate and painful matter, as to make the round of those eminent persons, interrogating them at random. There were, however, three individuals mentioned by Gauden as well acquainted with the secret. Of these Hertford had died, a month probably, before Gauden made his first discovery to Charles II. Duppa and Morley remained. Why then, let us first ask, did not Clarendon apply to the bishop of Winchester?

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It might have been supposed, even without the evidence of his own letter, that Clarendon would feel profoundly shocked when he heard of Gauden's disclosure. He would endure the mortification, one of the bitterest that a good man can experience, of discovering a secret corruption, a stain never yet suspected in those most deeply enshrined in his love and reverence. To find the king's work claimed as the elaborate fabrication of a mercenary intriguer, would strike him with the abhorrent feeling of one who beholds some strange abomination mingling itself among holy things—

> ——————— ' latices nigrescere sacros,
> Fusaque in obscœnum se vertere vina cruorem.'

With what sentiments, then, would he approach the friends of Charles I. (we now speak generally,) those men so long honoured for their faith, courage, wisdom, and supposed integrity, to ask of them whether they had been partakers in the odious imposture? But, especially, with what countenance would he present himself before the venerable Winchester, now verging to the close of a long and saintly life,* in that dwelling to which even a careless and licentious king would often resort for converse, and where at last he knelt for a dying benediction; with what courage would the Chancellor address this holy man, to demand of him whether he had once lent his exertions to the Rector of Bocking in a work of fraud and profanation? If Clarendon feared that the imputation was just, he would shrink from hearing the avowal; if he doubted its truth, he would dread to insult piety and honour by alluding, in the accent of uncertainty, to so foul a subject.

But the repugnance which might render Clarendon slow in consulting other persons, would be less active in the case of Morley, an intimate and domestic friend. Dr. Wordsworth thinks no recourse was had even to this worthy and tried counsellor, and that Clarendon, whether doubting or believing, kept his grief within his own breast to the end of his life. Let us, however, view the subject from another point. Was Morley able, if consulted, to relieve his friend's anxiety, by unfolding the true history, or by confuting the false? He was one of the divines present at the Newport treaty; but it does not follow, nor do we any where learn, that he acquired there any information as to the royal manuscript. All, in fact, that Gauden ventures to affirm of this prelate on any occasion, is, that at the king's return he was acquainted with the great secret, and represented Hyde as knowing it also. Such assertions are easily made, and although Morley

* He was ' a person,' says Wood, ' of so clear and eminent candour that he left not the least spot upon his life or function.'—*Ath. Ox.* iii. 543. Edit. 1817.

might

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might contradict them, it would be hard to convict the promulgator of intentional falsehood. We think it most probable, however, that Lord Clarendon, after his letter to Gauden of the 13th of March, felt at liberty to seek, and did in some quarter obtain, so much information as dispelled the greater part of his uneasiness, and that Morley, if he had ever shared that sensation, shared also the knowledge which removed it. We ground these conclusions on the anecdote which Wagstaffe, in his 'Vindication,' relates of Henry, the second earl of Clarendon, who was living at that time, and aware of his publication. This nobleman going to France in 1674, on a visit to his banished father, was desired by Morley to report 'that the king had ill people about him, who turned all things into ridicule: that they endeavoured to bring him to have a mean opinion of the king, his father, and to persuade him that he was not the author of that book which goes under his name.' To which the old earl replied, 'Good God! I thought the Marquis of Hertford had satisfied the King in that matter.' The Marquis's explanation had referred, most likely, to the insinuations of the regicide party respecting Hammond and others of the royal chaplains; for Gauden, as we have said, made no communication to the King till after Lord Hertford's death. But it would have been mere trifling in Clarendon to remind his friend of the clearing up of these doubts, if they had both been conscious that others, of a more perplexing kind, had arisen afterwards, and remained unsolved. This answer,* then, which is fully authenticated if the younger Clarendon be worthy of belief, shows the final understanding between his father and Morley, that the presence of Gauden was a shadow which had passed away, and was to be no more remembered. One further reflection arises from the same anecdote; that if Lord Hertford was the person who *satisfied* King Charles on the occasion referred to, he must either at that time have been guilty of the grossest fraud upon his sovereign, or he cannot have played the part which Gauden and his wife ascribe to him, in conveying the Icôn to Newport.

The little we know of Lord Clarendon's behaviour after the often cited letter of the 13th of March is consistent with the supposition that he had discovered, at least sufficiently for his own satisfaction, the unworthiness of Gauden. There is no attempt at a revival of their correspondence, except in the letter written to Clarendon in December, if it were ever sent, which is uncertain. Henceforward Gauden's applications are directed to the King

* Toland affected to understand the words in a sense contrary to that here assigned; his construction is denied by the younger Clarendon, violent in itself, and inconsistent with established facts.

and

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and Duke of York, and to Lord Bristol, a person well inclined, probably, to believe, with the royal brothers, that the Icôn was 'not Gospel,' and certainly not indisposed to welcome a revolted client of the Chancellor. We hear now of the 'oblique and envious eye' cast on the aspiring prelate by Clarendon and Morley; the absence of 'justice and ingenuity' in men conscious of his services; the difficulties attending desert at court, and his want of favour from those of whom he has merited. Failing of Winchester, by the means (if we believe his own friends) of Morley and the Chancellor, he obtains Worcester by the favour of the king, dies within half-a-year, and leaves not behind him sufficient interest with any party to procure a remission of the first-fruits at the entreaty of his widow. Charles makes his epitaph by observing that it will no doubt be easy to find a more worthy person to fill his place. The memorials of his claim are preserved, but apparently not used, and all is obscurity till after the Revolution, when the papers are disinterred to make a figure in political controversy.

We should not omit to say that Dr. Wordsworth points out circumstances tending, in his opinion, to prove that Morley, both before and after the Restoration, held the King's Book authentic. The absence of allusion to it in Clarendon's writings is a fact certainly remarkable, but affording no solid ground for argument on either side of this dispute. That he should forbear to record doubts which he considered as long ago dispelled, is not surprizing; and discretion as well as charity would prevent his publishing the dishonour of Gauden, which as yet continued a secret. So far, his conduct is not inconsistent with a belief that the Icôn was genuine. How it has happened that he never mentioned the work generally, and without reference to the attacks on its authenticity, is a question which at this time can only be answered by loose conjecture; and which we neither pretend, nor think it material to discuss. It may be noticed, however, that in that part of his great history which relates to the death of Charles I. the period at which historians generally introduce their account of the Icôn, Clarendon professedly overleaps a multitude of incidents as sufficiently 'enlarged upon in a treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose.' Dr. Wordsworth cites a passage from an earlier part of Clarendon's History, as alluding to the Royal Portraiture; but we think the intention far from certain, and he has perhaps not observed, that the sentence, if quoted to the end, might be plausibly turned to the advantage of his opponents.

We have examined the conduct of Clarendon in this matter with much minuteness, because so much importance has always been attached to this feature in the controversy. His character, the

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the great situations which he filled, and his affinity with the royal family, make this not unnatural; but we confess that, in our opinion, it has been much exaggerated. Let us for a moment lay aside the previous argument and suppose him to have received the book on its first publication, when abroad, with an implicit belief in its authenticity, and to have returned at the Restoration, retaining the same impression—the first must be admitted to be a natural supposition, and against the second there is nothing but Gauden's assumption unauthorized at first, and seemingly retracted afterwards.* In this state let us suppose him to have been informed by the king or his brother that the work is a forgery, and that he believes the information. It would then be by no means improbable that he would silently acquiesce in the painful belief, and studiously avoid any inquiries, which could have a tendency only to disseminate more widely the dishonour of his beloved master; but still, in this view, his opinion becomes no more conclusive than that of Charles II. or of the duke—like their's, his must depend, for its weight, upon the authority on which it was grounded; and if that authority was Gauden alone, it is subject to all the remarks to which Gauden's veracity may be liable.

But what shall we say of the bishop's courage in advancing a fiction which it should seem, at first sight, that so many persons must have had the power to demolish? We may conjecture, indeed, that he would not have hazarded this desperate stroke if he had not failed of those objects which he had hoped, and thought himself entitled to attain by other means. To use his own term, he 'played the best card in his hand something too late,' when he found the richer preferments disposed of, and himself 'banished,' as he terms it, to Exeter. It was then he made his discovery to the king and duke, and soon after began to press the chancellor, who was by this time also (whether by Gauden's contrivance or by other means) acquainted with the mysterious claim. He opens the subject gradually to him, at first venturing only on comparatively safe assertions; but, at length, goaded by disappointment and neglect, urged on, perhaps, by the 'pious, loyal, and generous spirit' of Mrs. Gauden, and tortured with fears that the gate of wealth and advancement may be finally closing against him, he exposes to his unwilling view the whole of his pretensions. Some witnesses it might be expected that he should name; and, accordingly, he refers to his wife, the late Marquis of Hertford, and the Bishop of Winchester, of whom it is only stated that he delivered the manu-

* See his petition to Charles II., in which he says, 'myself being conscious with *two* persons of great honour and integrity, the Duke of Somerset, and the now Bishop of Winchester, to what private service,' &c.—*Supp.* p. 29.

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script to the king, though, subsequently, in the petition to Charles II. when Duppa was on his death-bed, he assigns his part in the fraud with much more particularity.* Mrs. Gauden, of course, might be securely vouched, and as Duppa was now nearly seventy-three years old, and perhaps failing in health, Gauden might hope that Clarendon, if he referred to the good prelate at all, would not urge him closely on the subject of a book delivered to Charles I. more than twelve years before. As to Morley, whom Gauden cited on this, as on other occasions, with much confidence, it was merely alleged in general terms, that he had owned for himself, and for Clarendon, a knowledge of the secret. Morley might deny this; but how easy was it for Gauden, if his merits had been at all dwelt upon in the conversation, (which was very likely,) to pretend a belief, and affect an obstinate perseverance in it, that his private as well as public services had been descanted on. Mrs. Gauden adds Archbishop Sheldon, as conscious of the fraud, but she assigns no reason for doing so, and the naming this or any other person in her manuscript can weigh little in the present argument, as she kept the narrative in her own hands, reserving it, as she said, until there should be 'a good occasion to make it manifest;' and, in fact, it was never published by her authority.

The danger of discovery would have been far greater if Gauden had allowed his claim to become public; but it was an 'arcanum,' a matter fit only for royal and noble breasts, and imparted to very few even of these. It is remarkable that, although Gauden, in his letters, often expresses himself resentfully, and once or twice in a tone of menace, he never hints a threat of publishing his secret to the world. Supposing, however, that it had been partially divulged at court, it was not every one of the late king's friends, even of those who attended the Newport treaty, that could have crushed the fable by a positive contradiction. Besides, as Dr. Wordsworth very well observes, Gauden had been most conversant with persons who thought meanly of Charles I. perhaps he really believed, as that party professed to do, that the Meditations were not the king's work, and in this persuasion, he may have arrogated the performance to himself, trusting that the author, if yet alive, might be ashamed to vindicate his title, and that at least any public exposure would be prevented, in mercy to the late king's memory.

Still, the danger of detection was so great, that a man of ordinary caution, however wanting in principle, would scarcely have

* It will be remembered that there is no proof that this petition was ever presented, but the date of its composition is fixed by internal evidence.

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incurred it to escape from the 'tenuity' of Exeter. But our business is with one who soared above ordinary caution. We are loath to use such terms of a man so dignified in station, but a more frank liar than Dr. Gauden never existed. He rushed on falsehood with an ardour of temperament which prevented the calculation of consequences; often promulgating the boldest untruths gratuitously, and at an imminent risk, sometimes with a certainty, of being detected on the first inquiry. Thus, he tells Charles II. that he has entrusted his 'heroic service' to none but the Duke of York, by whom the king was informed of it; and boasts that he thinks himself 'somewhat beyond any private intercessions.' Yet this is undoubtedly written after his full disclosure and repeated letters of importunity to Clarendon. He persists in urging upon Clarendon that his acceptance of Exeter was owing to that nobleman's 'suasions and commands,' when he himself 'oft deprecated the terror of this undertaking'; assertions to which Clarendon simply replies, that he was far from pressing the matter when he once found the overture was unacceptable. There can be scarcely any doubt that the declarations of Morley, so incessantly quoted by Gauden in this correspondence, were in part, if not wholly, fabulous, and known by Clarendon to be so. It is very probable that Morley, when sent to England on the eve of the Restoration, would be instructed to treat Gauden with some distinction, as one who had merited well of the church and monarchy in his later writings, a person of figure in his county, a popular preacher, and, which was peculiarly to the purpose of Morley's errand, a man possessing considerable interest with the presbyterians. Dr. Wordsworth thinks it possible, that, if he lent any assistance in procuring the Icôn to be printed, some knowledge of this may have reached Morley, and operated to Gauden's advantage. But can it be conceived that an experienced and rigidly honest divine, or that Hyde, through his agency, would pretend to give Dr. Gauden the 'option' of all preferments, and that, too, when such men as Juxon, and Duppa, and Sheldon, not to speak of Morley himself, were to be provided for? In a letter to Hyde of the 1st of May, 1660, Morley speaks of a jealousy entertained by some persons of rank, that the king is bestowing places too indiscriminately.—(*Clarendon Papers*, vol. iii. p. 736.) And yet at this time, as we are told, the writer himself and his correspondent are voluntarily promising to Gauden the choice of all places in the church without reserve, and without stipulation, for a service unknown to the king, and of which Clarendon afterwards says that the tidings would please none but Mr. Milton; we must not say that

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that the incident is impossible, but we are sure that, if true, it stands single in the history of patronage.

The complicated and palpable prevarication of Gauden, on his being 'shuffled' out of the Assembly of Divines, affords another curious example of indifference not only to truth, but to the shame of detection in falsehood. For the details of this remarkable and convincing anecdote we must refer to Dr. Wordsworth, who has also satisfied us that the 'Invective against the Army,' which Gauden boasted of having composed and endeavoured to publish in 1649, was, in fact, written with a manifest policy, about the time of the Restoration. Applying, then, all these examples to the purpose of our argument, we think it clear, that Gauden was less likely than most other men to be deterred from fraud by the probability of detection.

We shall pause but a moment on the expressions of Charles II. and his brother, recorded in Lord Anglesey's Memorandum, Burnet's History, and Bates's Funeral Sermon. The opinions of these princes were originally formed on the statement of Gauden, himself, and if they believed, on his credit, that the Icôn was spurious, motives were not wanting to them, as time passed on, for adhering to this prepossession. As Dr. Wordsworth observes, when Charles was in treaty with France for the establishment of popery in this kingdom, and both the brothers had embraced the catholic religion, it was but too natural that they should wish to obscure the portrait of their father's better mind and higher principle. The picture frowned on them, and they turned it to the wall. Burnet makes the Duke of York relate that Dr. Gauden brought the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Southampton to the king and to himself as witnesses of his veracity, and that, by their account, Southampton conveyed the Icôn to Newport. But, as Somerset was dead before Gauden carried his secret to Whitehall, and neither Gauden nor his wife, nor Walker speak of witnesses produced at court, or even name Southampton, we value Burnet's anecdote but as the tale of an inaccurate reporter from a careless communication made long after the fact.

We come now to what Dr. Wordsworth terms the external evidence in favour of Charles I., which the learned author has elaborately digested from Long, Hollingworth, Wagstaffe, Young, and other writers. On this chain of testimony we shall not offer any detailed observations, as the subject could not be fairly treated without a copiousness of extract and minuteness of observation which would exceed all reasonable limits. It has happened, unfortunately for the truth, in this controversy, that no active disquisition and search for proofs commenced till forty years after the events in question. Of the evidence then collected many parts must

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must of course be indistinct and hard to reconcile to each other; and many, we do not scruple to suppose, erroneous. Much, too, will be looked upon with doubt, as coming from the second and third hand. In historical investigation there is no rule forbidding us to receive evidence of this nature; but common sense must examine each particular, and ascertain its value. Applying this test to the evidence now in question, we do not scruple to pronounce that far more than sufficient remains, after discarding all that is unsatisfactory, to establish the royal cause.

The first series of these proofs relates to a part of the Meditations, written before the battle of Naseby, taken on that occasion in the king's cabinet, and restored to him by the interest of Major Huntington with Fairfax. Bishop Bull conversed with the chaplain who was employed in negociating for the papers, and who read them when retrieved. Sir Paul Whichcott related, that his father, from whom he had often heard the anecdote, had the papers for a time from Huntington, and transcribed a part. The declarations of Huntington, the Earl of Manchester, and Sir William Prynne, that they saw the work during its detention, appear to be satisfactorily attested.* Colonel Okey and Archbishop Usher are added to this train of witnesses, but on less certain authority.

The story of the papers thus taken and restored was confidently advanced by the royalist writers as early as 1649, when it was the urgent interest of the ruling party to defame the king's book and discountenance its admirers, and the press was actively employed in that service. If, then, the Meditations, said to have been taken in Charles's cabinet, had really not existed there, how easy would it have been to heap ridicule on the royalists by a simple statement of the truth! But no such attempt was made. It had been admitted, on the publication of the king's captured papers, that other documents, 'numerous and vast,' remained in the conquerors' hands. Did the early parts of the Icôn compose a part of this mass? No person was more likely to be informed on such a subject than Rushworth, the kinsman and secretary of Fairfax; and he in his volume on Lord Strafford's trial, introduces the second chapter of the Meditations under this title,—'The Reflections of King Charles I. upon the Earl of Strafford's Death.'—*Collections*, vol. viii. p. 775.

From the restoration of his papers till the treaty of Newport, Charles continued writing and perhaps re-writing and polishing his essays, which were seen from time to time by many witnesses. The most frequent and emphatic in his testimony is Levet,

* A difficulty arises as to Huntington, which is ably discussed by Dr. Wordsworth.

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Charles's attached and favoured page of the bed-chamber, who attended him in all his captivities till he was removed to Hurst Castle.

'I myself,' says the faithful domestic (and his declaration is well authenticated) 'very often saw the King write that which is printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand, in many sheets of paper: and seldom that I read it but tears came from me: and I do truly believe that there is not a page in that book but what I have read under the King's own hand, before it was printed.'

Royston the bookseller, Milbourn a printer, Hooker a corrector of the press, and Clifford an ejected member of Magdalen College, Oxford, bear testimony to the manuscript as received from Symmons, the chaplain, as understood to come from the King, and as resembling in appearance other papers received from the same quarter. Both Clifford and Hooker detail circumstances from hearsay, which we should desire to see better explained and authenticated; but we perceive no reason for doubting the history which they and Milbourn give of their own transactions. Symmons lived but a short time after the publication; his widow was repeatedly questioned as to the King's book by the regicide as well as royalist party, and uniformly declared that her husband lived and died affirming it to be genuine.

We may add to this evidence the assertion of Bishop Earle, that he was as sure King Charles wrote the Icôn in English as that he himself translated it into Latin; and the reported expression of Archbishop Juxon, that to his 'certain knowledge' it was all written and composed by Charles the First.

These testimonies, and many others which our limits prevent us from citing, were collected by many persons, at various times and from independent sources; the rejection of any one therefore will not necessarily imply the discredit of another; and there are very few among them which, if believed, are not conclusive against the pretensions of Dr. Gauden. But the evidence on his side is so almost exclusively grounded on his own authority that if he himself be found wanting, the other witnesses can weigh but little in his scale.

We think then that the preponderance of direct proofs is clearly on the royalist side. But supposing, for the sake of argument, that they were equally balanced, we should then have to examine, with Dr. Wordsworth in his Second Letter, the reasons à priori, the 'antecedent probabilities' in favour of Charles or of Dr. Gauden; and, finally, to inquire what testimony could be gathered from the disputed work itself, on behalf of either claimant. The first discussion has been partly forestalled in the preceding pages, but some important points remain still untouched.

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That Charles I. was qualified to write such a work as the Icôn is established, as far as the subject admits of demonstration, by innumerable testimonies. His literary and theological attainments are well known; and experience and sorrows had matured in him that wisdom, unhappily more speculative than practical, which justified the observation, that 'had the king been a counsellor to any other prince, he would have gained the esteem of an oracle.' The mind which dictated his letters to Prince Charles of the 25th of November, 1648, and to Prince Rupert of August, 1645,* might well reach a strain as high as that of the Royal Meditations. His taste and disposition were precisely those which would employ themselves in such a work, and we can almost imagine him alluding to this occupation when he says, in his letter to the Prince from Newport,—

'We bless God we have those inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot perturb; we have learned to busy ourself by retiring into ourself, and therefore can the better digest what befalls us.'—*Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion*, book xi.

As to Gauden, our estimate of his abilities from such of his works as we have read, falls within, rather than exceeds, that formed by Dr. Wordsworth. Allowing him, however, to have been a man of more than ordinary talent, it is difficult to imagine how such a work as the Icôn could have been projected by one so disadvantageously situated for achieving it. Gauden was no royal chaplain or 'household rhetorician;' he had lived at a distance from the court and among those estranged from it by party feeling. The Earl of Warwick was his patron, and we hear of Colonel Whaley as his 'worthy friend,' and Stephen Marshall as his political informant. It does not appear that he ever had any intercourse with the king but that of once preaching before him. What light he may have received on the public transactions of the time it is impossible to know; but he was, of all men, the least likely to be familiar with the views taken of them at court. Yet this is the person who, in a sudden fit of zeal for the monarch, of which he does not appear to have given any previous testimony, begins a series of reflections in his name on the events of the last seven years, and that too without any communication made to the royal party or any suggestion received from them, with no assurance that his labour when complete will be graciously accepted, but with a certainty of ruin if his intrigue should be discovered by those in power.

We will dismiss these objections, and suppose the manuscript completed and brought to Newport at the opening of the treaty.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, book ix. and book xi.

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Charles I., a prince who encouraged liberties from no man, is informed that an Essex rector has composed a book in his name, to set him right with the people and excite their feelings in his behalf. He finds there written down for him reflections and prayers on many occasions; on the death of Strafford, on the queen's departure from England, and on the divulging of his secret papers; his meditations on death, and his last advice to the Prince of Wales. He naturally feels curious to know something of the officious divine who has prepared sentiments for his adoption on so many delicate subjects, and he is told that the writer is Dr. Gauden, formerly chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, enjoying a rich benefice, to which the earl procured his collation by an unhandsome treatment of the late Archbishop of Canterbury when in the Tower.* It is added that Dr. Gauden is the clergyman, who preached before the parliament at their first meeting, and so effectually humoured their passions as to obtain from them the present of a silver tankard for his seasonable doctrine. Possibly the king, or some about him, may recal to mind Gauden's sermon delivered shortly after to the court, in which he significantly cautioned the prelates and clergy present to avoid 'haughty and supercilious looks and insolent comportment,' and warned them against the 'imputed and relative holiness' of 'churches, and tables, and vestures and gestures.' And if these circumstances would at any time render the name of the Essex clergyman unmusical in King Charles's ear, it was not a happy season to breathe it there, when the monarch was just restored to the society of those faithful and honourable divines who had suffered imprisonment and deprivation for integrity's sake, while Gauden, bending to the storm, had preserved his benefice and 'lived at the rate of a thousand a year.'

Pass we from the man to his project, of securing the king's life and reinstating him in popularity by a false show of devout exercises: meditations made by proxy and vows and ejaculations taken up like merchandize in the market. We will risk the displeasure of those who can allow Charles no good quality, by conjecturing that the king would have felt, as every man now feels, the unworthiness of such a proposal, and that either his pride or his virtue would have been sufficient, singly, to determine its rejection. If he conferred with those illustrious friends and counsellors who had just rejoined him, or the dignified and pious ecclesiastics now in his train, we think it not extravagant to presume that Hertford and Southampton, or that Juxon, Hammond and Duppa would have shown as nice a moral sense as the young

* See the Trial and Troubles of Archbishop Laud, 1695, p. 194.

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curate, Anthony Walker, and, like him, 'stuck at the lawfulness' of Dr. Gauden's stratagem. Prudence too would have interposed. Charles had no reason to rely on the fidelity or discretion of Gauden himself; and if the work had by any means been seized while in progress and its author made known, the king would have been irreparably disgraced, and little hope could have remained of interesting the people in his favour.

But let us now open the book itself, and inquire, first, whether it appears answerable to its alleged purpose. Here is a work written, as it is said, to serve Charles by vindicating his piety and exciting a strong public sympathy in his misfortunes. Considering the imminency of the king's perils, it is strange that nearly three-fourths of the book should be devoted to events having no near connexion with the present emergency, and on which the general opinion was far more likely to be divided than on recent occurrences: as, for example, the fate of Lord Strafford; the attempt to seize the five members; his majesty's repulse at Hull; the nineteen propositions; the ordinance against the Common Prayer Book. It is only in the last six chapters (of twenty-eight) that those subjects are treated of, which a writer, with the views pretended by Gauden, would consider most surely calculated to produce a strong and uniform sensation. Nor is this all. There is in every part of the Icôn a freedom of reflection, an uncompromising boldness of language whether in upholding the king's own cause or exposing the injustice of his adversaries, which a friend of the monarch, writing for popular favour, would scarcely have ventured to adopt. If any thing was hoped from the Presbyterians, they could not be more effectually disgusted than by the contempt expressed in every part of the work for their ministers, their discipline, their catechisms and their Directory. It may be said that there was wisdom in this openness, and that the people in general would be more favourably impressed by the free declaration, than by the suspicious concealment, of opinions which the king would at all events be presumed to entertain. But if any man could have ventured on so hazardous a boldness, Gauden was not that man. Though he often wrote against the interest or feelings of persons in power, and always affected an entire freedom of speech on such occasions, no man ever moved his pen with a colder and more timorous caution. In his sermon before the king, his religious and loyal protestation, his case of maintenance by tithes, and his petitionary remonstrance to Oliver Cromwell, we distinctly see him wavering between the desire to signalize his courage, by 'standing in the gap,' as he terms it, and the still more powerful inclination to avoid giving such offence as may compromise Dr. Gauden and

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endanger Bocking.* The Religious and Loyal Protestation was a pamphlet written in January, 1649, to divert the army and commons from their purpose of trying the king, a purpose of which Gauden's friend the Earl of Warwick was among the opposers. We will compare a passage of that most tame and frigid intercession with a few lines of the king's book.

'If his majesty (says Gauden) erred in his judgment or counsel which put him, as he thought, upon the necessary vindication of his just rights against those whom he was jealous—went about to deprive him of them, yet can no less revenge serve subjects upon their king, or sons towards their mistaken parent, than after long and many heavy afflictions utterly to destroy him and his? Forget not, as I hope you do not, the common errors to which all men are subject; and those notorious ones with which mutual recriminations have aspersed both parliament and army, and with which we have all cause to fear the most just judge of heaven and earth will charge the most presuming innocence of us all. O do not stain the renown of your valour by so merciless an act as the destroying your king,' &c.—p. 9.

How does Charles himself (or Gauden in Charles's name, if it be possible to believe so) treat the same persons on the same occasion?

'It is indeed a sad fate for any man to have his enemies to be accusers, parties and judges, but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of subjects against their sovereign, wherein those who have had the chiefest hand and are most guilty of contriving the public troubles, must, by shedding my blood, seem to wash their hands of that innocent blood whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by tumults, after by armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful superiors than this, the guilt of their unjust usurpation.'—Chapter xxviii.

Is it probable that the man who carried submission so far in his own person, could have felt it politic to use this roughness when sustaining the character of another?

There are in King Charles's book some passages of self-condemnation, which Dr. Gauden would hardly have presumed to lay before that prince for his adoption, and which no man, considering the subject with such coolness as we must suppose in a fabricator, would have thought it prudent to entrust the world

* We take no notice of the Invective against the Army, because we do not believe it to have been composed on the occasion pretended. In addition to the reasons given by Dr. Wordsworth for this opinion there is a passage in the Hieraspistes, page 7, on moderation in writing, which could hardly have been published by a man who had suffered the 'Invective' to go out of his hands, even though it had not yet found its way to the press.

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with. Such are the king's reflections on his concurrence in the attainder of Lord Strafford, where he terms that compliance—

—'an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of state by acts of so high injustice as no public convenience can expiate or compensate.'—Chap. ii.

Such again is the passage where, addressing the Almighty, he says,

'by my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject, and justly mayest thou, by my own subjects, strip me of my strength and eclipse my glory.'—Chap. x.

If Dr. Gauden could have been barbarous enough to obtrude upon the 'discrowned' king such sentences as these, we cannot believe that Charles was sufficiently humbled to 'adopt them as his sense and genius' when tendered to him by a stranger. We think, too, (without any disposition to overrate Gauden's delicacy,) that he would not willingly have affronted the monarch by those allusions which occur in the Icôn to his reported weakness of understanding. (Chap. xi. xxi.)

And again, we consider it unlikely that a fabricator, possessed of any discretion, or desiring to avoid unnecessary difficulties, would have ventured on the king's last injunctions to his son; or attempted a chapter 'on the Queen's Departure and Absence out of England.'

There is another consideration which alone would go far in convincing us that the Icôn was not written by Gauden, nor indeed by any person under such circumstances as he has related. It was completed at a time when the king's fortunes bore an undecided, though a deeply menacing aspect. There was still a possibility that he might retrieve his affairs by negociation, and the work is in fact said to have reached him on the eve of a treaty granted by the parliament, and which opened to Charles a last opportunity of preserving life and recovering freedom by submission to the demands of the Commons. Before the conferences at Newport it must have appeared uncertain, perhaps to all men, but at least to those not intimately conversant with the royal counsels, whether Charles would or would not ultimately surrender the great object for which he had hitherto contended, the church government and revenues, as the price of peace and of monarchy. But it was declared in the 'Royal Portraiture,' and that emphatically and in several places, that the king neither would nor could make the required concessions. Unless Gauden had been his majesty's confessor, we know not whence he could at this time have gathered the assurance of his final determination, which is expressed in the following sentences.

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'To which most sacrilegious and abhorred perjury, most unbeseeming in a Christian king, should I ever, by giving my consent, be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery than any hath or can befal me.'—ch. ix. 'How can any man that wisheth not my damnation, persuade me at once to so notorious and combined sins as sacrilege and perjury?'—ch. xvii.

Dr. Wordsworth justly considers it almost incredible that a person like Gauden, unconnected with political transactions, and not showing himself peculiarly conversant with them in any other work, but, on the contrary, betraying sometimes an ignorance or confused recollection of them, should have traced the course of events through several years in the chapters of the Icôn, without any historical error, and, which is still more extraordinary, without disclosing any sentiment or view of affairs inconsistent with the royal character. To obtain a clear prospect of contemporary history is always difficult, especially in times of civil dissension; and this was to be achieved by Gauden under the disadvantages of haste and concealment, and with the certainty that any want of exactness would be fatal to his imposture. A discovery of state-secrets was hardly to be expected in the King's book, whether the nature of the work itself were considered, or the time in which it was published; although Dr. Wordsworth has, we think, succeeded in tracing some few allusions to circumstances not publicly known when the Icôn appeared. But it abounds with passages that prove the author to have been a man critically acquainted with public events, and looking at them with the sagacity of a practised politician. We would instance his short view of the influence gradually obtained over parliament by crowds which 'are taught first to petition, then to protest, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe:' his character of Lord Strafford, 'a gentleman whose great abilities might make a prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him:' his account of the policy used by his enemies in negociating with him at Uxbridge and elsewhere, 'always to ask something which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted:' his just intimation of the consequence attendant on the divulging of his letters, which seems to have been designed by the perpetrators of that sordid outrage, 'to confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the people:' his remark on religious covenants, that 'such illegal ways seldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties but only to parties:' and his observation (repeated more than once in his letters) on the necessity of preserving the dependence of the church upon the crown, a remark which savours far more of the monarch than of the ecclesiastic.

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That chapter of the Icôn which is addressed to the prince contains also many wise and statesmanlike reflections; but, not to dwell longer on this part of the subject, we will only add that if, intermixed with such writing as we have described, there are found passages of a clerical turn, they do not render it less probable that the book was composed by a prince who had been long accustomed to exercise his mind and his pen in theological disquisitions.

The 'Portraiture' contains, in our opinion, much internal evidence that the chapters were composed at different, and some of them at widely distant times. One, the ninth, mentions Charles as having reigned seventeen years, and therefore dates itself at 1642. The early portions appear to be conceived in a more buoyant and self-confident spirit than the later, and not with that foresight of a fatal catastrophe which casts a gloom, as of evening, on most of the writer's meditations, from the time of his captivity at Holmby. The rivalry between the Presbyterians and Independents, although often alluded to in the later chapters, is never hinted at in those which refer to times preceding the open emulation of the two sects. The mention of leisure or want of leisure in different parts of the book is shown by Dr. Wordsworth to accord exactly with the circumstances in which Charles was placed at the periods in question. In the 'Meditation on the Queen's Departure,' the reflections must have been far bitterer, and the complaints must have related to more than 'scandalous articles' and 'irreverent demeanour' if that section had been written after her majesty's second visit to England, when her lodging was battered with cannon, and she herself impeached of high treason. The chapter 'On the Army's Surprizal of the King at Holdenby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City' appears characterized by a momentary lightening of the spirit, a flutter of uncertainty, a gleam of that false hope which the king was led to cherish for a time on the change of his captivity, and his deliverance from the 'presbyterian rigour.' These and other signs of authenticity might perhaps have been imparted by a fabricator; but we think he would not have left them so obscurely and delicately marked: and we do not believe that Gauden had refinement enough to invent them.

We must refer to Dr. Wordsworth's letters for a number of instances in which he has, convincingly for the most part, sometimes perhaps rather fancifully, traced correspondences between passages of the Icôn and sayings, writings, or transactions of King Charles, with which Gauden had no means of becoming acquainted. It is among the most remarkable of these coincidences, that the author of the Portraiture marks out two faults

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in the king's conduct as 'sins' which are acknowledged with peculiar compunction; his consent to Strafford's death and his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland: while in the reported conversations and still extant letters of Charles, the same two misdeeds are several times spoken of with the same distinguished humiliation.

On the style of the Icôn much has been said, but vaguely. It is best characterized, in our judgment, by the author of a royalist pamphlet (the Princely Pelican) as 'a serious, sinewy dialect, without affectation.' It is in general weighty, succinct, sententious, antithetical; sometimes, however, it rambles and becomes weak and entangled; at others, but chiefly on devotional occasions, it is admirably sweet, fluent, and swelling; as in the opening of the prayer on his majesty's separation from his chaplains.

'To thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitary prayers; what I want of others' help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkness and quicken my dulness. O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me and interceding for me: in thee is all fulness; from thee all sufficiency: by thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough and comfort enough: thou art my king, be also my prophet and my priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.'

It is difficult to form any general opinion of the King's style from his acknowledged writings, scattered and unequal as they are, called forth on the most dissimilar occasions, and never perhaps subjected, as the Icôn must have been, to revision and polishing. There are periods in his letters round and weighty enough to have made part of the Meditations; and again, there are passages in the Meditations as harsh and ungraceful as any in his letters of business. Gauden wrote at times both fluently and purely, and often in a manner not unlike the ordinary style of the king's book. But if we follow his composition and that of the Icôn through several pages, we shall find this great distinction between them. Gauden's language may continue for a time clear, chaste, and subdued; but as he warms with his subject he becomes wordy and rhetorical, his epithets multiply, his sentences lengthen, he grasps indiscriminately at ornaments, he ejaculates and apostrophizes; he is sometimes flighty, sometimes vulgar, but always bustling and impetuous: in a word, we discover that we are listening to an ambitious preacher. But the Meditations (except in their devotional passages, and even these roll with an uniform and majestic current) affect no artificial ardour; they move with a 'grave majestic pace,' equably and sedately, and the course

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course of thought is constantly checked before it can have time to acquire a glow and break into eloquence. They are, in fact, the composition of one who, like King Charles, was tardy of speech. His conceptions as naturally formed themselves into the close array of sententious periods, as the thoughts of Gauden spread abroad in loose declamation.

We do think it scarcely possible that Gauden could have tamed himself to the mournful stateliness of the Icôn; nor do we know why, having no model before him, he should have been induced to attempt it. We do not believe that he had good taste enough to compose a single chapter of the Meditations, and however successfully men may imitate other qualities, they cannot affect a taste superior to their own. There is, to our feeling, a certain fulsomeness in the writings of the prelate, of which it would be impossible to convey an idea without quotations of some length: he is often guilty of pedantry in loading his sentences with Latin words, or with such terms as 'grassant,' 'flatuous,' 'putid,' 'tenuity;' and his illustrations are frequently vulgar and fantastical, a fault of which we remember no instance in the Portraiture. Thus, in his Hieraspistes, he says, 'The skilful hand of God can write as well with a goose-quill as with a swan's or eagle's.' In the same work, 'There is no jewel which swine delight more to wear in their snouts than this of liberty.' And in his Αναλυσις he appeals to those 'people who have zeal according to knowledge, and are not, like a tailor's goose, very heavy and hot, but blind and dark.'

Men's writings are usually supposed to bear an affinity to their characters, and if we apply this reflection as a test, the Icôn must be awarded to Charles, not Gauden. Nothing can be more convincing on this head than the immediate and lasting conviction of so many persons who had intimately known the king. And at this day we feel that such a clear and natural picture of majesty without power, courage always ineffectual, and wisdom always circumvented, can hardly have been drawn but by him who carried the reality in his own person. The following sentence on the bill which perpetuated the sitting of Parliament depicts the luckless king with a felicity the more striking as it is evidently unsought.

'By this act of highest confidence I hoped for ever to shut out and lock the door upon all present jealousies and future mistakes; I confess I did not thereby intend to shut myself out of doors, as some men have now requited me.'—ch. v.

The dignified resignation of Charles under misfortune is expressed to the life in every part of the Meditations. We have described the fretfulness, the lamentation, the loquacious importunity

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tunity of Gauden when disappointed in his preferment. In writing to Clarendon of his own and his wife's feelings on their condition at Exeter, 'It will be,' he says, 'a dishonour to which neither of our tempers can comply so willingly as with death; for we hope we are fit for death, but not to live so much below ourselves.' Could this man elevate his thoughts to the meditation 'On the Queen's Departure out of England'? Charles resented injuries, as he forgave them, with the nobleness of a monarch and a gentleman; and in this spirit the author of the Meditations, even when treating of that signal baseness, the publication of the papers taken at Naseby, restrains himself within the bounds of dignified and candid reproof, as if he were unwilling to bring his mind into near contact with the offence by dwelling on it in terms appropriate to its vileness. But Gauden could rail bitterly when no point of policy interfered. His Anti-Baal-Berith and Invective against the Army are mere manuals of abuse. It may be said that, when his own passions and interests were not touched, and his business was to personate a monarch, he might have preserved a greater dignity and composure of manner. But we cannot believe such a man capable of feeling and comprehending the character to be supported in the Icôn: he wanted the sense and understanding of moral fitness requisite for such an attempt. To show this by an example: The book contains a chapter on the Covenant, in which an anxious endeavour is made to reconcile the loyalty of subjects with the observance of this engagement. Gauden too discussed the obligation of the Covenant, in a tract called Ἀνάλυσις, produced soon after the Restoration, and containing some views of the subject not unlike those presented in the king's book; but conceiving these insufficient, he subjoins an argument which, if admitted, would indeed loose the bands of every oath as soon as they became irksome to the swearer; namely, that 'as no man could lawfully covenant against what he thinks to be good'—'so no man can in conscience be bound by any such covenant (taken in a gross sense or in general terms) against that which may, upon second thoughts or after view, and better information, appear to be good and useful to him; he is here bound not to keep his covenant in the latitude of his mistakes and presumptions, nor to act according to his prejudices and former supposals, but rather to retract his rashness and unadvisedness in taking it at first, and to act according to the present evidence of what is true, just, good, lawful, and useful.'—p. 18.

We shall close our survey of this controversy with one circumstance, apparently trifling, but curious and not unimportant in a view

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view of the internal evidence. The king's book ends with part of a Latin verse,

'vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.'

The well known poem of King Charles entitled Majesty in Misery, printed by Burnet in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, and obtained from a gentleman who was in the service of his late majesty, and 'avoucheth it,' Burnet says, 'to be a true copy,' has the same words at its conclusion, joining themselves naturally, though not of necessity, with the sense of the final stanza. It is remarkable too, which Dr. Wordsworth has not noticed, that the same, or nearly the same antithesis, in English, occurs in the Icôn. 'What we could not get by our treaties, we may gain by our prayers:'—c. xviii. and also in a speech of Charles to the University of Oxford, 'When war cannot prevail upon me, piety hath done.'—*Somers Tracts*, vol. iv. p. 480.

We have expatiated very largely on this complicated question, and have, we own, been anxious to establish that which, after weighing every difficulty, appears to us the truth. Mr. Toland, in his tract called 'Amyntor,' expresses the belief that, as 'a presbyter of Asia,' when 'accused of having forged a book containing the travels of Paul and Thecla, confessed the fact, and alleged that he did it for the love of Paul;' so 'Dr. Gauden wrote Icôn Basilikè for the church's sake, the king's, and his own.' He who worthily loves the church or the king, will believe that they abhor such service and disown such defenders. It is a labour well bestowed to maintain, in any instance where it can be maintained justly, that their cause has not been dishonoured by the alliance of fraud. If there was no way to rescue Charles from the scaffold but the forgery of Dr. Gauden, it was better the monarch should die than that the spurious volume should go forth with his and Lord Hertford's approbation; better the church should be deprived of its earthly stay, than that Morley, Duppa, and Sheldon should connive at the imposture. Our belief is that neither King Charles nor his illustrious and holy advisers would have entertained any other opinion. A high-spirited prince, and the men worthy to be his friends, will look on degradation as the last of evils; and good churchmen will hold, as the truest wisdom, that noble maxim of the historian, Intuta quæ indecora.

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ART. XI.—1. *First and Second Reports of the Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions.* London. 1824, 1825.

2. *Considerations on Negro Slavery, &c. &c.* By Alexander M'Donnell, Esq. &c. &c. London. 1824. pp. 338.

3. *Considerations on the Abolition of Negro Slavery, &c. &c.* By J. F. Barham, Esq. Third Edition. London. 1824. pp. 85.

THE public mind is seldom more apt to become exhausted and perplexed, than by the continuance of a keen and protracted controversy about the system of policy which, on any subject comprehending many particulars, and involving various interests, it would be proper for the government to adopt. The opinions and views of the contending parties so frequently undergo change and modification; the statements severally advanced by them become so numerous and contradictory; and the primary object is so often sacrificed to the gratification of private interest or feelings, that the anxiety at first felt by the community at last gives way to a state of indifference, doubt, or dissatisfaction with every topic connected with the subject. There are no means by which this result can be so effectually counteracted, as by endeavouring occasionally to put all subordinate details out of consideration, and to rest only upon the principal stages in the course of the contest, and the great landmarks by which its progress has been directed. A survey of this kind, at once exact and comprehensive, cannot be taken too often, nor its advantages rated too highly. It arrests the attention of the idle, revives that of the indolent, and assists even the most intelligent in forming a correct estimate of the wisdom of that which has been already done, or which it may hereafter be intended to do.

No occasion can be named where such a review appears to be more requisite, than this period of the vehement discussion which has so long been carried on respecting the abolition of slavery, and the amelioration of the condition of the slaves in our West Indian islands. So many public documents relative to these topics have at various times been laid before parliament; so many treatises published; and the laws, manners and usages of our numerous colonies differ so materially on many of the points which come into question, that the reader gets at last bewildered in a labyrinth of conflicting particulars, to extricate him from which, some clue, in the shape of analysis or recapitulation, becomes indispensably necessary. Great changes have also taken place in opinions generally entertained on this vast subject; and many topics were twenty or thirty years ago debated with extreme keenness, on which no difference of sentiment can now be said

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said to exist. Among this number may be ranked the justice and expediency of the slave-trade itself. So far as this empire is concerned, the unjustifiableness of that trade is now universally admitted, though the circumstances relating to its commencement, which are very singular and instructive, have been too generally kept out of sight or forgotten. For collateral purposes, the disputants upon the present occasion would do well to advert, with some attention, to the conduct of the Portugueze in the fifteenth, and of the Spanish court in the sixteenth century, under the influence of the benevolent but ill-judging and unscrupulous Las Casas. We have so recently taken a review of these proceedings,* that we must not again detail them to our readers; but the transactions in which our own ancestors engaged with characteristic ardour and enterprize, are scarcely less instructive, and for us, perhaps, more appropriate subjects of reflection. Though the English had no share in the first establishment of this disgraceful trade, they soon came to be numbered among the chief instruments of its continuance and extension. Both individually and as a nation, the most complete persuasion seems to have been entertained that it was perfectly lawful, without any provocation given or alleged, to seize and carry away the inhabitants of any part of the African coast by treachery or force of arms. Whoever will take the trouble to turn to the narratives of the three voyages of Sir John Hawkins to Africa and the West Indies,† will see a remarkable specimen of the mental delusion under which British sailors engaged in these abominations. They will see them as Christians, *praising the name of God who worked all things for the best, who would not suffer them to be surprized, and by whom they escaped without danger;* classing themselves among *the elect of the Almighty God whom he never suffereth to perish: and thanking God for their return in safety; his name therefore be praised for evermore:* at the very moment that the whole series of transactions in which they had been engaged by inordinate cupidity, had been stamped by the basest treachery and most atrocious cruelty. They acted, however, only in accordance with the national feeling: while every state in Europe was anxious to provide slaves itself for its own colonies, England was not content, unless she also furnished a supply of them to others. For this purpose she went so far as to secure a sort of monopoly by treaty, and the prosperity of some of our greatest commercial towns was long supposed to depend materially upon the continuance and extension of this peculiar traffic. Thousands of Africans were year after year torn from their country and plunged into the lowest

* Vol. XXX. p. 577.

† Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii.

abyss

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abyss of agony and desolation; yet the darkness was so deep and prevailing, that though remonstrances were now and then offered, two centuries rolled away without having excited any just or general sense of the iniquity of the trade. At last, the dawning of a brighter day appeared, and as the light produced by discussion and reflection increased, the voice of reason and humanity was gradually heard with greater distinctness. There can be no doubt, however, that the decided change which, towards the close of the last century, took place on this subject in the sentiments of mankind, is chiefly to be attributed to the zeal and unconquerable perseverance of those benevolent men by whom the abolition of the slave-trade throughout the British empire and its dependencies was at last accomplished. That conviction, which by their means was first produced here, has now been so widely diffused, that scarcely any part of the civilized world can at this time be pointed out in which the slave-trade is conscientiously and openly defended.

These facts are not here adverted to for the purpose of encouraging intemperance, or creating irritation. So far as they apply to the points still in controversy, they appear to us to have a totally opposite tendency. As it was so long before the injustice of the slave-trade itself was fully felt and acknowledged, how much longer may it be expected to be, before uniformity of opinion shall prevail with respect to the best means of improving the condition of those who are now slaves? The first is a question about which it should have seemed that there could be little doubt; the second is one which no inquirer ever examined sufficiently and impartially, without encountering difficulties both numerous and extremely distressing. No reasonable mind can hesitate as to the propriety of discontinuing a course of conduct of which the criminality is established; but when an act which is allowed to be criminal has once been done, and cannot be undone, the means by which its evil consequences may most effectually be stopped or averted, may long suspend or divide the decisions of the wisest understandings. However anxious, therefore, we may be for the amelioration of the state of our West Indian slaves, we must proceed towards it gradually, patiently, and temperately; we must consider ourselves solving a difficult problem, in which correct statement and temperate reasoning may advance us much, but in which intemperance, exaggeration or haste, can only delay our success, or defeat our endeavours. Neither should any atrocity heretofore, or even now, practised in the slave-trade be made use of to influence the public judgment respecting any measure in contemplation relating to the condition or management of the slaves. These subjects are not naturally connected, and at present

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present the distinction between them cannot be too scrupulously preserved. So far as this country is concerned, the slave-trade has long been at an end, without the most distant prospect of its future revival. It is extremely desirable, therefore, that whatever discussions may arise respecting the entire extinction or mitigation of the state of slavery, should be conducted in the same manner as if the slave-trade never had existed. Invidious statements of cruelty now reprobated and disused, and all appeals to the passions and prejudices of the multitude, ought carefully to be avoided. They mislead those who make, nearly as much as those who hear them, and are peculiarly calculated to unsettle and obscure the judgment, on an occasion where the magnitude and complexity of the matters to be considered demand its steadiest and most unclouded operation.

The neglect of this precaution seems to us to have betrayed some of the most ardent promoters of the mitigation as well as of the abolition of slavery into some fundamental errors. Hurried away at the outset by the impetuosity of their own benevolent and sanguine expectations, they have never since permitted themselves to become sufficiently collected. The impressions they at first received have since been strengthened by mutual praise and incitement, and perhaps also not a little by the obstinacy and prejudice which, even in the best of causes, the spirit of party too often imperceptibly engenders. The result has been that they have never viewed the subject in a dispassionate and comprehensive manner, and have invariably overlooked or underrated the difficulties in the way of the measures which they wish to accomplish. In none of their publications, reported speeches or proceedings, which have fallen into our hands, have these difficulties been fully detailed; and scarcely a sentence has ever been uttered by one man of eminence amongst them, in which their existence is clearly implied or acknowledged. This line of conduct has been both inappropriate and injudicious. It is inappropriate, because in every good work undertaken for the benefit of our fellow-creatures, the utmost candour and good faith are scrupulously exacted in every step of its progress, from its commencement to its termination. It is injudicious, because if difficulties really exist, they will certainly disclose themselves sooner or later, and probably produce greater embarrassment than if they had been fairly displayed and encountered at the proper season. This very result has happened on the present occasion; and the Abolitionists, on being pressed by these difficulties, have fallen into a second mistake, scarcely of less moment or less to be lamented than their first. They have to the present day shown an evident unwillingness to assign to them that weight to which they are unquestionably entitled; have displayed towards

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towards those, by whom they have been advanced, a degree of impatience and suspicion inconsistent with that spirit of fairness required by the principles upon which they profess to act; and have too often treated the obstacles themselves as if they existed only in the imaginations of those by whom they were urged, or as if they were either created or continued merely by the stupidity or perverseness of the colonial proprietors and colonial assemblies. In the same spirit, and from the same causes, they have been induced to disbelieve facts and statements which have afterwards proved to be true—to impute motives and advance charges which they have neither substantiated nor retracted; and generally to adopt a tone and language tending to aggravate instead of alleviating the irritation existing between them and their opponents. This judgment we have been slow to form, and are reluctant to express, with regard to the conduct of persons, for whom individually we entertain a high respect; but we think it impossible for an impartial reader to rise from a perusal of the proceedings and most popular publications of the abolitionists, and those who participate in their views, without feeling them to be animated by a spirit of acrimony which but ill assorts with the purity of their objects, and the mild and forgiving character of that religion by which both they and those from whom they differ, ought equally to be directed. In proof of part of what we have now said, we need only allude to the criminations, bold and fierce, which were advanced at the time of the passing of the act for the registration of slaves. The abolitionists alleged that the statute must infallibly prove abortive; that the colonists knew this to be the case; and that they could and would introduce fresh slaves, in defiance of its prohibitions and provisions. The colonists denied the accusation. It was renewed by the abolitionists as long as it would bear renewal; and the murmur of it finally died upon their lips without being accompanied with the least expression of regret at its promulgation. A reference to the proceedings at the two general annual meetings of the Anti-slavery Society will bear us out in the remainder. At the first of these meetings, which took place on the 25th of June, 1824, Mr. T. B. Macaulay, who appears to have acted a very prominent part in that day's exhibition, after taking rather more pains than were necessary to prove that slavery is not a blessing, thus proceeds:

'The British subjects of the new world have outdone, immeasurably outdone all the military despots, all the frantic jacobins of the old. Their tender mercies are more cruel than the vengeance of Dundee; their little fingers are thicker than the loins of Alva; Robespierre chastised with whips, but they chastise with scorpions. But we are told this was not wanton cruelty; it was indispensably necessary for the safety of the colonies!

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colonies! Grant it; and what then? Must not every particle of blame which is taken away from the agents be laid on the system? What must be the state of things which makes that wholesome severity, which elsewhere would be diabolical atrocity? What are we to think of the condition of a people, when inflictions so tremendous are necessary to make endurance appear to them a less evil than rebellion? Woe to that society which has no cement but blood! Woe to that government which, in the hour of success, must not dare to be merciful! I need no other testimony against the colonists than that with which they themselves furnish us, and that which daily and hourly forces itself on our notice. When I see institutions which tremble at every breath—institutions which depend for support on restless suspicion—on raving calumny—on outrageous persecution—on military force—on infamous testimony—on perverted law—I have no further need of witnesses or of arguments, to convince me that they must be as flagitious and unjust as are the means by which they are upheld. We hear, indeed, that this system, in theory confessedly odious, is in practice lenient and liberal, and abundance of local testimony is adduced to this effect. Local testimony is indeed invaluable when it can be obtained unadulterated by local interest and local prejudice; but that it is adulterated I must always believe, when I see that it contradicts great general principles. Is it possible that the power with which the slave-codes invest the master can be exercised without being perpetually abused? *If so, then is there no truth in experience; then is there no consistency in human nature; then is history a fable, and political science a juggle, and the wisdom of our ancestors madness, and the British constitution a name! Let us break up the benches of the House of Commons for firewood, and cut Magna Charta into battledores!* These assertions, then, of our opponents are not, they cannot be true; and fortunately it is not merely by reasoning on general principles that we are enabled to refute them. Out of the mouths of our adversaries themselves we can fully show that West India slavery is an evil—a great and fearful evil—an evil without any affinity to good principles, or any tendency to good effects—an evil so poisonous, that it imparts to almost every antidote a nature as deadly as its own! When this country has been endangered either by oppressive power or by popular delusion, truth has still possessed one irresistible organ—justice one inviolable tribunal; that organ has been an English press; that tribunal, an English jury. But in these wretched islands, we see a press more hostile to truth than any censor; and juries more insensible to justice than any Star-chamber. In these islands alone is exemplified the full meaning of the most tremendous of the curses denounced against the apostate Hebrews, "I will curse your blessings!" I have said that this may be proved from the confessions of our antagonists. There are few persons present, I presume, who have not bestowed some attention on the case of the late Mr. Smith. We remember—and God Almighty forbid that ever we should forget!—how, on that occasion, *hatred—deep, cunning, rancorous hatred—regulated every proceeding, was substituted for every law, intruded itself upon the seat of judgment,* allowed its victim no sanctuary in the house of mourning, no refuge in the very grave!

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grave! It is true that the members of that court-martial have hitherto escaped the stigma of a parliamentary censure: it is true that those who had not the hardihood to acquit, had not the virtue to condemn them. But not the less true is it that the public has examined the case—has pronounced its damnatory verdict—has passed its sentence, and will assuredly execute it; and history will doubtless rank the proceedings of that court with those of the murderous judges of Latimer and Sydney.'—*Report of the Proceedings of the Society for the Mitigation and Abolition of Slavery, on 25th of June,* 1824, p. 73.

We studiously abstain from all personal allusion to the author of this creditable declamation, but as a speech delivered at a public meeting, and deliberately printed in the report of a public society, it is too remarkable to be entirely overlooked. From beginning to end it consists of a studied invective against the past and present conduct of all persons connected with our West Indian colonies; and in the conclusion of the passage just quoted it contains one of the most unprovoked attacks upon private character we have ever witnessed, and of which we hope the speaker himself has long ago felt the injustice. A more trying situation than that of the members of the court-martial which sat on Mr. Smith can scarcely be imagined. There probably was not a single man among them who did not take his seat with extreme reluctance; not one of them had any censurable motive to pervert his judgment; and several of the points which came under discussion were far more perplexing than those which the individuals forming such a tribunal are usually called upon to determine. Whether their conduct was in any instance erroneous or not, is a matter upon which we are not qualified to speak with absolute confidence, and which will probably long give rise to much difference of opinion. But if they should be admitted to have been mistaken in some points, the critical circumstances under which they were placed entitle them at least to a candid, if not an indulgent, construction. Instead of this, to stigmatize the whole of them, absent and unheard, as having violated their oath for the purpose of taking away the life of a man whom they knew to be innocent, shows only to what excesses of intemperance and injustice those who abet a good cause with a zeal divested of knowledge, may sometimes be transported. 'The Lord,' exclaimed Sir John Hawkins on returning with his unhallowed cargo from the shores of Africa, 'will not suffer his elect to perish;' and 'the good cause shall not therefore want fresh champions, nor, if it must be so, fresh martyrs,' says Mr. T. B. Macaulay, at the very moment when, without being exposed to the least risk of being offered up himself, he was actively employed in sacrificing others. Had these or similar sentiments been entertained by him alone, there would have

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have been no necessity for bringing them prominently forward. They would, in that case, have had little practical effect on others, and probably soon have been corrected in himself by the influence of experience and reflection. But at the second general meeting of the Society, which took place on the last day of April, in the present year, Mr. Brougham, who then appears to have been the chief speaker, addressed the audience in a different style of oratory, but in the same inconsiderate and provoking spirit.

'Mr. Brougham, in rising to propose a resolution, said, it gives me great satisfaction to have an opportunity of addressing my brethren of this Society upon the present occasion, because I was formerly unable to meet them as I intended, and because I have the gratification in meeting them now, of *congratulating them upon the prosperous aspect of that question* in which we are all so deeply interested. For although it is true, as an hon. gentleman has observed, that *nothing, absolutely nothing has been done* on either side the Atlantic to retrieve the solemn pledges which we received last year, although the only occurrence which could excite our attention has been the lamented retirement of that distinguished individual whose name will be mentioned with veneration as long as charity, justice, piety, and humanity are counted virtues in man (applause), yet I cannot but feel confident of ultimate and not long deferred success, from one *single statement—namely, that nothing has been done.* (Applause.) We were told, not only for the second, but for the hundredth time, when we last pressed forward to lay the axe to the root of that poisonous tree, under whose shade our fellow-men have so long withered and perished, that ours was not the task to meddle with the trunk—that ours was not the task to even prune the branches—that the evil must be gradually coped with in the West Indies, and that the time for withholding nourishment to its culture, for ceasing to water its roots, or for pruning its luxuriances, could only be judged of by those on the spot who knew the soil and the climate in which it was cultivated. (Applause.) We were told that by various means, slow, gradual, and almost imperceptible to the naked eye, our object would be accomplished, without that interference which could only mean warfare and destruction; we were told, in short, to let them alone, and they would do the thing effectually for us. *Now, we did not believe them, and we told them so.* (*Laughter* and loud applause.) And what did they say to that? Why, that we were only vituperative, uncharitable, and inhuman to the West India planters; that we were always as much the blind, prejudiced enemies of the whites, as we were the perverse, blind, and prejudiced advocates of the blacks; and that, if we only waited a very little time, a month, or at most two, we should see the whole of our wishes speedily and surely effected by the West India legislators. What has been the result? Unbelieving, we did wait, and what have they done? Why, I say again, *absolutely nothing.* And here I beg it to be borne in mind, that I mean to follow them up by something of a parliamentary notice on this occasion, and compel them either to abide by their own contract, or

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take the consequences which must surely and inevitably follow any longer neglect. They have now had not one or two, but twelve months, and during that revolution of the sun [earth?] they have done nothing. (Hear, hear.) I almost retract my assertion, when I say they have done nothing, for they have done much for us, nothing for themselves. (Great applause.) We have redeemed our pledges--they have forfeited theirs. (Applause.) *I feel deeply impressed* with gratitude *to the West India planters, God knows, more than I* ever expected *to feel*—(*a laugh*)—for their advancement *of this cause,* by fulfilling all I *have ever ventured to predict of them.* (Hear, hear.) I know it is true, many West India proprietors, towards whom, as far as I can to absent owners, living near 3,000 miles from the unhappy objects of their compassion, and, by necessity, leaving over them delegates, invested with a power so absolute, that it might be almost called impiety to God to grant it over fellow-creatures; towards those proprietors, for their directions of lenity, and charity, and humanity, as far as it goes, I do owe gratitude. As far as it can be given to non-resident owners, who cannot conceive that any thing else is wanting than that which they have commanded to be supplied, I have felt gratitude. *To one or two resident proprietors,* too, I might express my obligation for their desire to meliorate the condition of their unhappy slaves—for their endeavour to do that which, as long as slavery exists, can be very little; because under its system the very best intentions of any resident proprietor must be crushed; but *I never expected to live to feel such a weight of obligation to the whole* West India *legislature, towards whom I now beg leave to express my most unbounded gratitude.* (*Loud laughter* and applause.)'--*British Press of the 2d of May,* 1825.—*Second Report of the Society for Mitigation, &c.* p. 57.

Two speeches more calculated to insult and exasperate every individual interested in our West India colonies cannot well be conceived; and it would have given us much satisfaction to discover that, whatever merit they possessed, in point of taste and argument, diction or delivery, the substance of them had not met with the approbation of any considerable number of the members of the Society at the meetings of which they were uttered. As those who are the most efficient among them have already reached the maturity of years and experience, it might have been expected, that however they might be gratified with the general tenour or tendency of the addresses alluded to, they would, on that very account, have been more solicitous to guard themselves and their friends from being supposed to concur in the passages or views contained in them, which are open to so much animadversion. Instead of this, they appear to have received both throughout with the warmest approbation. The report of the proceedings of the first annual meeting informs us, that Mr. Macaulay 'sat down amidst loud cheering which lasted several minutes.' With the exception of the noble lord by whom he was succeeded, not a single speaker intimated the slightest dissent from any one of his

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his positions; and Mr. Wilberforce, in a speech to be found in the Report, but which *we* have too much real respect for him to record, and the astonishing excesses of which must in fairness be attributed to the excitement of strong feelings, overpowering a debilitated frame, went so far as to pronounce it *a proof of the interposition of heaven in favour of the cause, when it provided such an advocate for its support.* The framers of the last report of the Society have thought proper, we know not why, to omit any notice of the applause, and laughter, and loud laughter, which attended Mr. Brougham's address; but we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the account which we have cited from a newspaper; and it should seem from it, that the members considered him at least as suitable and efficient an agent for the purposes of the Society, as Mr. Wilberforce had pronounced Mr. T. B. Macaulay to be. Though speeches such as these may attract a crowd, or even multiply subscriptions, the practical effect of them must be to retard the success of the cause, which they profess to advance. Neither the colonists nor the public have any other means of forming a judgment of the objects and principles of the Abolitionists, than a consideration of the language which they use, and the proceedings which they sanction; and we apprehend that neither the disposition which has been manifested by the speakers at the annual assemblies of the Society, nor the measures which it has hitherto adopted, are well fitted to abate the resistance of their opponents, or obtain the good opinion of the public. And if we pass from the warmth of their popular debates, to the deliberate writings of individuals, we shall, in too many instances, find them characterized by the same faults. The very last volume which has been published on the subject by Mr. Stephen, seems to us, and we say it with all the respect due to his many virtues, to be drawn up throughout in a manner too virulent and accusatory. Instead of confining himself to strict reasoning, or plain and dispassionate statement, there is hardly a page in which the eye does not meet with one of those galling epithets or insinuations, which invariably excite a more unquenchable spirit of opposition than any other species of attack.

In defence of this warmth and impracticability, it has been urged, that the colonists and colonial assemblies formerly used all their efforts to resist the abolition of the slave-trade, and that they are still equally hostile to the abolition of slavery, or any substantial improvement in the condition of the slaves; that whatever has been gained hitherto has been gained solely by inflexibility and perseverance; and that nothing will be gained hereafter but by abstaining from all concession to the slave-owners, and by

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pressing every demand on behalf of the slaves as far and as expeditiously as possible. This train of reasoning is undoubtedly deserving of consideration. The exertions made by many individuals among the abolitionists entitle them to our gratitude and admiration while living, and will cause them, when dead, to be classed high among the benefactors of the human race. We have no difficulty in saying that to them, both the abolition of the trade itself by this country, and the sympathy which has been excited in the public mind for the condition of the slaves in the West Indies, have, in our judgment, been mainly owing. But we are also satisfied that the first of these great purposes could have been better accomplished with much less asperity towards their opponents, and that, in order to bring the latter safely to its proper consummation, it is extremely desirable that this asperity should be entirely discontinued. If the colonists have erred in the manner or degree of opposition which they have offered to the abolitionists, that cannot justify the latter in showing any unkindness or implacability towards them in return. Retaliation or recrimination ill become persons engaged in such an enterprize as theirs, and they can scarcely be aware how prejudicial they are to its success. The circumstances of the times too call for the adoption of a directly opposite system. Much prejudice has within these few years been removed, and, with the extension of knowledge and reflection, juster principles and sounder opinions will every day prevail. Let the advances then of the West Indians be met with liberality and candour. Let them receive credit for every step towards the abolition or mitigation of slavery which has already been taken, or may be now in contemplation; let allowance be made for apprehensions excited by uncertainty and aggravated by misfortune; and let all contumelious language towards them be discountenanced and disused. The benefit of such forbearance will soon become manifest. Angry feelings will gradually subside; the colonists will be led, by temperate observation and discussion, to perceive, that it is their interest as well as duty to conform to an order of things which they can no longer resist; and the abolitionists will, on their part, become sensible that it is with the free will and cheerful acquiescence of the colonists, that the ultimate extinction of slavery and present amendment of the condition of the slaves can alone be securely and effectually accomplished. With a view to pave the way for this good understanding, we shall now proceed to make some observations on the subject in the three principal points of view in which it can be considered—with reference to the mother-country, the colonists, and the slaves themselves.

1. With reference to the mother-country.—The only wish the mother-

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mother-country can entertain upon this point is, that the condition of all classes of her subjects, whether bond or free, should receive the utmost improvement of which it is susceptible; and of course her interests must lead her to coincide with the abolitionists so far as the measures which they adopt for the mitigation and extinction of slavery in our West India colonies can be effected without causing either injury to them, or their separation from herself: while, on the other hand, it is obvious that the abolitionists will most effectually advance their own plans by promoting the welfare and continuing the dependence of the colonies, in which the interest of the mother-country consists. It is useless to discuss, whether circumstances may not possibly exist, in which a country might feel itself compelled by justice, to extend certain privileges or immunities to the slave population of its colonies, however disastrous the consequences might prove either to their owners or itself: for upon examination of the relation in which governors and subjects, masters and servants, stand to one another, it will be found that such a case can at all events but rarely, if ever, happen. It is beneficently ordained, that the prosperity and adversity, happiness and misery of every order in society are so intimately connected, that good or evil can seldom befall one, without all being materially affected. The abolitionists would therefore do well to consider, after availing themselves of all the lights which history or recent events can furnish, whether there is any reasonable prospect that a revolution, which begins in grievous injury to the landed proprietors of the colony, will end in the elevation of the great body of its population. When they have done this, we are persuaded they will discover that the very converse of the proposition is nearer the truth, and that the prosperity of the colonies and protection of the colonists are the best foundation for every amelioration in the condition of the slaves.

The continued dependence of the West India colonies is almost of as much immediate concernment to the mother-country as their prosperity; and whatever suggestions of the abolitionists it may be thought fit to adopt, it seems desirable that no just cause should be given to the colonists for withdrawing their attachment from ourselves, or for transferring it to any other people. It is never wise to neglect a precaution, because there may appear to be no urgent necessity for employing it. At present the West India colonies appear to be placed under our unlimited controul. They can neither singly nor collectively offer any effectual resistance to our authority; and our maritime superiority precludes all idea of calling in any foreign power to their assistance. But it is impossible to tell how soon the face of the political world may be altered. The affections of a high-minded people can never be alienated

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without danger, and occasions of one kind or another may present themselves of gratifying resentment when they are least expected. However, deliberate and systematic efforts have been made to depreciate the value of our West Indian colonies, and even to prove that they have, upon the whole, occasioned no profit, but much loss, to the mother-country. The same, or larger dealings than those which we have had with them, might have been more advantageously carried on, it is said, with other countries, if trade had been entirely free; and as our possessions in the East would immediately supply us, without having recourse to slave-labour, and at a cheaper rate, with almost the same quantity and variety of produce which we now derive from those in the West, the severance of the latter may be contemplated without any apprehension. The theories which are broached from day to day, by persons in courtesy styled political economists, are so contradictory to one another, and often so inconsistent with the most settled opinions and maxims of mankind, that we must be excused if we are not willing to rely with implicit confidence on these assertions. Notwithstanding all the speculations and calculations with which the public has been favoured, if we were now to be seriously told that our West India colonies had proclaimed their independence, or had surrendered themselves to France or the United States, scarcely an individual of sane mind could be pointed out who would not regard it as a very heavy calamity on the country. The capital invested in our West Indian colonies is said to amount to 128 millions, (*Barham's Consid.* p. 56.); and it will appear upon a calculation made from the Custom-house returns, (*Papers laid before the House of Commons in* 1825, No. 193.) that they take a twelfth part in value of the whole of our exports, and transmit to us nearly a fourth in value of the whole of our imports; and further, that that branch both of our exports and imports considerably exceeds in value the united amount of all that we send to, or receive from, the East Indies, the Indian Archipelago, China, and New Holland. Whoever then should advise us voluntarily to resign such colonies as these, colonies too in which the English language, English manners, feelings and opinions are predominant, upon the faith of our loss being compensated by the effects of free trade elsewhere, would not, we should think, among legislators or merchants, command a ready assent to the wisdom of his recommendations. The inaptitude of many old restrictions upon commerce to promote the ends for which they were imposed, the long continuance of general tranquillity, as well as the undeniable preference which many of our manufactures now command, have perhaps induced some of our speculative writers to push their reasonings upon free trade too far, and to overrate both the degree

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to which its maxims will be received in practice, and the extent to which those who receive them will be able to force their commodities upon those who adhere to the system of duties and prohibitions in their own markets. Our manufactures will not always be so much cheaper or better than those of other countries; nor will the complete calm we have lately enjoyed last for ever. Misunderstandings will arise, hostilities will break out, and shocks, calamities and vicissitudes will happen. It is in such emergencies as these that the commercial advantages of colonies to the mother-country are most clearly apparent. They adhere to it in war as well as in peace, participate in its sorrows as well as joys, and are its stay in adversity as well as its ornament in its glory and prosperity. A country and its colonies constitute a political partnership for the insurance of one another, by which the good or bad fortune which may happen to one is communicated to the other; by which the danger of each is diminished, and the confidence and security of all increased. The West Indies, it should be observed, possess, in an eminent degree, some qualifications which in many colonies are wanting. They are not placed at too great a distance; most of them are sufficiently considerable in themselves, and none of them are of inconvenient magnitude. No period can be pointed out at which their dependence upon us should naturally cease; while the East Indies, to which we have been particularly requested to turn our eyes, stand in a very different situation. It is neither our purpose to undervalue our possessions in the East, nor to exaggerate the importance of those in the West; but while powerful arguments have been adduced to show that the East Indies could never supply sugar so cheap as the West, (*M'Donnell on Negro Slavery*, pp. 48—55,) it is still more problematical whether they could do so permanently. Whoever has examined the past, or looks towards the future, must admit that our empire in the East is held by a precarious tenure. Its distance and extent, the disproportion in number between ourselves and the natives, and the total want of any bond of connection between us in manners, opinions and religion, render India liable to be torn away at a moment's notice by one of those rapid and uncontroulable revolutions to which that quarter of the world has invariably been subject; and however we may avert our eyes from the prospect, its final separation from us cannot, in the natural course of events, be very far distant. In these respects the West Indian colonies have a decided advantage over the East; and there is nothing in the condition of the labourers in the latter which ought to turn the balance. Whether slave-labour nominally exists in the East Indies or not, and to what extent, appears to us to have been the subject of much unnecessary disputation. The substance is not altered

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altered by the name, and whether a man is called a ryot or a slave is a matter of entire indifference. The only essential subject of inquiry is the actual condition of the cultivators of the soil, and we are much inclined to think that those in the East will be found, upon examination, to be fully as degraded, both morally and physically, as those in the West. We believe the bodily restraint and privations of the Hindoo are fully as great, and his freedom of will and enjoyments less, than those of the African; and we believe, moreover, that he has hitherto proved more inaccessible to the truths and regardless of the precepts of that religion which it is one main object of the abolitionists to promulgate. We disclaim, however, any intention of instituting invidious comparisons between the colonies of the East and West; each in different ways contributes to the wealth, splendour, and power of the empire; both are memorable monuments of British valour and enterprize; both are to be cherished by a wise and liberal spirit in the government of the mother-country, and neither could be torn from her side without a deep rent in the national prosperity.

2. We may now consider the effect which the mitigation, or extinction of slavery might have upon the colonists. If it had been proposed to accomplish these objects by a gradual and almost imperceptible process, with a distinct and adequate attention to existing interests, there can be no doubt, that it would have been the duty of the colonist not merely to acquiesce in silence, but to lend his liberal aid towards their accomplishment. But the abolitionists have not so framed their plans; they have generally advanced schemes which must at once have destroyed a great part of the property of the colonists, without pointing out, clearly or certainly, the nature, manner, amount, or source of their indemnification. It has even been contended, that in such a case as this the government, upon principles of abstract justice and humanity, has a right at once, more particularly after the repeated notices which the West Indian colonists are said to have received, to determine on any prospective change in the condition of the slaves, without granting to their masters any compensation whatever. It is easy for those to hold this language who are not concerned. We all display abundant alacrity to promote plans of improvement which are to be executed at the expense or risk of others, but become far more doubtful and considerate when they affect ourselves. If the property of the colonists had merely been acquired during a long lapse of time, with the knowledge and under the eye of the mother-country, there can be no doubt that she would have been bound in natural justice to respect it herself, and to prevent it from being destroyed by others without an equivalent. Great Britain, however, not only saw, but quickened the colonists

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colonists in the course they were pursuing by the most constant and decided encouragement, as is demonstrated in the following historical statement contained in Mr. Barham's 'Observations on the Abolition of Negro Slavery.'

'To say that Great Britain formed the plan and that the colonies executed it—to say that Great Britain made the laws, and that the colonies availed themselves of those laws, would be greatly underrating the share which Great Britain had in the origin of the slave-trade, and in the consequent system of slavery that now exists. But many persons have been so used to charge all the odium of that system on those who by accident happen to be the owners of slaves, that they will be surprized to learn how much larger a share Great Britain has had than the colonies, in the formation, maintenance, and present extent of slavery. The following historical facts will clear up this point a little. Great Britain established the slave-trade in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who personally took a share in it. *The colonies did not then exist.* Great Britain encouraged it in the successive reigns of Charles I., Charles II., and James II., by every means that could be devised. But it was William III. who outdid them all. With Lord Somers for his minister, he declared the slave-trade *to be highly beneficial to the nation.* And that this was not meant merely as beneficial to the nation through the medium of the colonial prosperity, is testified by the Assiento Treaty, in 1713, with which the colonies had nothing to do, and in which Great Britain binds herself to supply 144,000 slaves, at the rate of 4,800 per annum, to the Spanish colonies. From that time till within a year of the present, our history is full of the various measures and grants which passed for the *encouragement* and protection of the trade. The colonies all this time took no share in it themselves, merely purchasing what the British merchants brought them, and doing therein what the British government invited them to do by every means in their power. So much as to those who created and fostered the trade. And now let us see who it was that first marked it with disapprobation, and sought to confine it within narrower bounds. The colonies began in 1760. South Carolina, then a British colony, passed an act to prohibit further importation; but Great Britain rejected this act with indignation, and declared that the slave-trade *was beneficial and necessary to the mother-country.* The governor who passed it was reprimanded, and a circular was sent to all governors, warning them against a similar offence. The colonies, however, in 1765 repeated the offence, and a bill was twice read in the Assembly of Jamaica, for the same purpose of limiting the importation of slaves; when Great Britain stopped it through the governor of that island, who sent for the Assembly, and told them, that, consistently with his instructions, he could not give his assent. *Upon which the bill was dropped.* The colonies, in 1774, tried once more, and the Assembly of Jamaica actually passed two bills to restrict the trade, but Great Britain again resisted the restriction. Bristol and Liverpool petitioned against it. The matter was referred to the Board of Trade, and that Board reported against it. The colonies, by the agent of Jamaica, remonstrated against

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against that report, and pleaded against it on all the grounds of justice and humanity; but Great Britain, by the mouth of the Earl of Dartmouth, then president of the board, answered by the following declaration, *We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation.* And this was in 1774! It is presumed, after this, not many persons will be disposed to contend, that Great Britain has not had at least an equal share in establishing slavery, with those who happen now to be owners of slaves.'—p. 26.

It seems impossible for any one who reads these remarks, to maintain that the mother-country can justly sanction any measures connected with slavery which would be attended with the ruin of the property of the West Indian colonists, without at the same time providing a full and specific compensation; and it is fit that the value of that property should be at once taken into account, and that the inhabitants of this country should be informed what is the extent of that just demand, which they are called upon to establish against themselves. The Abolitionists have not, indeed, expressly denied the right to compensation, but they have never brought the question sufficiently forward. They have acted as if they wished to carry their own plans first, and to leave the claims for compensation to be considered independently afterwards. Such an order of proceeding would be fair neither to the mother-country nor the colonists: the former may in this way be made responsible for a larger sum than it may be willing to pay; and the latter, being removed from their vantage ground of possession, and placed under disadvantages both as to the right to compensation and its amount, may at last be compelled to receive a much smaller sum than that to which their losses really entitle them. It is clear that they ought not to be forced to give, till it is settled what they are to receive, and a pledge granted for the payment. Mr. Barham has stated the amount of the West Indian property at 128 millions; it is true that there is little chance of this being annihilated by any single blow; but a series of enactments in a few years might reduce it very considerably; and the principle equally applies, that the right to compensation should *now* be admitted, and the manner and proportion *now* settled. Denied indeed, in express terms, the right never could be; there is not an instance of a single permanent office under government, or even in courts of justice, which has been subjected to revision or modification, without an indemnity being afforded to the person holding it in possession or reversion; and the country never could withhold that justice from its colonies which it renders to its private servants. The same principle which applies to six, must apply equally to sixty thousand. The magnitude of the debt can never diminish the responsibility to pay, any more than the multitude of

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of the claimants can produce the least alleviation to the wrongs and sufferings of each individual if the debt incurred is only half discharged. Yet, if any sudden and violent change in the condition of the slaves were effected, the colonists would find but an insufficient indemnity in any concession *then* made for the first time. The difficulty and delay to which the computation would give rise would be endless. Upon whatever principle the loss might be calculated, it would amount to a sum which the country would be unwilling and almost unable to pay. And after all, it would be so insufficient to cover the loss and inconvenience sustained, that the greater part of the colonists could look forward to nothing but degradation and ruin. The reflections which these considerations suggest will have weight with all who are anxious to produce the greatest good with the least admixture of evil, and to remove misfortune from one class of society without bringing it down on another. Why should a desperate remedy be preferred, if one more gentle should appear to be equally effective? The gradual mitigation of slavery would enable the colonists to accommodate themselves to circumstances, with little hazard to their persons and property; while any rapid change in the condition of the slaves could hardly fail to be accompanied with the destruction of both. Such a catastrophe must be admitted to be in itself an evil of the most appalling magnitude, and, to complete its terrors, it would, in all probability, be not more fatal to the colonists than to the slaves themselves. It is in this last point of view that the subject remains to be brought under consideration.

3. In all discussions respecting the time and manner of ameliorating the condition of the slaves in our West India islands, it is obvious that none are so deeply interested as the slaves themselves. About the desirableness of the amelioration itself, no controversy ought to exist. It is not as to the end to be reached, but as to the means of reaching it, that mankind will generally be found to differ, and wherever the life or property of any considerable number of persons is at stake, they cannot be examined with too much deliberation before they are adopted. This has been forcibly exemplified in the very instance now before us. Had the measures proposed for the abolition or mitigation of slavery received the sanction of the legislature at a time when the enthusiasm of the abolitionists was at its highest pitch, a scene of confusion and destruction would have ensued, which cannot even now be contemplated without terror. The checks imposed by government, and the resistance of the colonists to the plans then advanced, allowed time for the public mind to cool. The difficulties which stand in the way of any violent alteration in the condition of the slaves,

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slaves became more perceptible during the conflict of interests and opinions; and partly from conviction and partly from necessity, the views of many of the abolitionists have become less extravagant and impracticable than they originally were.

If it were necessary to dwell on the importance of constantly exercising a prudence which anticipates all difficulties and calculates all consequences, in the pursuit even of the best objects, the Abolitionists might be directed, with some advantage, to look to the result of their late endeavours to procure the discontinuance of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa. It is well known that, before and during the political conferences which took place in 1814 and 1815, they were indefatigable in pressing the Continental Powers to adopt a system of conduct similar to that which we had imposed on ourselves by the abolition of the trade in 1806; and they seem to have anticipated, with the utmost confidence, that the example we had set, and the predominating influence we then possessed, would ensure immediate acquiescence in their wishes. They were lamentably disappointed. Whether the uncompromising nature of their demands revolted minds less enlightened than their own as to the true nature of the trade; or the excessive and impatient anxiety displayed by them awakened suspicions of secret interest or national hostility, the result was that, though the greater part of the assembled powers ostensibly acceded to their request, those whose concurrence was most requisite, either declined to come under any stipulations at all, or have since uniformly and systematically evaded their fulfilment. Though the trade has been relinquished by England, the United States of North America, Russia, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and nominally by France, it has been little, if at all, diminished in point of extent, and we fear much augmented in point of cruelty. Between 70 and 80,000 slaves were transported from Africa in the year 1810.—(*African Institution's Sixth Report*, p. 1.) From July, 1820, to October, 1821, 190 slave-ships entered the Bonney, and 162 the Calabar, making all together 352; and as each ship is calculated to have taken on board 200 slaves at an average, that will swell the number of slaves transported from these two places alone, in little more than a single year, to the enormous amount of 70,400.—(*African Institution's Sixteenth Report*, p. 4.)

It is not intended from these facts to infer that the abolitionists ought to have relaxed in their endeavours to effect the entire suppression of the trade, or to have neglected moments apparently so favourable for their purpose as the conferences of 1814 and 1815; but to show how indispensable it is to guard against exalted anticipations, and, before any step is resolved on, to take into view

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view all the contingencies which may attend it. Had less been attempted at one time, more would, in all probability, have been conceded; and a tone of greater moderation, with more allowance for national and individual prejudices, would have more surely and speedily paved the way for the admission of the truth, and a real as well as general concurrence of opinion. If, however, the abolitionists have sustained so painful a disappointment with regard to the abolition of the trade, where their ground was so firm and their prospects so promising, it is incumbent on them to be doubly cautious in their deliberations and resolutions respecting the extinction or mitigation of slavery. If they were so greatly deceived in the one instance, it is still more likely that they may fall into similar mistakes in the other, and they can avoid them in no other way than by resolving to examine the subject calmly and comprehensively in all its bearings, to lend a patient ear to all the objections which can be made to their proposals, to be tolerant even of prejudices, to make allowance for the disturbing power of strong interest on the mind; and above all, studiously to refrain from all topics and expressions tending to promote discontent and insubordination among the slaves.

Upon this last point they have been less circumspect than they ought to have been, and Mr. M'Donnell has well illustrated the effects, which incaution may, we had almost said, must, produce.

'Let it be imagined, that on a plantation, after the work of the day is over, the negroes are assembled in a group in one of the negro houses. A communication is made by a domestic of what he has heard from his master—something of moment clearly in agitation; and then suppose some head carpenter or cooper should read to them the following passage:—*With a community of more than* 800,000 *free blacks, many of them accustomed to the use of arms, within sight of the greatest of our West India islands; with a slave population in Cuba and Porto Rico, which has been of late so fearfully augmented with imported negroes, as, according to all received principles, to produce, even in pacific times, and much more in the present æra of transatlantic convulsions, the utmost extremity of danger;—with the example afforded in many of the United States, and in almost all the new republics in South America, where negro slavery has been recently abolished;—is this a time, are these the circumstances, in which it can be wise and safe, even if it were honest and humane, to keep down, in their present state of heathenish and almost brutal degradation, the* 800,000 *negroes in our West India colonies?* When it was known that this came from Mr. Wilberforce, their avowed friend and champion, whom, it is no extravagant assertion, many of the negroes imagine, in their vague notions, to stand as close to the crown as does the Duke of York in the opinions of Englishmen;—when all these matters are reflected on, is it any wonder that the effect produced would be most pernicious and alarming? I have no inclination whatever to stretch the point. I merely wish any person of common understanding to consider the

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the natural result. Would it not inevitably engender feelings of dissatisfaction in those who were formerly contented and happy; make them view labour with loathing and hatred; sever the ties of attachment which connected them with their masters; give confidence where doubt previously existed; and rouse the sullen, gloomy passion of revenge;—to drive the whites from the country;—and to seize their properties? It is melancholy to reflect, that persons with humanity on their tongues, could put forth the most inflammatory doctrines, although the danger and mischief have been so often demonstrated! I do not wish to deal invidiously with Mr. Wilberforce, for he is, in general, by far the most moderate of his party; but, in reality, in his pamphlet not a page could be taken that does not contain some passage calculated to produce a most striking effect in the minds of the negroes.'—*M'Donnell*, p. 231.

Whether the observation made with respect to Mr. Wilberforce be just or not, we think it cannot be denied that there is too much foundation for the general charge which is contained in this passage. On glancing over the last Report of the Society, to which we have so often made reference, our attention was struck by the following passage:—

'The civil degradations which they' (the free people of colour in Trinidad) 'themselves are doomed to sustain, are many and galling; and the committee believe they are sufficiently enlightened to have at length a just and settled conviction, that the slavery of their colour is the real root of the evils they experience; and that while that slavery is perpetuated, while the slave continues a British outcast from the pale of society, deprived of his natural rights, a mere beast of burden, a mere instrument of profit;—they who partake of his colour must of necessity partake of his debasement.'—*Second Report of the Society for Mitigation, &c.* p. 5.

Whoever maintains that such language as this is not calculated to do mischief when circulated, correctly or incorrectly, among the negroes in our West India islands, must be among the least considerate of mankind; and whoever denies that it actually has produced it, among the most uncandid. There is nothing of which one rises from a perusal of the parliamentary papers relative to the trial of Mr. Smith, with so firm a conviction, as of the danger of employing intemperate language in Europe respecting the rights or wrongs of the slaves. Even the most measured expressions are too likely to be misreported, misrepresented, and misunderstood. It is true that this is beyond the controul of the abolitionists; but it is obvious that a consideration of it should increase their caution, and makes neglect doubly reprehensible.

Let us now proceed to inquire as succinctly as we can, what means it seems really safe and practicable to adopt for the further improvement of the condition of the West Indian slaves. We will first, however, observe, as often happens in long and eager controversies,

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versies, that there need not have been much difference between his Majesty's government and the abolitionists as to general principles at least, if these latter had been consistent in adhering to those which they first announced. In the Report of the African Institution for 1815 we find the members looking forward to a future extinction of slavery to be accomplished

'*by the same happy means which formerly put an end to it in England, namely, by a benign though insensible revolution in opinions and manners, by the encouragement of particular manumissions, and the progressive melioration of the condition of the slaves; till it should slide insensibly into general freedom; in short, to an emancipation of which not the slaves, but the masters should be the willing instruments, or authors.*'—p. 8.

In the debate which took place in the House of Commons in 1823, Mr. Buxton, who, upon that occasion, may be considered as the organ of the abolitionists, states their object under the following conditions.

'I now come to tell gentlemen the course we mean to pursue: and I hope I shall not be deemed imprudent, if I throw off all disguise, and state frankly and without reserve, the object at which we aim. The object at which we aim is the extinction of slavery—nothing less than the extinction of Slavery—in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions: *not, however, the rapid termination of that state—not the sudden emancipation of the negro—but such preparatory steps, such measures of precaution, as by slow degrees and in a course of years, first fitting and qualifying the slave for the enjoyment of freedom, shall gently conduct us to the annihilation of slavery.*'—Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, on 15th May, 1823, p. 11.

The view which Mr. Canning, on the part of his Majesty's government, took of the subject, in the same debate, is represented in the following extract from that masterly and statesmanlike speech, which on former occasions we have referred to.

'I do not say that it (slavery) is therefore to continue indefinitely. I speak not of it as a system to be carefully preserved and cherished, but as one to be dealt with according to its own nature, and with reference to its inherent peculiarities. We must be considered as having tacitly, if not expressly, taken the engagement, not in every subsequent discussion to look back to atrocities which have ceased—not to revive animosities which have been extinguished, and to throw in the teeth of those whose interests are at hazard, cruelties with which they in fact had no concern. Looking then at the present condition of the West Indies, I find there a numerous black population, with a comparatively small population of whites. The question to be decided is, how civil rights, moral improvement, and general happiness are to be communicated to this overpowering multitude of slaves, with safety to the lives and security to the interests of the white population—our fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens. Is it possible that there can be a difference of opinion upon this question? Is it possible that those most nearly concerned in the present

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state of property in the West Indies, and those who contemplate the great subject with the eye of the philosopher and the moralist, should look at it in any other than one point of view? Is it possible for a member of parliament, still more a member of the government, to say that he does not wish, so far as is consistent with other great considerations necessarily involved, to impart every improvement which may tend to raise in the scale of being the unfortunate creatures now in a state of servitude and ignorance? Undoubtedly sacrifices ought to be made for the attainment of so great a good; but would I on this account strike at the root of the system—a system the growth of ages—and unhesitatingly and rashly level it a blow? Are we not all aware that there are knots which cannot be suddenly disentangled, and must not be cut—difficulties which, if solved at all, must be solved by patient consideration and impartial attention, in order that we may not do the most flagrant injustice by aiming at justice itself?' He subsequently adds—'If the honourable gentleman asks me, on the other hand, whether I maintain the inviolability of property so far as to affirm the proposition, that the children of slaves must continue to be slaves for ever—I answer frankly, No. If again he asks me how I reconcile my notions of reverence for the sacredness of property with the degree of authority I am prepared to exercise for the attainment of my object, I answer with equal frankness—In accomplishing a great national object, in doing an act of national justice, I do not think it right to do it at the exclusive expense of any one class of the community. I am disposed to go gradually to work, in order to diminish both the danger to be risked and burden to be incurred. My opinion is also, and I am prepared to state it (the honourable gentleman having made his appeal to the government on this subject some weeks ago) as the opinion of my colleagues as well as my own—that in order that the object which we all have in view may be undertaken safely and effectually, it is better that it should be left in the hands of the executive government.'

Mr. Canning then laid before the house the resolutions, which we cited on a former occasion,* but which, in furtherance of our present object, we will again place before our readers.

1. That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies. 2. That through a determined and persevering, but judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this house looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects. 3. That this house is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well being of the slaves, the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.'

He concludes thus:—

'I will not further prolong a discussion which it has been my object

* Vol. XXX. p. 560.

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to bring to a close, by any general reflections, further than this, that giving every credit, as I do, to the motives which have actuated the honourable gentleman, I am sure he will feel that it is perfectly consistent with a complete sympathy with his moral feelings, and consistent equally with my duty, that I should look at this subject more practically, more cautiously, and more dispassionately, and if the honourable gentleman will permit me to say so much, more prudently than the honourable gentleman, whose warmth, however, though I must not imitate, I do not mean harshly to blame. And further, I would assure those whose interests are involved in this great question, that whatever may be the result of the present discussion, I and my colleagues are not more anxious on the one hand to redeem the character of the country, so far as it may have suffered by the state of slavery in the colonies, than we think ourselves bound on the other to guard and protect the just interests of those who, by no fault of their own, by inheritance, by accident, by the encouragement of repeated acts of the legislature, find their property vested in a concern exposed to innumerable hazards and difficulties which do not belong to property of another character, such as, if they had their option, they would doubtless in most cases have preferred.'— *Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons on the Abolition and Mitigation of Slavery, on the 15th May*, 1823, pp. 23, 24. 33, 34. 36.

At this period then it is evident that Mr. Buxton and Mr. Canning were agreed in rejecting every measure which was not slow and gradual in its progress, and which did not prepare and qualify the negro for freedom before he was permitted to enjoy it. It is impossible to point out a line of conduct more just, humane, and enlightened than that which Mr. Canning declared to have been resolved on by the executive government. It clearly marks out the ultimate objects upon which our eyes should be fixed, and to which we should be steadfastly approaching; but it leaves, as it ought to do, the hour of our arrival uncertain, and positively rejects the employment of violent or dangerous means for its acceleration. To this course the colonists can offer no reasonable objection.

Two years have scarcely elapsed, and the declaration of Mr. Buxton seems to have been forgotten by those on whose behalf it was made. The Abolitionists are dissatisfied with what they consider the culpable inactivity of government; and some of them do not scruple to impute to it a secret understanding with such of the colonists as have opposed their wishes, and an indifference or aversion to any effectual amelioration of the condition of the slaves. There never was less reason for such dissatisfaction or such surmises. Whoever pays the slightest attention to the course which has been pursued by ministers will be convinced that on no occasion have they manifested a more earnest desire to do their duty, or a deeper sense of the responsibility under which they act. Being perfectly satisfied of this, we feel sure that the cause of the

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slave population can be placed in no hands so prudently as in theirs; and it is with regret therefore that we find Mr. Brougham announcing an intention to bring a bill into the House of Commons for the purpose substantially of divesting them of their discretionary power, and placing the subject under the immediate and definite controul of the legislature. We have no hesitation in saying that we deem this mode objectionable in itself; but it brings additional difficulties into the question from its inconsistency with the former declarations of the Abolitionists, and with the course of proceedings already commenced.

By whomsoever the future measures are to be directed, certain leading points must at all events, we conceive, be kept in view. And first, if there be one conclusion warranted by all the evidence adduced in the course of this controversy, it is this, that the *mitigation* of slavery is that to which attention should *at present* be exclusively directed. The very notion of immediate and unlimited abolition is, indeed, allowed to be preposterous. Where the disproportion between slaves and free men is so great as in the West Indian islands, an instantaneous change would involve the former in confusion and barbarism, and expose the latter to indiscriminate destruction. The objections to a modified abolition are less striking at first sight, but equally conclusive. The very decree which conferred general freedom upon the slaves, after a certain period, would put an end to industry and subordination from the moment of its promulgation; and to declare free all negro children who should be born after a certain day, would unavoidably create discontent among those who were suffered to remain in bondage. The effect of such a regulation would be to produce the most galling inequality in families, and to sever the bonds of natural affection between the children of the same stock; while the colonist would either be compelled to bring up and educate those in whom he had no interest, and over whom he had no controul; or the free child would be turned loose upon the colony as uninstructed and ungovernable as any of his race fresh from the wilds of Africa.* The same objections do not exist against particular manumissions; and if in any of the colonies the fines upon manumission, which in some form and to some extent are perhaps necessary, have been increased merely to prevent the progress of

* We are aware that this latter regulation has been adopted in some of the new states of South America, and perhaps without producing all the inconveniences, which we have anticipated as its natural consequences; but the experiment has hardly yet been fully tried, and it appears besides, from the accounts of the most intelligent travellers, that in the republics in which it has been made, so large a proportion of the slaves had been previously emancipated and drafted into the armies, that the remainder, upon whom alone the regulation would operate, was too inconsiderable to make these consequences very important.

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industry and good conduct towards freedom, or to throw difficulties in the way of so good a mode of rewarding extraordinary merit, they ought to be diminished. Those who are the objects of manumission will generally be found to be the most advanced in civilization, and consequently the best prepared for the enjoyment of that privilege to which they are admitted. But all mention of any kind of *abolition* of slavery by act of parliament, we think, had better be avoided. It must alarm those of the colonists who conscientiously believe that it is impracticable to raise, with profit, the staple commodities of the West Indies by free labour; and it should be remembered that the Abolitionists have not yet proved by any facts, which will stand the test of a rigorous examination, that these fears are without reasonable foundation. But let the mitigation of slavery be gradually carried as far as it can; and long before it has reached the highest safe and practicable point, these fears will either be removed or confirmed. If they are removed, those by whom they are now entertained can offer no further resistance to any rational plan of abolition. If they are confirmed, then the compensation to which the colonists are entitled will be settled with much greater ease and accuracy, and the country will be enabled to calculate exactly what pecuniary sacrifice the abolition of slavery would entail upon it. This would in itself be an advantage of no small moment. The cessation of all discussion about the abolition of slavery would also be beneficial to the slaves, as the continuance of it will probably slacken their advancement, and at best can only excite vain aspirations after the possession of that which they are at present evidently unqualified to enjoy. At what period, and in what manner, a slave should emerge into a free man, has lately occupied the thoughts of many ingenious men; but it is not a subject upon which it is easy to reason satisfactorily in detail. Perhaps it is not necessary to attempt it. All that is requisite to be known is, that as civilization advances, the condition of the slave becomes more comfortable, and his dependence upon his master less intimate; and that, at a certain stage in its progress, it becomes almost a matter of indifference, both to master and slave, whether the name of bondage shall continue or not; soon after which the chain that has for some time been worn light and loose on the limbs, drops off; and the advanced state of society tacitly puts an end to this relation between them. Could it have been possible to entertain any doubt on the subject, Mr. M'Donnell's work would have satisfied us that this period has not yet arrived in the West Indies. To persist in speculating and haranguing about the emancipation of the negroes, may promote the purposes of demagogues and agitators; but no statesman will deny that, if the abolition of slavery take place in the West Indies

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before a very material improvement has been made in the slaves themselves, it will either plunge them into lasting barbarism, or compel them to struggle onward to civilization, after a sacrifice of the present landed proprietors, through years of anarchy and blood. It is no belief in the natural inferiority of the negroes which makes us thus speak. They have already exhibited sufficient examples of almost every estimable quality, to vindicate their race from the aspersions that have been cast upon it, and to show that the colour of the skin, or the features of the countenance, enable us to form no absolute judgment of the powers of the understanding or affections of the heart. Still it must be long before they can be raised from that moral and intellectual degradation in which they are now sunk. The emancipation of the mind ought invariably to precede that of the body, and will be more effectually and speedily secured by improving the condition of the slave, than by prematurely forcing him into the state of freedom. The transition ought not to be followed by any decline in the general good order and prosperity of society, which would assuredly happen if the abolition of slavery were to take place in the present state of the West Indies. At what precise period, or in what manner, this euthanasia may be reasonably hoped for, it is difficult, and not necessary, to determine. We have a practical duty before us, requiring all our attention, the mitigation of the present system by every practicable mode, in order to make way for its final departure.

Much in this way has already been effected, however much may still remain to be done. The amelioration in the condition of the slaves which has taken place within the last thirty years, and particularly since the abolition of the slave-trade, is spoken of by every one who has known the West Indies for that length of time as in every way remarkable. In this respect we think the Abolitionists have not acted with proper openness to the public nor candour to the colonists. On some occasions they have advanced an unfavourable fact, which was true only of one of the islands, as if it applied to all; and on others they have overlooked particulars which would materially have affected the public opinion with respect to the condition of the slaves absolutely, or in relation to former times. Giving no credit to the statements or professions of the colonists, and making no allowance for the improvement which mere necessity, example and the diffusion of knowledge have been silently and gradually producing, they have too often spoken and argued as if slaves and slave-owners were both in the same state now in which they would have been found half a century ago. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth; and upon this subject we recommend to the notice of our readers a part

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part of Mr. M'Donnell's book, which cannot be curtailed with advantage, and which we are prevented by its length from extracting entire (pp. 204—216.) The statement, which he has there given, is confirmed by many disinterested witnesses, and the improvement is represented as going on in every part of the West Indies with augmented rapidity up to the present moment. Within little more than the last twelve months, several measures have been agitated and prepared for the consideration of the colonial legislatures, or passed by them for the purpose of promoting this general advancement. We will specify only two acts of the Assembly in Jamaica, because the manner in which they have been received in this country is a striking confirmation of some of our preceding remarks. One of these acts is to remove impediments to manumission, and the other to encourage attendance on a Saturday instead of a Sunday market. It should be observed that these bills have been passed in compliance with the wishes of the abolitionists repeatedly and anxiously expressed; yet the colonists are told by Mr. Brougham, in the speech from which we have already made an extract, that they have done 'absolutely nothing;' and from his place in the House of Commons, he is reported to have said, that the concession is merely nugatory, and the acts intended only for the benefit of the masters. But though we mention these, and allude to other, legislative measures, we have no difficulty in saying that it is not to acts of the colonial assemblies, or of the British parliament, that we look for the proofs or the means of the most important improvements. Even if no acts at all had been passed, there would not, on that account, be any ground for concluding that, during the interval which has elapsed, the colonists have done nothing. Very important changes are often made without any legislative provision at all; and in such a case as this, acts of parliament and acts of assembly are much more frequently to be regarded as the consequences and records of changes which the state of society has previously effected, than as the causes of their introduction. If the master be willing, there is scarcely any improvement in the condition of his slave, which he cannot effectuate without a legislative act; and if he be an unwilling agent, a legislative act will commonly afford but a very unavailing remedy. Were we compelled to choose between the two, we should much rather trust to the voluntary exertions and sacrifices of the colonists for the improvement of their slaves, than to any laws promulgated either at home or abroad for that purpose. But it signifies little by what means or in what way the mitigation of slavery goes on, provided it be continually advancing. We have no doubt that it is; and, as fellow-men, fellow-subjects, and having a fellow-feeling with the colonists in their sufferings and distresses, we

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earnestly entreat them to lend it their cheerful and unremitting assistance. They deceive themselves if they think that the course of improvement can be resisted. To attempt it, is to contend not against the Abolitionists or the legislature, but against the full force of the tide of human affairs, which will certainly prevail against them. We think more highly of their judgment and fortitude than to suppose that they will allow themselves to be driven, by irritation or despondency, to adopt resolutions unsuited to their trying situation. Let what may happen, to advance their slaves in diligence, intelligence, and morality, to add to their comforts and respectability is the soundest policy which they can adopt. No other can be pointed out which is so likely to lead to a continuance of their security, or so well calculated to support them under present misfortunes, and pave the way for future prosperity.

Believing, however, the colonists to be satisfied that it is their interest to promote the improvement of the slaves, it remains still to be considered by what means that end may best be effected. This, however, is a point of so great difficulty, that the ministers of the crown, the colonists, and occasionally even the Abolitionists themselves, have been compelled to pause as to the specific measures which they would recommend for adoption. The subject in itself is embarrassing and delicate; but a general want of precise and familiar acquaintance with the actual state of society in the different West Indian islands, is an additional cause of hesitation to the prudent, and of error to the precipitate. It is under a sense of this difficulty that we will now throw together a few remarks on the mode of advancing the bodily comfort—the security of the rights—and the moral and religious improvement of the slaves; begging it to be understood that to whatever conclusions we come upon these topics, we have found the mass of minute and often inconsistent facts, to be so great, that we have been obliged to rely principally upon general reasoning to direct us.

1. In all that relates to the food, lodging, and clothing of the slaves, it does not appear that any just cause of complaint exists. In the important articles of cleanliness and neatness, and all those external signs of comfort and respectability, which rather depend on the will of the slave, than on the liberality of the master, there may be still much to desire. But in these respects the negroes will gradually improve as they advance in civilization; and in all essential points their condition seems not to be inferior at present to that of a farm-servant or ordinary mechanic in England, and in many respects to be superior to those of the same classes in some parts of Ireland. Under this head it may be proper to mention two practices now generally adopted in Barbados, and we believe in Antigua, which we recommend for general consideration.

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tion. The first is the providing the slaves, on their return from labour, with their victuals already cooked; the effect of which is to give them the hours allowed for relaxation, or cultivation of their own provision grounds, more entire and uninterrupted, and also to enable the manager to accustom them to habits of greater order and cleanliness. The second is the establishment of a common nursery room on each estate, in which the infants and children are left by their mothers during the hours of labour in the field. It is well known by those who are conversant with the subject, that much of the mortality of slave-children is owing to their exposure in the fields while their mothers are at work; and it must be obvious, as a further advantage derivable from this measure, that the transition from it to an infant school, would be both easy and inexpensive.

The return which a slave makes to his master for his support consists in his personal labour; and if in times past the quantity exacted was excessive, that inexcusable abuse of power seems now to have almost come to an end in some of the islands, and to be fast disappearing in all the rest. We can easily believe, what has been stated in a Report to the House of Assembly of Jamaica in 1824, (*Votes of Assembly, Dec.* 1824, fol. 201,) that in none of the many disturbances which have recently agitated that island, has cruelty from the masters or overseers been the alleged cause of complaint; because it cannot be the interest of the master at present to exact from the slave more work than he can reasonably perform; and, so far as we have seen, there is an increasing desire that the performance should be attended with as little harshness and interference as possible. The employment of the whip as a stimulus to labour is going into disuse. We do not state this in ignorance of the Remonstrance published in the Trinidad Gazette, and republished (as it is said, with approbation) in the Gazette of Jamaica; from both of which, conclusions of the most sweeping nature have been drawn by the Abolitionists. We are still satisfied that, upon further investigation, they will find that our statement is *substantially* correct. It is announced in the Jamaica Gazette of the 7th May, 1825, that the cart-whip, even as an emblem of authority, has almost disappeared in that island; and we have been assured from authority which we cannot distrust, that on very many estates it is reserved exclusively as an instrument of punishment for the more serious offences. What has happened in Jamaica, the most important of all the islands, will undoubtedly take place in the others with more or less expedition, as their general improvement is more or less rapid. Every humane person must wish that, as soon as circumstances admit, the whip should be withdrawn from use, and afterwards from sight: but such

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such powerful reasons have been adduced against its immediate prohibition by act of parliament, throughout the West India colonies, that we confess, though with reluctance, our inability to recommend any such measure. But if we cannot keep pace with the precipitation of the Abolitionists on the one hand, we equally disapprove the violence of certain prejudiced planters on the other. We do not believe with the latter, that it will never be possible safely to abolish the use of the whip; though we are satisfied, in opposition to the former, that it cannot be safely prohibited at this moment. In the mean time nothing but evil can result from a controversy so intemperately and bitterly carried on as that to which this question has given rise.

With reference to the exemption of the female sex from all punishment by the whip, as decreed by the thirteenth clause of the Order in Council for Trinidad, we have considered with all possible attention the arguments urged by Mr. M'Donnell, (p. 263, *et seq.*) We fully concede to him that there may be many females working in a negro gang, with respect to whom the terms of *female delicacy*, and *female sensibility* would be utterly misapplied, and whose disposition renders them fully as ungovernable as the males. But we concur with Mr. Canning in thinking, that, 'one of the first principles of improvement in civilization, is the observance paid to the difference of the sexes;' and we cannot but consider 'the shocking and unseemly practice of the chastisement of females by the whip,' as a bar to their moral improvement and civilization, which it is absolutely necessary to remove. It is arguing the question on wrong grounds to inquire whether at this moment the female slaves possess a delicacy or sensibility, which would be severely outraged by public whipping; if we mean to make them feminine indeed, we must begin by treating them as such; at least we must remove that impediment to their becoming such, which, while it remains, must obviously neutralize every other measure of improvement.

We have been informed that, on some estates, the punishment of women has already in practice been essentially modified; that it is inflicted only with a switch, by a female, in private; and then only in cases where solitary confinement has been found ineffectual. We conceive that such a mode of punishment for females, must be fully adequate to sustain the necessary discipline; while, on the other hand, considering that by this modification, 'the *indecency* and *degradation*' which attend the practice of public whipping, are avoided, and that the power of inflicting corporal punishment on females, on some occasions, and for some offences, may be still absolutely necessary; we think the government might perhaps act prudently in contenting itself, for the present at least,

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least, with recommending to the assemblies the enactment of some such general alteration of the punishment, as has been voluntarily and successfully adopted by individuals.

With the diminution of corporal punishment, we rejoice to believe that task-work is becoming more general. This can be in no respect prejudicial to the master, and is highly favourable to the slave, when he has reached a certain stage of civilization. It removes the irksomeness which then arises from being subjected to the controul of another, and by the substitution of a moral for a physical inducement to labour, gradually prepares him for becoming a free man. There may exist impediments to its immediate and general introduction in the situation and extent of some estates, (*Collins's Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Slaves*, p. 153.); but it is almost uniformly recommended in the strongest manner by those best acquainted with the West Indies (*Pra. Rules*, p. 153. *M'Donnell*, p. 258. *Walker's Letters on the West Indies*, p. 67.), and seems upon principle to be one of the very best means by which the mitigation of slavery can be promoted. Of the expediency of attaching the slaves to the soil, we are not at present so clearly convinced, and before we pronounce any decided opinion, we should be glad to have more extensive and detailed information than we now possess. Slaves never were transferred in the same manner in Europe in which they are in the West Indies, nor could their transference be there forbidden with the same advantage which is said to have attended it in Europe. Many estates in the West Indies, especially where coffee is raised, wear out. Some become unprofitable from the change of markets; and hurricanes and earthquakes desolate others. An invariable rule would, therefore, in many instances, ruin the master and stint or starve the slave. On the other hand, we cannot contemplate without horror, the forced separation of husband and wife, brothers and sisters, parents and children; and we are not aware of any sufficient objection to a regulation, which should declare that husband and wife and all children belonging to either within the age of puberty should on no account be separated in any case of transfer or sale. A well informed writer (*Walker's Letters, &c.* p. 64.) has advised the substitution of attachment to the gang instead of attachment to the soil; this would in general obviate the evils, and is free from many of the objections, to which we have alluded; but still, as an inflexible rule, would be found at times to impose an inconvenient and unnecessary restraint.

2. The condition of the negroes may also be improved by a stricter observance and further extension of their civil rights. Even at the present moment their private property is in practice religiously respected. However strange it may seem that an individual

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vidual should be possessed of property, who is himself the property of another, there can be no doubt that the West Indies now exhibit this anomaly. Whatever money, poultry, cattle, or ornaments of the person a slave possesses, are held to be as strictly his own and at his own disposal, as they could be rendered by any enactment of the legislature; nay, what appears still more extraordinary, the slave, in some islands at least, exercises an undisturbed right of disposing by will of the very house which he occupies on his master's estate. Here, then, received opinion and custom have conferred upon him distinct rights and privileges as a member of civil society, which at every seasonable opportunity ought to be confirmed and multiplied. The improvement of the administration of justice, for which purpose a commission is now sitting in the West Indies, will contribute to the same great object. The principal duty of this commission, indeed, is to purify the ordinary course of law in civil suits, with which slaves, in general, can have no participation. But its effect will be little less favourable to them than if they had been the special objects of its regard. The more efficiently the colonists are accustomed to see justice administered between each other, and to consider the law as the habitual and supreme rule of civil conduct, the less will they be disposed to exercise, or excuse tyranny towards the blacks who are subjected to their controul. The most important boon, however, which could in this point be conceded to the slaves, would be to permit them to be received in courts of justice as competent witnesses. This question has given rise to so much controversy, and so much repugnance has been manifested in the West Indies to its adoption, that the expediency of it would seem not to be so clear as the friends of the measure have generally imagined. Much, however, must in fairness be allowed by the colonists for the influence of early prejudices on their minds; we confess that the opinions entertained on this point by some of the ablest individuals connected with the West Indian interest, both in the colonies and the mother-country, and an examination of the arguments that have been urged on both sides, have inclined us strongly in its favour. The more deliberately its direct and collateral effects are considered, the more, we believe, the colonists will become satisfied that their apprehensions are excessive. But while we thus express ourselves as to the principle, we admit the existence of great difficulties, as to the regulations and conditions under which the privilege should be granted; and so far from asserting that no danger or inconvenience can flow from the admission of slave testimony, we believe that it will be necessary to use great precautions against them. No negro ought, under any circumstances, to be permitted to swear, who does not comprehend the

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the nature of an oath, and even then, the judge and jury can hardly be too careful in examining the evidence delivered. Of this the trial of Mr. Smith affords ample proof. Whatever judgment may be formed of the proceedings in other respects, we conceive it to be impossible for any impartial inquirer to cast his eyes over them, without being struck with the looseness of the evidence of the negroes, both for and against him.

Nothing, however, can be inferred from this against the concession under proper guards and restrictions; there will be difficulties and danger at first,—but they must be met by previous preparation and examination; and assuming due caution in the regulations, under which the testimony is admitted, we are satisfied that it may properly be left to the careful consideration of a judge and jury. The admission of testimony, which may affect property, life, or character, is not a thing in which a doubtful experiment can properly be made; and we should regret the appearance of lending the slightest countenance to the pernicious maxim which sanctifies the means by the end; yet, in considering both the danger of the measure and the motives for adopting it, the character of the negro, and the improvement in it which the adoption will probably occasion, must be taken into the account. Negroes (as well as other persons in the lower ranks of life) seldom get sufficient credit for the acuteness they possess. They would be pleased to be received as witnesses, merely from the novelty of the privilege, and they would be stimulated to acquire the knowledge, and character, which would naturally be among the conditions of their reception. If at first an idea had been entertained by them, that the privilege was desirable as affording means to gratify spite or revenge, they would soon find themselves disappointed in this expectation; the temptation to perjury or prevarication would proportionately cease; while the punishment to which they would be subjected for these offences, and the esteem they would gain from avoiding them, could scarcely fail to produce that self-respect, which is one true mode of creating respectability of conduct and character.

3. The last way to be now mentioned, for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, is the communication of moral and religious instruction. We shall here pass over in silence all those topics of irritating discussion which a reference to the past has so strong a tendency to awaken. If backwardness, neglect, or violence have any where been displayed, we lament and condemn them as deeply and as seriously as we ought; but by the parties in the contest let them not now be remembered in any other way than as an excitement to diligence and alacrity, patience and conciliation, for the time to come. We are persuaded that these qualities never could be exerted with greater effect, or in a better

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better cause. The diffusion of religious knowledge, the imparting religious feelings, will contribute far more to the mitigation of slavery, than the attainment of all the objects at which the abolitionists are now prematurely aiming. No other tree which can be cast in, will so effectually sweeten the waters of bitterness, of which too many generations of slaves have been made to drink. Secure to them these benefits, and every change by which their condition can be ameliorated will almost necessarily follow; but without it, no regulation that can be promulgated for that purpose, will be of any permanent or considerable avail. It is therefore with the most lively and unmixed satisfaction, that we hail the formation of an ecclesiastical establishment in the West Indies upon the model of our Established Church, and we anticipate, with confidence, the salutary reformation which the clergy and many excellent men who are co-operating with them, must produce upon the whole colonial population. In this, as in every step to be taken in this great matter, but most especially in this, zeal must be regulated by knowledge; and, therefore, without entering into consideration of the merits of individuals, or of particular forms of church government, questions always invidious where unnecessarily discussed, it seems to us that, at least for the particular purpose in hand, the episcopal form was wisely chosen; a form which more than any other is qualified to give order, uniformity and moderation, together with full allowance and scope, to the exertions of the most ardent well-regulated zeal. We have the fullest confidence, founded on a variety of authentic evidence, that the good effects of this measure are becoming daily more apparent in every part of the West Indies, and we were prepared to exhibit the proofs of it in detail.—But the recent arrival of the Lord Bishop of the Leeward Islands, and the mass of authentic information which his report will communicate, has induced us to change our purpose, and to postpone for a separate consideration the present religious state and prospects of these colonies. It has been surmised that his return has been unexpected, and is attributable to difficulties and disappointments which he has encountered from the resident proprietors of his diocese. We have reason to know, and state with confidence, that nothing can be farther from the truth. During his absence from this country his lordship has visited every island in his diocese, with the exception of Tortola and Tobago, to each of which, however, he dispatched a clergyman with inquiries of a specific nature. In every island upon which he has landed, he has made himself acquainted with its religious means of instruction by personally inspecting every church and every school; he has ascertained, so far as was possible by public and private intercourse and examination, its religious wants, as well as the means of supply which are to be

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be found in itself; the disposition of the planters to permit or promote the education of their slaves; as well as their ability and readiness by the contribution of money, labour, or materials, to assist in the erection of additional churches and schools. By personal attention to schools instituted by himself in Barbados, he has had the best grounds for satisfying himself of the docility of the negro children, and also of *their being capable of being rendered the channels of elementary religious instruction to adult negroes.*

We mention these things summarily, for the purpose of adding weight to the feelings and opinions which we have reason to believe he entertains. So far from returning discouraged by unexpected impediments, he feels that, great as are the real difficulties, and distant as must be the full harvest of his labours, the prospect before him is full of encouragment; in every class of people, speaking of course generally, and attributing what we say in various degrees, he has found that spirit of respect for his person, office, and object, that zeal, liberality, and concession to his desires, which justify the liveliest, if not impatient, hopes; and in no instance has he experienced that kind of prejudice or that degree of opposition, which should make him despair of ultimate success.

After a statement of this kind it may seem less necessary, and yet we trust it cannot be offensive, to address a few words on this most important point to our West Indian colonists. We have before this expressed our opinion, that they have been seriously endangered in their fortunes and lives by the indiscretion of well meaning, but ill-judging men; let not the remembrance of this operate too strongly on them, when the danger is removed, and circumstances are changed. To extend religious improvement to their slaves is at once their interest and their duty. It is of the utmost consequence, and especially at the present conjuncture, that they should be satisfied of this fact. To declaim indiscriminately against instruction and religion, or to draw any general conclusions against their happy influence, because in particular instances they have been misapplied or perverted, can eventually have no effect but that of deceiving themselves, and giving their adversaries an advantage over them. Those to whom sound knowledge, moral and religious, is imparted, have invariably been a blessing to all with whom they are connected; and from the nature of things it cannot prove otherwise with the slaves in the West Indies. As servants, it will render them diligent, faithful, and obedient; and, as members of society, it will encourage industry, temperance, the celebration of the rite, and the observance of the duties of marriage, of all which the colonists cannot but know the value, and to which nothing but christianity will induce the slaves to submit. The principle of religion can neither lead to inactivity on the one hand, nor insubordination on the other; its great object

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is to teach us all to lead quiet and peaceable lives in this world; not forbidding us to be active in the improvement of our temporal condition, but restraining us to lawful means, and, above all, enforcing upon us the necessity of doing our duty in whatever state we find ourselves placed. Let us not, however, be deemed offensive, if we add, that a knowledge of its doctrines, and obedience to its precepts, are not less necessary to the master than the slave. It is upon an increasing attention to moral and religious duties among the former, that the most certain hopes of the spread of moral and religious instruction among the latter may be founded; and we rejoice to perceive that they are not likely to be founded in vain. There seems every reason to believe that the higher orders of society in the West Indies are fully participating in the same improvement which is taking place among the lower, and we trust they will neither be ashamed to acknowledge the necessity, nor disposed to question the utility, of the change. Wherever true religion gains ground, it softens and humanises the mind, and never were all parties so much interested in its propagation as in the West Indies. The internal authority of conscience is superadded by it to that of outward obligation; and the slave thereby induced to render to his master all service and respect, until the relation subsisting between them be legitimately dissolved; while the master on his part will feel himself constrained by the same sanction to omit no opportunity of alleviating the hardships and multiplying the privileges of the slave, until he come, in due time, and after adequate preparation, to the enjoyment of complete freedom.

The practical conclusion which seems to follow from all the facts and reasonings which can be brought to bear on this important subject is, that the mitigation and abolition of slavery in our West Indian islands ought to be pursued with zeal and perseverance; but that, instead of resorting to the violent means which the abolitionists have hitherto proposed to force them forward, we must advance to them gradually and slowly, by the means of orderly, controulable, yet effective agents, agents who possess local knowledge, who will be most alive to the dangers of negligent or precipitate measures, and yet who may be stimulated to exertion by a superior power if fears or prejudices are allowed to exert an undue predominance; whose zealous co-operation is necessary to the success of any measures; and whose resistance is capable of paralysing the best designed efforts of any other agency. By this description our readers cannot fail to see, that we point at the colonial assemblies, and the colonial proprietors, acting at once under the controul and impulse of the executive government at home. It follows, also, that though abolition be our ultimate end, the mitigation of the state of slavery should be the object at present kept

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kept steadily and exclusively in view; and that we have no right to advance on our career, without distinctly pledging ourselves to compensate the colonist for any loss which he may ultimately sustain by the conversion of slave into free labour. We must remember that if there be injustice to the slave in the present relation between him and his master, we have been at least participant in that injustice, and we have no right now to constitute ourselves judges and award sentence at the expense of the master alone.

But lastly, if foregoing all violence and recriminations on both sides, all precipitation on the one hand, and all disproportionate alarms on the other; agreeing in the object, and differing amicably, where difference may be unavoidable, as to the means; we will but do what is unquestionably safe and effective, increase the comforts, privileges, and instruction of the negro population; if the colonists will cheerfully and earnestly resolve, as they ought, to become the willing channels of these blessings, gradually enlarging the stream, as the nature of the slave expands in capability to receive them; we have reason to anticipate that a period may arrive, even while nominal slavery remains, when there may be nothing really oppressive in the condition; and that when the actual fulfilment of our ultimate hopes shall take place, it may rather happen as of course, than be the result of any violent disruption; that the master, sustaining no detriment, may advance no claim for compensation; and the slave, active, industrious, intelligent and moral, may pass into the free labourer, mechanic or tenant, scarcely conscious of the precise moment of consummating that happy change, which the progress of civilization shall gradually have effected.

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